

A ROMAN REPUBLICAN PROTOTYPE FOR THE ANIMAL-UNDER-A-TREE TYPES OF EPATICCUS

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THE inscriptions reveal that Epaticcus (c.AD 20–40?) issued two different denominations of silver coins featuring strongly similar types – an animal moving towards the right from under a tree – while similar types also appeared, without an inscription, on two other silver coins that seem best attributed either to him or to his apparent successor Caratacus (c.AD 40–43?).¹ The type is realistic and highly Romanized in each case, and is accompanied by an equally highly Romanized obverse or reverse type in each case also. The similarities between these different types, all depicting some form of quadruped facing or moving towards the right while sheltered by the overhanging growth of a tree situated towards its left, suggests that they are best treated as a group. The purpose of this note is to identify the probable prototype and model for this group of types, which identification then allows us identify the probable sequence in which they were issued.

There are four different coins within this group:



Fig. 1. Silver unit with charging boar, *BMC* 2299 (BM, CM 1988,6.27.792) (2 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

1. Silver unit with charging boar (VA 581; *BMC* 2294–328; *ABC* 1349; Fig. 1).

Obv. A winged ‘Victory’ seated right, with left arm holding wreath out towards right, surrounded by legend TASCIO V.

Rev. A boar charges right from under a tree to its left, with the legend EPAT beneath it.²



Fig. 2. Silver minim with standing dog, *BMC* 2358 (BM, CM 1988,6.27.834) (2 x actual size, *rev.* 3 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

¹ For the sake of convenience, I follow the regnal dates given in *ABC*, but these are approximate at best, and the reigns of Epaticcus and Caratacus may well have overlapped.

² Hobbs (*BMC*) identifies the object above the boar’s back as an animal, although as Van Arsdell (VA) recognises it was clearly intended to represent a branch. Unfortunately, Hobbs misidentifies this branch as an animal rather than as part of a tree in the case of all four of the animal-under-a-tree types under discussion here.

2. Silver minim with standing dog (*BMC* 2358–63; *ABC* 1364; Fig. 2).

Obv. Helmeted bust right.

Rev. A dog stands facing right, with right fore-leg raised high from the ground, beneath shelter of tree to its left, and with letter E beneath its main body.



Fig. 3. Silver minim with crouching dog, *BMC* 2371 (BM, CM 1988,6.27.830) (2 x actual size, *rev.* 3 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

3. Silver minim with crouching dog (VA 558; *BMC* 2371–4; *ABC* 1361).

Obv. Bareheaded female bust right.

Rev. A dog crouches facing right, beneath shelter of tree to its left.



Fig. 4. Silver minim with butting bull, *BMC* 2366 (BM, CM 1984,6.1.47) (2 x actual size, *obv.* 3 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Silver minim with butting bull (VA 512; *BMC* 2366–70; *ABC* 1358).

Obv. A bull butts right, beneath shelter of tree to its left.

Rev. An eagle faces left, with raised talons.

The similarities between the types described above are such as to encourage the suspicion that they derive from the same prototype, although not necessarily directly in each case. It is equally possible that only one derives directly from the original prototype, and that the others derive from the original imitation. So what was this prototype? It is well-established that many dynastic coins of late Iron-Age Britain derive their imagery from Roman prototypes, usually from either coins or inscribed gems.³ Here one must pay due attention to the full scene on each of the above types, the fact that the animal is depicted beneath a tree.

Many earlier British coins had depicted the same animals as shown on the coins being discussed here – a bull, boar, or dog – but none seem to have depicted them in quite the same way, sheltered by an overhanging tree to the left. This is not to claim that no British coin had ever depicted a tree in association with one of these animals beforehand, but the examples are rare and their types are clearly distinguishable from those of the coins under discussion here. In fact, there seem to be only three coin types that depict an animal under the shelter of a tree other than the coins under discussion here, a bronze issue of Dubnovellaunus of the Cantii (c.30–10 BC?) and two bronze issues of King Cunobelinus of the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes (c.AD 10–40?). The obverse of the coin issued by Dubnovellaunus depicts a boar charging towards the right while some sort of tree emerges from behind the centre of its back and spreads its branches on either side (Fig. 5).⁴

³ See e.g. Henig 1972; Laing 1991; Scheers 1992; Creighton 2000, 80–125.

⁴ VA 180; *BMC* 2509–10; *ABC* 345.



Fig. 5. Bronze unit with boar charging from under a spreading tree, *BMC* 2509 (BM, CM 1921,5.10.1) (2 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The reverse of one of the issues by Cunobelinus depicts a sow sitting on its haunches and facing to the right while some sort of tree emerges from behind the centre of its back also and spread its branches on either side once more (Fig. 6).⁵



Fig. 6. Bronze unit with sow sitting under a spreading tree, *BMC* 1999 (BM, CM 1919,2.13.493) (2 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

In this case, the trunk of the tree can be seen rising from the ground in the space between the stomach of the sow and the exergual line. It is clear that the reverse of Cunobelinus' coin imitates the obverse of Dubnovellaunus, but this still leaves the question as to whence Dubnovellaunus drew his inspiration, probably from a Gallic issue.⁶ The key point, however, is that the position of the tree behind the centre of the animal, combined with its shape, the fact that its branches spread equally towards the left and right to form a true 'bush', suggests that this type has no direct link to the group of coins being discussed here.⁷ The reverse of the other issue by Cunobelinus depicts a lion facing to the right and crouched down on all fours upon a tablet bearing an inscription (Fig. 7).⁸



Fig. 7. Bronze unit with crouching lion, *BMC* 1991 (BM, CM 1991,11.10.252) (2 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

⁵ VA 2105; *BMC* 1998–2003; *ABC* 2981.

⁶ He was probably inspired by the reverse of a bronze issue of Contoutos of the Pictones in Gaul depicting a panting wolf in front of a tree. See Allen 1995, nos 191–5.

⁷ The tree on the Gallic coin may well imitate the tree on a denarius issued by Sex(tus) Pomp(eius?) in 137 BC (*RRC* 235/1). As will become clear, therefore, there may be an indirect link.

⁸ VA 2107; *BMC* 1991–7; *ABC* 2984.

A single-trunked tree rises from immediately to the left of the lion and stretches above its back as far as its head. The similarities between the depiction of this tree and the depictions of the trees on the coins under discussion here suggests some form of relationship between this reverse-type and those of Epaticcus' coins, that the engraver of one ruler decided to imitate this feature on the coinage of the other.⁹ However, even if Cunobelinus probably did accede to rule several years before Epaticcus, they seem to have been approximate contemporaries whose reigns overlapped, so the direction of the borrowing remains unclear. In order to decide this, one must first solve the problem concerning the identity of the Roman prototype.

So what Roman coins of the late Republican or early Imperial periods did depict a tree? And do any of these coins bear a strong resemblance to any of those under discussion here? Surprisingly, very few coins produced during the whole of the late Republican or early Imperial periods did actually depict a tree. The emperor Augustus issued several coins depicting branches in such a way that they could have been misinterpreted as trees instead, but none of them seem relevant here.¹⁰ Before this, in 43 BC the moneyer P. Accoleius Lariscolus had issued a denarius with a reverse depicting a triple cult statue of Diana Nemorensis, with a grove of five cypress trees in the background, but this seems of little relevance either.¹¹ Finally, in 137 BC, the otherwise unknown moneyer Sex(tus) Pomp(eius?) had issued a denarius with a reverse depicting a scene from the mythological origin of Rome, the finding of the twins Romulus and Remus by the shepherd Faustulus (Fig. 8).¹²



Fig. 8. The denarius of Sex(tus) Pomp(eius?), *RRC* 235/1c (BM, CM R. 7561) (2 x actual size). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

It depicts a she-wolf suckling twins, obviously intended to represent Romulus and Remus, while a tree rises behind the centre of the wolf's back, with one bird perched on its trunk and two in its upper branches. The shepherd Faustulus is depicted immediately to the left of the wolf with his hand outstretched towards the upper branches of the tree as if he were picking fruit. As for the obverse, this depicts the helmeted head of the goddess Roma facing right with the denomination mark X immediately below her chin and a jug to the back of her neck. This head bears a strong similarity to the helmeted head on the obverse of the silver minim of Epaticcus depicting a dog standing beneath a tree. Both heads face in the same direction and wear similar helmets with neck-guard, crest, and visor. Furthermore, the pellet within a circle on the British minim seems to have been placed in imitation of the denomination mark on the denarius. In contrast, there does not, at first glance, seem to be very much in common between their reverses except in the most general sense that they both depict a canine beneath a tree. However, a closer examination reveals a number of similarities between the figure of Faustulus on the denarius and the shape of the tree on the British coin such as to suggest that the engraver of the British coin mistakenly identified the figure of Faustulus on a worn denarius

⁹ Henig 1972, 218, suggests that the lion itself is modelled on a lion from an inscribed gem, but notes that none of the gems from this period depicting a similar lion include a tree within the composition.

¹⁰ *RIC* 1, Augustus, nos 33a–b, 36a–b, 50–52b.

¹¹ *RRC* 486/1.

¹² *RRC* 235/1a–c. I follow Crawford's date here, but there is some disagreement as to how to expand the moneyer's name and when exactly he held office. See Metcalf 1999, 1–17, at pp. 4–10.

as the trunk of the tree rising from behind the she-wolf and used it as the model for the tree on his coin.

There are three main similarities between the tree on the minim and the profile of Faustulus on the denarius:

1. the tree on the minim only projects one branch across the back of the dog in the same way that Faustulus only raises one arm to the tree on the denarius; it does not subdivide into any number of smaller branches, but remains a single stocky branch;
2. the branch of the tree on the minim projects out initially at only a slight angle to the plane, but then turns upwards once more at a sharper angle so that the angular nature of this turn resembles the angle in Faustulus' arm as his forearm bends upwards at the elbow to reach into the tree;
3. the tree on the minim displays a strange downwards bulge just below the single branch as it begins to project across the back of dog, whose triangular shape and position reveal a remarkable similarity to the shape and position of Faustulus' far (left) arm on the denarius, a rather clumsy attempt to depict the shepherd using his left arm to lean on his staff as he reaches upwards into the tree. None of the trees on the other animal-under-a-tree types depict the same bulge.

That these similarities are not mere coincidences can best be appreciated by considering any number of other depictions of trees whether on other British or Roman coins or in any other medium.¹³ Of most immediate relevance here, for example, is that Cunobelinus issued a silver unit whose reverse depicted a very different tree to the left of a seated figure playing the lyre.¹⁴ Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the tree depicted on a jasper intaglio from London in a composition cited as a possible source for this coin takes a very different form once more.¹⁵ While the depiction of single-trunked or -branched trees is not uncommon, the key diagnostic factor here – one that seems to be unmatched elsewhere – is the depiction of the strange triangular-shaped downwards bulge just below the projecting branch.

The realization that the minim depicting a dog standing beneath a tree bears a strong similarity to a denarius produced in 137 BC, and that one of the most distinctive features of its reverse is best explained as a misinterpretation of a feature on the reverse of the denarius, suggests that this minim was the first of the coins under consideration here to be produced. As for the coins with similar types, the natural assumption must be that the further any of these coins departs from the model offered by the Roman prototype, the later it was probably produced. In this assumption, the obvious suggestion is that the minim depicting the crouching dog was produced simultaneously with, or shortly after, the minim depicting the standing dog. There are three main arguments in support of this. First, this minim continues to pair the animal-under-tree reverse with an obverse depicting a Romanized head, even if a very different head. Second, this minim continues to depict the animal under a tree as a dog, even if in a very different pose. Finally, the tree on the reverse is depicted in the same stocky and angular fashion. The only real difference is that the tree on the crouching-dog minim seems to have sprouted an extra branch from what was the inside of Faustulus' elbow originally. The apparent co-ordination between these two minims each depicting a different Romanized head paired with a different depiction of a dog under a tree could suggest some greater political or dynastic message. Although the helmeted head on obverse of the standing-dog minim was apparently modelled on the head of the goddess Roma, it is not clear whether one should understand it as a female head in this instance. In so far as Cunobelinus inscribed his name around similar helmeted busts on two of his bronze issues, it seems probable that he intended the busts as self-portraits in these cases, even if one suspects that they also derived from standard depictions of

¹³ The depiction of a tree, usually to the side of the main design, is a common feature of many inscribed gems. See e.g. Spier 1992, nos 173, 284, 287, 288, 290 (first century BC to first century AD); 333, 376, 390, 391 (second century AD).

¹⁴ VA 2059; *BMC* 1879–82; *ABC* 2867. Henig 1972, 210–11, suggests that the whole scene is derived from an inscribed gem. However, Scheers 1992, 38, suggests that Cunobelinus modelled the figure playing the lyre upon a silver tridrachm struck c.280 BC by Cyzicus, but added the tree behind the figure after some inscribed gem.

¹⁵ Henig 1972, 219.

the goddess Roma found upon so many republican denarii.¹⁶ Hence the suspicion arises that the helmeted head on the standing-dog minim is intended to represent Epaticcus himself. As for the head on the obverse of the crouching-dog minim, in so far as the hairstyle suggests that it is a female portrait, one is tempted to identify it as a portrait of a close female relative of Epaticcus, perhaps his wife or his mother, but it could equally well represent a goddess.

Since neither the silver unit depicting a boar under a tree nor the minim depicting a bull under a tree pairs this type with a Romanized head, neither is closer than the other to the prototype in this respect.¹⁷ However, one notes very different treatments of the tree in each instance. In the case of the minim with the bull, the tree continues to be treated in the same stocky and angular fashion as it had on the minims with the standing dog and crouching dog. In the case of the unit with the boar, however, the tree is depicted in a far more sinuous fashion. Furthermore, the small branch sprouting forth halfway along the main branch as it passed over the dog's back in the case of the crouching-dog minim has now become much larger. Finally, the main branch passing over the animal's back now breaks into two smaller branches before it finally ends. It seems, therefore, that the tree on the unit with the boar is more developed than that on the minim with the bull, and has departed much further from the model provided by the prototype. This may be due to the fact that there was more space available for the engraver on the unit. On the other hand, the stretched and straight-legged stance of the boar bears a close resemblance to that of the wolf on the Roman prototype, suggesting a direct link between the two. Furthermore, the boar is depicted on the reverse of its unit, just as the two types of dog are depicted on the reverse of their minims, while the bull, in contrast, appears on the obverse of its minim. Finally, it is worth noting that the trunk of the tree is never visible to the left of the bull, but is always obscured by its hindquarters. In this respect, one can detect a clear pattern across the minims as the trunk of the tree moves slowly towards the right. In the case of the minim with the standing dog, it is visible to the left of the dog's hind-legs as a quite separate and distinct object, while in the case of the minim with the crouching dog, the trunk's descent to the ground is just obscured by the dog's tail. However, in the case of the minim with the bull, the trunk now rises from about a quarter of the way along its back. Since this represents the greatest departure from the prototype, the natural inference is that the bull under the tree is the latest of these three animal-under-a-tree types.

The obvious suggestion, therefore, is that the unit with the boar under a tree was issued simultaneously with the minims depicting a dog under a tree in direct imitation of the same prototype and as part of the same small series. This strengthens the possibility that the bare-headed female bust on the obverse of the minim with the crouching dog is identifiable as the bust of the winged 'Victory' on the obverse of the associated unit. As for the minim with the bull under a tree on its obverse, this was the last of the animal-under-a-tree types to be issued, and since it depicts a large eagle facing left on its reverse, it is tempting to pair it with another silver unit by Epaticcus which depicts a bust with lion-skin on its obverse, but a large facing eagle on its reverse again.¹⁸ The fact that these different denominations both depict single large eagles on their reverses, even in somewhat different poses, suggests that they form another small series also.¹⁹

This leaves only the bronze issue by Cunobelinus with the lion facing to the right under a tree to be considered. The tree on this coin bears a strong resemblance to that on the unit with the boar. A single branch sprouts upwards from the main branch as it turns over the lion's back and the latter breaks into two smaller branches at its conclusion above the lion's head. This suggests that Cunobelinus issued this type after Epaticcus had commenced production of his unit with the boar under a tree, and in partial imitation of the same.

¹⁶ VA 1983, *BMC* 1952–5, *ABC* 2933; VA 2091, *BMC* 1956–60, *ABC* 2960.

¹⁷ The obverse of the unit with the boar under a tree seems to be an adaptation of the seated victory such as one finds on the denarius issued by M. Cato c.47 BC (*RRC* 462/1b). See Scheers 1992, 40. The obverse of the minim with the bull features an eagle with outstretched talons, not closely modelled on any particular Roman coin, although it could be an adaptation of several Roman or even Greek types. See Laing 1991, 23; Scheers 1992, 35.

¹⁸ VA 580; *BMC* 2024–293; *ABC* 1346.

¹⁹ The eagle on the silver unit clearly has a snake in its claws, but the identity on the object in the claws of the eagle on the minim remains uncertain. Hobbs (*BMC*) describes the eagle on the minim as 'holding a snake (?)', while *ABC* does not comment.

A final point deserves to be made. While most of the Roman prototypes drawn upon by the British kings in the production of their dynastic coinage date from c. 50 BC onwards, the earliest such prototype has traditionally been dated to 139 BC.²⁰ Cunobelinus issued a quarter-stater whose reverse depicted a centaur galloping to the left with a branch over its shoulder, and since the only republican coin that had ever depicted a centaur was the denarius issued by the moneyer M. Aurelius Cotta in 139 BC, the temptation has been to argue that Cunobelinus must have been inspired by Cotta's coin.²¹ In fact, there is no real resemblance between Cotta's reverse depicting two centaurs drawing a biga driven by Hercules and Cunobelinus' reverse showing a single centaur galloping freely, so that an inscribed gem has been posited as the more probable source.²² In contrast, the similarities between Epaticcus' minim depicting the standing dog under a tree and the denarius issued by Sex(tus) Pomp(eius?) in 137 BC are such that the latter should now be admitted as the earliest firm Roman republican prototype for a British dynastic coin.

In conclusion, the recognition that Epaticcus, or his engraver, designed the minim with the reverse depicting a standing dog in imitation of a denarius issued in 137 BC is important in that it highlights the fact that the British could, and did, misinterpret their Roman prototypes. While it is tempting to interpret British departures from their Roman prototypes as deliberate actions with far greater social and cultural significance than is immediately apparent, one must be careful not to press the evidence too hard.²³ More importantly, however, this discovery provides an anchor point upon which to base the relative dating of several issues. In particular, it suggests that those issues by Epaticcus which depict an animal under a tree on their reverse form a series predating those issues which depict a large eagle on their reverse.

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²⁰ Creighton 2000, 88.

²¹ VA 1918; *ABC* 2828; *RRC* 229/1.

²² Henig 1972, 215.

²³ For attempts to use dynastic coinage in this manner, see e.g. Allen 1958, 43–63; Creighton 2000, *passim*.

HOWARD LINECAR LECTURE 2011

ROMAN BRITAIN AND ITS ECONOMY FROM COIN FINDS

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Introduction

HISTORICAL sources for the study of Roman Britain are few in number and selective in the subjects covered. For Britain to be mentioned at all in the written imperial sources someone or something of imperial status and importance needs to have impinged on the province. Provincial written documents are non-existent and the evidence available from inscriptions in Britain is extremely limited in time, in space and in social class. Even at an imperial level mention of coins in use is only seen in two first-century sources, the *Satyricon* of Petronius and the Gospels of the New Testament. By their nature neither of these sources deals with Britain. Students wanting to understand the economy in Roman Britain can only study the coins in use and that can only be done through coin finds whether excavated or chance finds.¹ This type of study can appropriately begin at the point at which Britannia became a province of the Empire.

The conquest and consolidation

The Roman conquest of AD 43 came at a very inconvenient time for paying soldiers. In the last years BC Augustus had restored and expanded the Roman monetary system by introducing a new series of denominations which in theory stretched from coins of high value to small change but mass production was concentrated on the middle value coin, the copper *as*. These were widely distributed throughout the western empire – as it was around AD 1 – thus missing out Britain. While most of the western empire was already well supplied with middle-range change in AD 43, Britain had missed out. To make matters worse Claudius caused very little silver coinage to be produced and his mints gave up on copper and bronze at the time of the conquest. This explains the differences between coins found during excavations in Reims and Verulamium (see Table 1).²

TABLE 1. Coins found in Verulamium and Reims

	<i>Silver</i> (<i>denarii</i>)	<i>Large bronze</i> (<i>sestertii</i>)	<i>Middle bronze</i> (<i>dupondii/asses</i>)	<i>Small bronze</i> (<i>semisses/quadrantes</i>)
Verulamium (to AD 41)	21	8	28	0
Reims (to AD 41)	3 (12)	0	66 (264)	27 (108)
Verulamium (Claudius)	1	0	81	0
Reims (Claudius)	0	0	9 (36)	0

Site totals: Verulamium 5,873; Reims 1,613 (number in brackets = Reims \times 4). The multiple is included for ease of comparison between the sites.

¹ Comments from friendly readers make it clear that I need to distinguish between the main source for this paper, excavated site-finds, and the newly available alternative source of the finds reported from the Portable Antiquities Scheme. I have not taken these into account because although I think I know what excavated site-finds represent, how they behave, and how they can be studied, I cannot say the same for chance finds. More studies need to be done before they can legitimately be amalgamated with excavated coins to form a single reliable source of data for Roman coin-finds in Britain.

² Reims: Doyen 2007; Verulamium: Reece 1984.

Claudius' failure to mint denarii probably caused least problems because silver seems to have moved in a cycle from the state treasury, out in state payments, through normal economic exchange and then back to the treasury in taxes. So long as taxes over the rest of the empire had been paid a good supply of pre-Claudian silver could reach Britain as payment for the state servants in the army and civil service. The almost complete absence of silver coins of Claudius from the regular supplies means that small hoards buried between AD 30 and 60 cannot easily be dated before or after the conquest. Only after Nero debased the coinage in AD 64 and struck more new denarii is the dating of a hoard by presence or absence of coins more firmly based. Dating by bronze coins is equally illusory because the last dated bronze coins of Claudius, which are the last bronze coins produced for twenty years, belong around the time of the conquest. The next influx of bronze coin datable in absolute terms belongs to the later years of Nero after AD 63.

Copper and bronze do not seem to have moved in state-to-civilian-to-state cycles – in other words, were not deemed normally acceptable as taxes – so there was no way that the large numbers of Augustan copper coins could be redirected to Britain unless a treasury official had considered the possibility of collecting copper to release in the British economy. The snag is that either the state would have had to buy the copper with silver, or accept copper instead of silver (or gold) in taxes and either way the state would be lower on holdings of silver. Since it is highly likely that it was payment in silver that kept the armies relatively happy a decrease in silver income would not be contemplated.

This idea of buying up copper coins from places with excess and moving them to places in need does seem to have been put into practice in the Mediterranean area in the last years BC – Pompeii may be an example. It may be that where this happened it was a local civic matter in which no state organisation was involved, but for details we have to await future publications.³

It used to be thought that Britain, areas of Spain and a few parts of Gaul made up for the lack of supply of copper coins by making copies of the few regular Claudian coins that were issued. But excellent work in France on hoards of these coins has changed our assumptions. The coins from the continental hoards have been examined by Besombes, stylistically, and Barrandon, chemically, who worked independently. The results of the two analyses were then compared and showed a close similarity. Coins in style group A generally showed one chemical composition while other style groups had their own chemical compositions. In other words whether examined by eye for style or by chemistry for composition the same groupings emerged. From this work they have suggested that auxiliary mints had been set up in the field by the army which produced decent, but not brilliant copies of the regular coins, and many of those came over to Britain either with, or to, the army.⁴

While Robert Kenyon did the ground-work on British Claudian coins this has now been partly related to the continental material by Philip Harper, so that British-made copies have to be re-thought and redefined.⁵ It seems likely that we shall be left with the least competent as British products. This reaction to the need for coins probably demonstrates that the idea of buying up surplus copper to supply needs had fallen out of favour by the middle of the first century, that it was not an option in new, far-flung provinces, or that the middle of the first century AD was a time when little surplus bronze was in circulation.

The work just described means that things have moved on from where they were twenty years ago, but they are still in a state of flux. Most of what we formerly thought of as British attempts to fill the gap caused by a Roman invasion force arriving without coinage now have to be reassigned to auxiliary, probably military, mints in Spain and Gaul. Moving beyond the 'decent' copies the most obvious concentrations of really bad copies are at places such as Usk, which are military islands in a sea of non-coin-using Britons.⁶ They also belong late in the Claudian period and perhaps give us an idea of when the auxiliary mints – still hypothetical

³ Frey-Kupper and Stannard forthcoming.

⁴ Besombes and Barrandon 2000.

⁵ Kenyon 1992; Harper 2010.

⁶ Boon 1982.

– ceased to function. The fact that many of the earlier (or better?) British Claudian coins are strongly associated with material in Gaul and Spain also suggests that supply to Britain was not a prime motive in the production of ‘extra’ copper coins. And, as yet, there is no collected evidence for anything as technically proficient as the possible Gaulish mints in Britain. But matters are still fluid because Robert Kenyon has promised to return to the subject in his retirement.

One point from his earlier work is important because I have never seen it expressed elsewhere. It relates particularly to the production of copies in copper and of substantial thickness and diameter. The production of thin silver copies presumably poses different problems. As a former art student Kenyon was particularly interested in the style of the copies and set out early in his research to make his own Claudian copies.⁷ He started with the assumption that the difficult technical and time-consuming part would be the engraving of the dies and the easy part would be the production of the blanks and striking them into coins. Experiment convinced him of exactly the opposite. Cutting a crude design on a lump of metal suitable for a punch die was the work of less than a morning and the result was perfectly presentable – as Claudian copies go. The problem came in producing the blanks whether by pouring molten copper into moulds, or simply as drops on a flat surface. The moulds clogged up with quickly cooling solidifying copper before they were filled, and the drops on the flat surface made efficient striking of one plane and one convex surface by virtually flat dies almost impossible. The relevance of this is that the production of copies is mainly a matter of the production or procurement of blanks and that the engraving of dies is less of a problem.

When we discuss British Claudian copies we can only mean ‘of the province of Britain’ with very little likelihood of the involvement at any stage of native Britons. Some Claudian copies escape from purely military surroundings, or trickle down in commerce between the army and locals, but there is very little sign that the newly arrived Roman coinage was either absorbed by the pre-existing British coin-using organization, so far as that survived the conquest, or even that that continued very far into the Roman period. The use of coins produced in this phase of copying seems to be for military purposes, and most of the newly issued and used regular coinage is connected with either military establishments or with newly established towns once they got going. This poses the question as to whether things ever changed during the Roman occupation of Britain or whether the majority of coins lost in Britain have an origin in the state services, military and civilian, even if that is several steps away from the final deposition.

So Roman (regular) or Romanized copies of coins arrived in Britain, or were produced there, in the first century AD. Where are they found? The earliest coins seem to belong to military sites and to the earliest civilian foundations, but there is a trickle down effect. In the lowlands of Britain and near army establishments, the occasional Claudian copy is found on many British, rural, farming sites. This trickle down from the army seldom seems to start off proper coin use because when the army moves on to the North and West no more coinage seems to enter the typical rural site. The fortress at Exeter seems to have been well supplied with coins until about AD 60 when the army left, but it is not until well into the second century before coin use spread slowly and slightly into surrounding settlements from the newly established towns. This could either be because there are no ‘state’ coin-users with commercial contacts with the farms, or because the coin habit has simply not taken root.

Coin supply to Britain, AD 43 to 193

The move of the army north and west – to Northern Britain and Wales – is further evidence of the spread or isolation of the coin habit. While troops in the Nene Valley, in Colchester or Lincoln were using coins in areas of Britain where British coinage was at least visible, troops moving to Cumbria or the lowlands of Scotland were using coins in areas in which such things were previously unknown. In the South and East ‘trickle down and out’ is visible in towns and

⁷ Kenyon 1992.

larger settlements while in the North and West coins seem in this period to be confined to army sites. So what has actually been found?⁸

TABLE 2. Roman coins from excavations struck between 31 BC and AD 192

	<i>Silver (denarii)</i>	<i>Large bronze (sestertii)</i>	<i>Middle bronze (dupondii/asses)</i>	<i>Small bronze (semisses/quadrantes)</i>	<i>Site total</i>
Verulamium	79	158	397	5	5,873
Canterbury	13	49	73	1	3,215
Cirencester	12	29	121	3	3,372
Lincoln	15	23	57	0	1,939
Reims	29	117	299	43	1,613

The absence of gold coins (perhaps the equivalent of £500 notes) in Table 2 is as expected because such valuable coins would rarely be abandoned as lost for ever. On the other hand, the rarity of small change is, to modern eyes, unexpected and suggests to the modern coin user extreme practical difficulties. What that means of course is that any imposition of modern ideas of coin use on Roman Britain assumes extreme practical difficulties in the Roman period, when the whole business of trade and exchange may well have been on a quite different basis.

Earlier mention of British, pre-Roman, coins might have left the impression that British small bronze coins could have made up for the lack of Roman small change. While a few British coins turn up in excavations of Romanized sites that only seems to happen where the Roman site overlies the pre-conquest site which probably means that the British coins have been disturbed from earlier (pre-conquest) deposits by construction work and the digging of pits. Where the pre-conquest settlement is separated from the Romanized site, as at Corinium/Cirencester three miles away from the earlier settlement at Bagendon, there is little contact. Bagendon, although clearly continuing to be occupied, as judged by the pottery, into the 60s AD produced no first-century Roman coins, and all the excavations of early Roman levels at Cirencester have produced only one or two British coins.⁹

We know the relative values of the coins in the table above but there is a major gap in our knowledge in that we do not know what balance of denominations was supplied from the mint. It has always been assumed that in general the higher the value of a coin the less likely it is to be permanently lost – that is dropped and not found again. Size must also play a part, for it is easier to find a modern 50p piece (diameter 26 mm) than a 5p piece (diameter 17 mm) when the coins are dropped in a grassy field or on a muddy track. With those points in mind the smaller change ought clearly to make up the majority of coin finds, a suggestion with which excellent modern experimental studies agree.¹⁰ That this is so clearly not the case in Roman Britain can only mean that the small denominations were not supplied from the mint. It seems unreasonable to assume that they were supplied, but were rarely used or lost. There is also the context to be considered, but unfortunately this is a subject which still needs to be taken in hand. Military site needs to be compared with civilian site, and within sites areas of housing need to be compared with possible areas of commerce. A first step in this direction was taken at the fort at Usk where concentrations of coin loss were noted.¹¹

Early coin hoards and coin use in Britain and beyond

If we bring hoards into the picture Britain is out of step in this early period. The typical hoard of the first two centuries AD in France is made up of bronze and copper coins from the sestertius down to the *as*, with much rarer hoards of denarii. The typical British hoard is of denarii with only occasional hoards of copper and bronze. Perhaps it is for similar reasons that the actual denarii excavated at Reims struck in the second century are often local imitations with

⁸ For Reims: Doyen 2007; for the British sites in Table 2: Reece 1993.

⁹ Bagendon: Clifford 1961; Cirencester: Reece and Guest 1998.

¹⁰ See Frazer and Van der Touw 2010 for an Australian example and excellent summary of other studies.

¹¹ Boon 1982, 7.

silver plate on copper cores.¹² In Britain this type of coin is rare, second-century denarii are usually regular issues, and it is not till the early third century that some denarii appear to be irregular. This imbalance between a reasonable number of good denarii in Britain and a scarcity in Gaul needs to be followed up further. It is possible that the larger number of soldiers in Britain compared with Gaul is an important factor in both the quality and quantity of denarii, whether as hoards or site-finds. This could be checked by a thorough comparison in the future of site-finds and hoards in Britain, Gaul and Germany.

This suggestion of military involvement may well be a statement of the obvious; clearly the state would only send coinage to the province for its own selfish reasons, to keep the army happy and to pay the civil servants whose main task, in the view of Rome, was to bring back as much as possible of the money supplied in taxes. The reason this is worth examining further is that if it is true then only the state servants will have had an interest in the supply of coinage. It might have trickled down the exchange system but on this thesis the exchange system would have used it when available for part of its transactions and done without it when necessary. The hoards of denarii in Britain in the second century, which are not typical of other parts of the empire, can easily be seen as bags of state payments to state servants which remain 'in store' in a province where the use of coinage belonged to the upper crust. The occasions on which such bags might move from state coffers to individuals would vary, but a good example would be the honourable discharge of soldiers, at which they would receive the balance of pay, savings and a leaving gratuity. There were more than enough discharged soldiers in Britain to account for the British denarius hoards.

Does coin use in Britain follow the pattern in Gaul or does it develop an individual trend? While the dividing line on coin supply and use in the middle of the first century AD is at the Channel (Augustan supply, or not), by the early third century the dividing line is about the river Loire in the middle of France (reason totally unknown). Coin supply to Gaul in the early third century (Severus, AD 193–211) onwards varied though this is only caught in occasional glimpses as museums are trawled for local finds and very occasional large groups of site-finds are published. In the south bronze and copper continue to be found through the third century and provide some of the more common finds of the middle of the century.¹³ North of the Loire and in Britain third-century copper is rare – with only one or two exceptions. Few early third-century denarii are found in any part of Gaul but they do occur in Britain and especially on the East coast. The recently published coins from the excavations of the Shore Fort at Reculver show the presence of rare bronze coins, with one coin from the Balkans otherwise unknown in Britain, together with the expected Severan denarii.¹⁴ The Severan military expeditions to Scotland seem an appropriate explanation for the early third-century denarii on the East coast of Britain, and once again there is a link between the supply of denarii and the pay for the army.

The third century

The lack of coinage supplied in the early third century seems to support the state servant model, for denarii are definitely present around the military centres on the East coast while the bronze issues which do not arrive would be convenient if a flourishing market economy existed, but were not essential to keep the army paid and happy. But things were changing. The army was different from its classic first-century form and its installations in Britain were changing, with more attention being given to guarding the interior of the province through coastal stations. The monetary system had changed out of all recognition from the neat system of denominations of Augustus, so that by the middle of the third century the most commonly produced, used, and lost coins were the radiates, which have silver contents sliding down from forty-eight per cent (AD 194) to less than one per cent (AD 270). There was no longer a good

¹² Doyen 2007, 191–5.

¹³ Reece 1973.

¹⁴ Reece 2005.

supply of bronze denominations, few were minted after about 255, and gold issues were highly variable both in fineness and weight.

To add to the uncertainty the empire seems to me to be turning inside out.¹⁵ Motivation for extending Roman rule in the first century is constantly discussed, and opinions vary between the extremes of frank exploitation of new markets and a mission to civilize the known world. Even if mission was the prime mover it must soon have become clear that new mission fields for classical ideals were new markets for goods produced in the Mediterranean area and new sources of raw materials and minerals. This can be documented quite easily in material terms in Britain, where Italian and Gaulish pottery and wine, and Spanish oil, were imported in reasonable amounts, and there was the almost immediate imperial exploitation of the silver from the British lead mines as demonstrated by surviving stamped lead pigs. Reduced to its basics, the first and second centuries were the time when the centre ripped off the periphery.

But through the second century the provinces put their affairs in order and began to fight back. In the early third century I see a time of slack water with no very obvious balance of trade or profit in either direction, and by the later part of the third century it is Britain that seems to be booming while Italy is looking distinctly unwell in the sense of its economy and prosperity. It could be seen as the time when the provinces began to live at the expense of the centre.

The third century after about 225 presented problems as much for the paymasters of the Roman army as it presents for modern archaeologists and numismatists. The commonly struck more valuable coin, the denarius, changed into the radiate, which might be worth either two denarii, which would have to be a notional tariff, or one-and-a-half denarii, which represents its actual weight of silver as related to the denarius. The radiate itself, which was first struck in 215 at 48 per cent silver, quickly degenerated into a copper coin with a small addition of silver. Gold meanwhile became erratic both in the weight of individual coins and in the gold content. With radiate coins of such low intrinsic value, yet a notional tariff of at least a denarius, the old copper and bronze denominations had little place, so it is not surprising that few were lost after about 260. To be more accurate perhaps we should say that few ever occur as site-finds after about 260. Yet again it is possible to quibble and insist on even greater attention to detail.

The simple statement that few copper and bronze denominations occur as site-finds after about 260 is problematic. It confuses the date of the coins with the date of their loss, which has to come from the deposit in which they were found. While it is reasonable to suggest that subdivisions of the billon radiate were probably not struck in great numbers, so were not widely circulated, and thus were only available for loss in restricted parts of the empire, at the moment we just do not know when they were lost because the number of coin reports from excavations, empire wide, which give details of deposits in which each coin was found may not need the fingers of both hands to count them. This, in turn, means that not only do we not know when newly struck copper coins were lost, one by one in the third century, but we have no idea of when the great volume of earlier issues left circulation.

There is some evidence which can help. Hoards of copper coins were still being buried, judging as always by the date of the latest coin in the hoard, in the 270s. This agrees with the fact that Postumus (260–69) overstruck old sestertii to turn them into double sestertii. Sometimes it was a complete overstrike, sometimes just the addition of a radiate crown as a punch mark. Thirdly, there is the composition of barbarous coins imitating regular radiates of the 270s. Many of these coins are simple coppery discs which clean easily, but others are more bronze-looking discs which take more time to clean because they have whitish surface deposits typical of the corrosion products of tin, lead and zinc. I apologise for this inexact and anecdotal evidence, but for the moment it seems to be all we have, because there has not been a full programme of chemical analysis of Barbarous Radiates. The relevance of this to the fate of sestertii is simple, in that it is clearly good sense to melt down a single worn old sestertius

¹⁵ Reece 1981a.

containing copper mixed with lead, zinc and tin to produce several radiate coins each of a higher notional value.

The fate of silver can also be charted from hoards. My objection to writing the whole of monetary history from hoards is that they represent not the coins in general circulation but the coins chosen from circulation to put away for the future. In the case of the denarius older is finer; that is, from the 90s AD onwards older denarii have a higher ratio of silver to copper in their alloy than newer denarii. This does not mean that judged one by one an old coin will contain a higher weight of silver than a new coin, because loss by wear can overtake debasement. I have been able to show elsewhere that favouring the selection of old coins over new – provided you have a large variable groups of coins to choose from – may lose you an appreciable weight of silver.¹⁶ Leaving this on one side, it is clear that when the composition of hoards of denarii is put in sequence the rate at which the coins of each emperor drop out of circulation speeds up in the third century and few seem to be available for hoarding after about 260.¹⁷

By 270 or so bronze and copper coins were fast dropping out of use, the radiate had declined to below 1 per cent of silver, old denarii were scarce, and gold was both scarce and variable. This must have caused major problems for the payment of troops. The only possibilities were radiates and gold, because those were the only denominations being commonly minted and supplied to the provinces – and even there the supply of gold has to be a theory in the almost complete absence of evidence. While the army of the third century was different from that of the second century it still seems very unlikely that soldiers in Britain in the middle of the third century would have been satisfied with pay judged in bags of billon radiates. While there is no doubt about the garrisons in many existing forts and the building of new forts no one so far as I know has examined the question of the actual coins used for army pay at that time or the peculiarities, if any, of coin loss on military sites. On civilian sites there is little doubt about the supply, use and loss of radiate coinage because these are the coins with which coin loss at a majority of rural sites begins. The rebuilding of the typical Roman villa after the second century seems always to cover a few radiates so that such rebuildings or new foundations are constantly referred to as a time of prosperity in Britain in the late third century. It seems surprising to mention a period of affluence at a time when the supply of coinage was in crisis, so that my usual explanation has been that these low value coins, and the copies of them of even lower value, form the first coins that were relevant to trade and exchange in Britain.

An extra problem at this time is political. While the emperor Valerian was fighting off the Persians in the East the Germanic peoples in the West were threatening the Rhine. These events resulted in the establishment of an alternative government in the north west provinces. The Gallic Empire lasted from 260 until its reduction by Aurelian in 274. The central empire continued striking coins for the central emperors while the Gallic mints struck coins for the Gallic emperors. It seems likely that in the slide of debasement of those years Postumus usually managed to retain a silver content for their coins a little higher than that of his imperial rivals. Neither side would actually supply coin to its opponents, so this raises difficult questions about the date of arrival of coins of say Gallienus (sole rule 260–68) in Britain. Should they be used to date deposits in which they are found to around 265 on the assumption that they moved swiftly by some sort of diffusion, or did they only arrive in Britain after the suppression of the Gallic Empire in 274? Might they even be evidence of the central empire off-loading base earlier coinage on the provinces after 274?

The minting, release, supply and arrival of the base radiate coins struck after 260 is at present a very tangled web, which is being actively examined on the continent through the study of both hoards and site-finds, but the results have neither been fully published, nor have they leaked across the Channel. We need to do some detailed work of our own because we cannot simply accept the French work and so discount direct supply by sea from the Mediterranean; we cannot assume that whatever can be demonstrated in France necessarily

¹⁶ Reece 2008.

¹⁷ Reece 1988b.

applies to Britain after a time-lag. An excellent start on this problem can be seen in the work of Vincent Geneviève around Bordeaux and Toulouse.¹⁸

With all the problems outlined above it is not surprising that when he had brought most of the empire to order Aurelian (270–75) instituted a reform of the coinage. The weight of each new coin was raised to around 3.5 g, and the silver content was probably expected to be five per cent but seldom actually reached that figure. These coins occur commonly as site finds in the south of France, in Italy, and in the Mediterranean area in general but are rarer in the north of France and in Britain.¹⁹ The Loire divide seems still to operate. The general standard and appearance of these coins makes it easier to believe that they could be tolerated as military pay. Their rarity among British site-finds may be due to their high purchasing power compared with the former small change of the base radiate. If they were thought of as in some ways similar to the old silver denarius – with the state making a major profit by over-valuation – then their rare appearance might be explained. The coin list from a rural site rarely contains a denarius even when it is clear that the site is occupied during the second century. The rural site seldom has a reformed radiate which was only available for one or two decades. The reasons might be similar even though on discovery the denarius gleams silver while the reformed radiate looks like copper. This rise in face value does not seem adversely to have affected losses in Gaul or Italy, and a few large hoards such as that from Gloucester which consist almost entirely of these coins, show that they certainly entered Britain in reasonable numbers.

The years around 260 to 270 are marked in the coins from almost every site in Britain where coin loss suddenly increases by a large amount.²⁰ Towns show an increase in coins lost per year which far exceeds that of the second century, and in rural sites such as villages and villas radiate coins are either the first coins to be lost and found, or they form the first evidence of continuous coin loss. There is therefore the clear conjunction of a sudden province-wide increase in coin loss at the moment when the only coin available is the lowest valued coin ever lost in Britain. If we take the first-century denarius as a little heavier than the third-century radiate and the denarius of high silver content, then the official radiate (Claudius II, 268–70) with one per cent silver cannot have a bullion value of more than one hundredth of a denarius. The first-century quadrans was a quarter of an *as*, which was a quarter of a sestertius which was in turn a quarter of a denarius, so the quadrans was rated at 64 to the denarius while the radiate, in silver value, would rate at 100 to the denarius. The insoluble problem is the extent to which the purchasing power or face value of the radiate can be measured by its silver content. Even if we assume an over-valuation of the radiate of 100 per cent it comes out as little different from the rare first-century quadrans, and it is therefore eminently suitable for the market-stall type of buying and selling.

I use that phrase ‘buying and selling’ because it is the one description of the use of Roman coinage that has come down to us – from the late fourth-century pamphlet *De Rebus Bellicis* (On the things of war).²¹ But there is a gap between an eminently suitable use of such coins for buying and selling, a Roman statement that coins were meant for buying and selling, and using this as proof that by the second half of the third century low value coins were in constant use in a market economy in Roman Britain. The first two points are reasonably close to facts, the third is an interpretation, which is a quite different matter from a fact.

Britain and the Barbarous Radiate

At Aurelian’s reform of 274 the lamentable state of the coinage – a very top-down view – received attention. I suggest that an immediate reaction to this lack of interest in matters of the market place set in, causing the production of copies now known as Barbarous Radiates. These coins do copy regular issues of 260–68, such as those of Gallienus, but a majority copy

¹⁸ Geneviève 2007; Geneviève 2008.

¹⁹ Reece 1973.

²⁰ Reece 1991.

²¹ Reece 1979.

the last good-for-market coins of Victorinus, Claudius II, and the Tetrici, father and son, which all belong in the years before the Reform. They do not so often copy regular issues of Aurelian struck before his reform, which is hardly surprising since the central state would not have supplied coinage to a rebel area. On the other hand Claudius II with his typically sharp and instantly recognizable nose was a favourite subject for the copiers, so a number of his coins had got through to Britain before the production of Barbarous Radiates ceased. The contrast between the numbers of copies based on Aurelian and those based on Claudius II fits well with the recent idea that there was a re-issue of the coins commemorating the death of Claudius in 270 (Divo Claudio) some time after that date, which might have come direct to Britain. We have to wait for the second edition of *RIC* volume 5 part 1 for this to be set out in detail.

I find it difficult to avoid the interpretation that the production of Barbarous Radiates started because the supply to Britain of good-for-market coins ceased. While in the conquest period of the first century I saw a strong army involvement in coin use and copying I am not willing to see the army involvement in every town, villa, village and farmstead in third-century Britain which the widespread distribution of Barbarous Radiates would demand. Others do see an army take-over of the province but they have yet to make their extreme suggestion believable. So this leads me to the view that by the later third century a strongly coin-using economy had been established in Britain in which a substantial minority of the population took part.

From the reform of Aurelian in 274 there were only twelve years (274 to 286) before Carausius was declared as independent emperor in Britain. We ought to wait for Sam Moorhead's results from his on-going study of the coinage of Carausius and Allectus, but meanwhile I have always maintained that the early scruffy issues of that emperor grew out of the Barbarous Radiate wave and gradually spruced themselves up to equal the products of Diocletian and his fellow emperors from the central mints.

One point about Barbarous Radiates that has always been agreed is that the great majority are clearly copies, in fact they almost seem to rejoice in a style well away from the dull competence of the regular mints. This applies particularly to struck copies, but cast copies and a small number of struck copies need expert identification from those who have spent many hours on the large hoards which have been identified over the past few decades. Two points about Barbarous Radiates which were once controversial now seem reasonably secure. They were not the produce of family forging in the garden shed – in other words, very local and incompetent issues restricted to the area around the production site – and their production belongs to a period shortly after their prototypes (the last being Probus, 276–82), that is the later third and perhaps very early fourth century. The wide-ranging circulation, and therefore presumably use, of these coins can be illustrated in a map and an anecdote.

The map published by Boon shows die-links between Britain and Gaul and between many different parts of Britain.²² The question of die-links was one which Harold Mattingly was investigating in 1968 when I was identifying the coins from the Winchester excavations. I was still working on the 'local production' model and thought that this would be an excellent opportunity to examine a well-documented local group. He enthusiastically agreed, the Barbarous Radiates were studied and it is hoped that this will appear when the Winchester coins are published. But few certain die-links were found. In other words virtually every Barbarous Radiate found at Winchester came from a different die, and the links in style suggested that they belonged to several quite different areas of production. Later studies by John Davies came to rather similar conclusions with some die-links, but a greater number of links in style.²³

The suggestion of wide-ranging trade, coin use and exchange in the late third century seems surprising because that is always thought of as the typical time of storm and stress in the Empire and the monetary crisis has already been discussed. I have suggested that in a time of

²² Boon 1988, fig. 10.

²³ Davies 1988, summarized in Davies 1987.

monetary crisis leading to low-value coinage and large-scale copying it is not too surprising that people in small settlements, well away from invasions and unaware of political crises, used the coins with enthusiasm. Is there other evidence which might add to the picture?

Roger Bland pointed out to me four maps of hoarding of the period in the essential study of hoards and hoarding in the Later Empire by Richard Hobbs.²⁴ These show the concentration of hoards moving from the Danube in 238 to 259, to Gaul and Britain in 260 to 274, to Britain in 275 to 295. If hoards are always regarded as evidence of blood and thunder, pillage and destruction, these maps seem very odd. There is good evidence, both historical and archaeological, for trouble on the Danube around 238–51, and there seems to be no doubt in anyone's mind that Gaul was a centre of invasions around 270, but there is absolutely no evidence at all, either historical or archaeological, for trouble of the same sort in Britain from 275 to 295. If unrecovered hoards may have many different causes, as Peter Guest has argued powerfully, then we could look for other explanations of the maps.²⁵ If, as seems possible, the concentrations of such hoards have similar causes, and if those are all the same and not due to the effects of invasions, then the simplest alternative is to see some sort of result of coin use – or disuse and disposal – spreading from the military centre of the empire to the periphery.

Is this an example of Britain, on the edge of the empire, nearly dropping out of coin-use during a time of political crisis, burying those old and useless things called coins just in case the idea of their use ever came back? Or is it a retention of small change after the period of crisis and an economical thought of burying the old small change when new small change arrived from the mint, just in case the old came back into use? The difference is between a fringe economy always in danger of slipping back off coin use into barter and a thriving and well integrated economy with its own rules, wants and regulations. The burying of bronze discs rather than using them as scrap for recycling suggests that the owner saw more value in them as discs which were coins than as discs which were bronze scrap, an idea we will meet again. One possible comment on this difference might be seen in the composition of radiate hoards which I published in *BNJ* with Peter Guest in our review of Professor Anne Robertson's great *Inventory*.²⁶ That particular group of radiate hoards shows a very surprising similarity of composition. If they all had the same end-date, or latest coin, or if they all came from a particular area that similarity would not be so surprising. But the table of find-spots, latest coins, finding date, and number of coins (Table 3) shows that they are almost as varied as possible.

TABLE 3. Hoards ending with coins struck between 270 and 293

<i>Robertson inventory no.</i>	<i>Find-spots</i>	<i>Find date</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Latest coins</i>
732	Anglesey	1937	421	Aurelian 270–74
741	Cheshire	1957	2,443	Probus 276–82
752	Lincolnshire	1953	13,730	Probus 276–82
759	Staffordshire	1960	1,739	Probus 276–82
822	Shropshire	1977	2,582	Carinus 282–85
828	Wiltshire	1980	3,466	Diocletian 285–86
880	Hampshire	1967	7,714	Carausius 286–93
903	Caerwent	1860	1,051	Carausius 286–93

These hoards pose a number of questions but give few answers. The similarity of these hoards must mean either that the coinage pool of the 270s and 280s from Anglesey to Hampshire and Lincolnshire to Caerwent (Monmouthshire) was uniform, or that there was a central treasury from which uniform batches of mixed coin were sent out all over Britain. Either answer suggests that coin use was flourishing in uniform and organized fashion throughout Britain in a time which was supposed to be one of political and economic chaos. In fact one answer merges into the other because if uniform batches of coin were sent out from a

²⁴ Hobbs 2006, figs 6, 7 and 8.

²⁵ Guest forthcoming.

²⁶ Reece and Guest 2001; Robertson 2000.

central treasury the dispersion of such batches in payments would lead to uniform coin use throughout the province.

There is one point of non-uniformity in the find-spots of this group of hoards. They belong outside an area delimited by a line curving round from the Wash to the Solent; none of them occur in East Anglia or the heartland of the Home Counties. This point would be worth future detailed checking. John Davies has suggested a similar spatial division between hoards of Barbarous Radiates containing copies of module similar to that of the official coins (his fig. 2) and hoards containing very small copies (his fig. 3).²⁷ The hoards with mainly larger copies were grouped towards the South and East, while the small copies mainly seemed to occur in the later hoards outside the Home Counties area. In other words small copies, minims, only spread to 'the backwoods' some time after Barbarous Radiates had been in circulation in a core area.

A quick recent look, while this paper was in preparation, at the other radiate hoards and their centres of gravity suggests that Home Counties hoards do not present any close groups similar to those of the periphery. At present all the maps in the Robertson inventory are based on the latest coin in each hoard and research is clearly needed to produce another set of maps based on the groupings of hoards by centre of gravity (composition) regardless of the date of the latest coin. A second step would be to look at the centre of gravity in relation to the date of the latest coin and the place of deposition, to see if there is a movement of deposition of certain groups from early deposition in the core area to later deposition in the periphery.

On the subject of maps there are two points to be made on those in the Robertson *Inventory*. The first is the failure of hoards to congregate according to historical preconceptions. In France there was an old habit of plotting hoards on maps and then drawing lines to 'document' battles, invasions and other disasters, which I am glad to say has now almost died out. Yes, there are examples where historically recorded invasions agree with concentrations of coin hoards. The point which I made several decades ago, but which will bear repeating, is that a concentration of hoards can only be used to suggest trouble if it is reasonably localized, and that localized concentration is not visible in other areas.²⁸ So a surprising group of hoards on the German frontier of the empire with latest coins of around 238 to 250 is not repeated in other places and agrees with historically reported attacks on the frontier. Professor Robertson's meticulous work has saved us from citing non-existent invasions of Britain during the third-century troubles elsewhere. Her lists of hoards and the maps drawn from them refuse to group, clump, or even suggest pathways of invasion.²⁹ This is true not only of the troubled period (elsewhere) in the third century but throughout the Roman period in Britain.

The reason for mentioning maps at this point in our chronology – the end of the third century, is that there are two Robertson *Inventory* maps which do show interesting presences and absences. The map of hoards ending with Allectus probably shows the situation in the years around 300.³⁰ The map of hoards ending with coins struck after 388 presumably shows the state of affairs soon after 400.³¹ With 100 years of enthusiastic, even peak, coin use between them, what can be the connection? The explanation which suggests itself to me is 'change of regime'. The first, and dangerous, conclusion would be that coins of Allectus disappeared quickly after the recapture of Britain for the central empire of Diocletian. The way to check that is to look at hoards deposited after 296. I admit to surprise that in fact a quick check in the Robertson *Inventory* fails to show coins of Allectus in hoards with end dates after 296 though there are a few coins of Carausius which quickly die out. Could both the Allectan map and the post-388 map be used to suggest the spread of coin supply, or coin using, or even coin losing out from that core area around London taking time to get to the backwoods? So Allectan coins being distributed from the centre started to move out slowly in 293 but only got a certain way before the regime changed in 296. After that point Allectan coins moved very

²⁷ Davies 1992, figs 2 and 3.

²⁸ Reece 1981b.

²⁹ Robertson 2000, map 14.

³⁰ Robertson 2000, map 17.

³¹ Robertson 2000, map 24.

slowly, or not at all, or were discarded. Coins struck after 388 reached Richborough in great numbers and, if that was the main point of arrival, a proportion travelled to the edge of the core. There could have been some sort of political or social barrier to letting them go further, there could have been unwillingness to accept them in the periphery, or, by that time, the periphery was out of the habit of coin using. But there was definitely a regime change, Britain went off the Roman map, and material whether pottery or coins belonging to an earlier life-style became irrelevant.

Diocletian's reform and beyond

The period immediately after Diocletian's much underestimated reform of 294–95 is one that has puzzled me for decades. The coinage coming into Britain can be divided up into four main phases, two of which we have already dealt with, 32 BC to about AD 238 (the denarius period), 238 to 296 (the radiate period), 296 to 330 (the follis/nummus period) and finally the late period from 330 to 402. Different sites in Britain used and lost coins of the different phases in different proportions.³² Towns and military sites lost more denarius-period coins than the British average while rural sites lost less. Towns have about an equal number of radiate coins and late coins while rural sites have about three times the number of late coins compared with radiate coins. Differences can be quite easily seen, and if the subject is approached numerically with diagrams the different types of British sites can be shown to group together according to the phase of coins lost: except for the period 296 to 330. In this period, the coinage that is lost seems to be absolutely uniform throughout Britain. Sites cannot be classified according to the coins of that period lost on them, and no reason for this uniformity has yet suggested itself. But if there is uniformity within Britain there is diversity in the Empire.³³

The Diocletianic system stretched in theory from the gold piece, only a little less valuable than the old aureus, down to the smallest coin, which might have been worth two Diocletianic denarii (DD). This unit bore no relation to the old silver denarius of the second century and is a notional unit of account. The purchasing power of these denarii can be examined from the contemporary Edict on Maximum Prices, which gives the highest price allowed for a large range of material. While five pounds of cut grass were priced at one DD, a prod or whip at five DD, the price of luxuries such as a tanned seal-skin went up into the thousands of DD. It seems as if the two ideas – a new coinage system of use at all economic levels, and an edict on prices to cut inflation at a stroke – should have set the monetary and economic system on a firm basis. Unfortunately both systems had flaws and those were mainly related to the gap between theory and practice. The fact that the Edict was on maximum prices with the death penalty for buyer and seller alike if they exceeded the set limits means that it was inexact in its provisions and hopelessly idealistic in its application.

The new coinage system of 294, modified later, with (perhaps) values of 2, 5, 25, 100 and 600 DD, would have been an almost perfect system if all the values had been equally minted and supplied. But as in the case of the Augustan system those who planned the system and put it into operation seem to have disregarded the lower end of the market. The 25 DD coin (follis or nummus), perfect for paying the maximum daily wages of a sewer-cleaner or camel driver, was struck in substantial numbers and seems to have been distributed around the empire. The camel driver will of course have wanted to spend his wages and the 5 DD coin (radiate) will have been essential for change. This coin is the most commonly found coin in the Mediterranean area, far out-stripping the follis/nummus in lists of coins excavated from sites, but it is distinctly rare in Britain. Finally the 2 DD piece is essential if goods are bought with a 5 DD coin and change is required but I have only ever seen two of these coins from excavations in England, and very few in any museum or collection in France, Germany or Italy. Just as in the middle of the first century AD the coins for buying goods from the market are available, but the coins necessary for the market trader to give change are missing.

³² Reece 1991.

³³ Reece 1988a.

The fate of both the Edict on Maximum Prices and the coinage system was the same. The Edict had been forgotten within ten years, inflation continued at a considerable rate, and the coins issued changed rapidly, falling in size and purchasing power phase by phase till about 330. Conversely the number of coins found in excavations rose as their size and value seems to have dropped. What we don't know is whether this represents a constant loss of value or a boom in the economy.

A modern illustration might make this clear. If we had only coins with a purchasing power of two pounds to spend in year one and 50 of those coins were lost that is a total loss of £100. If in year 5 there was still only that one same type of coin but its purchasing power had dropped to one pound there are three possibilities:

- there might be 50 of those coins lost and this would mean a drop in the total value-loss from £100 to £50 (market declining?);
- there might be 100 of those coins lost and this would mean the total value-loss kept up to £100 (market steady?);
- finally the lower purchasing power might mean that the coins had become more relevant to everyday purchases, the occasion when coins are most likely to be lost, and 200 of these coins were lost making a total value-loss now increased to £200 (market booming?).

This outlines the problem which faces the numismatist who is asked to interpret coin finds in terms of economic activity and it was forcibly brought out in the open by John Kent in response to a lecture I gave on coin finds in Italy.

Constant numbers or constant value?

The diagram (Fig. 1) simply divides up the coins found from a selection of sites in Italy and the Mediterranean area (Med Mean) into roughly twenty-year periods over 400 years, from AD 1 to 400. In fact there are 21 periods, but for the sake of simplicity let us keep to 20 periods in 400 years so that each period represents 1/20th of the time, or 5 per cent. We put on the diagram the percentage of the total coins found that belong to each period and we add them up as we go along. If period 1 has 4 per cent of the total we plot that, if period 2 has 5 per cent, we add that to give 9 per cent of the total coins found at the end of period 2, and so on.

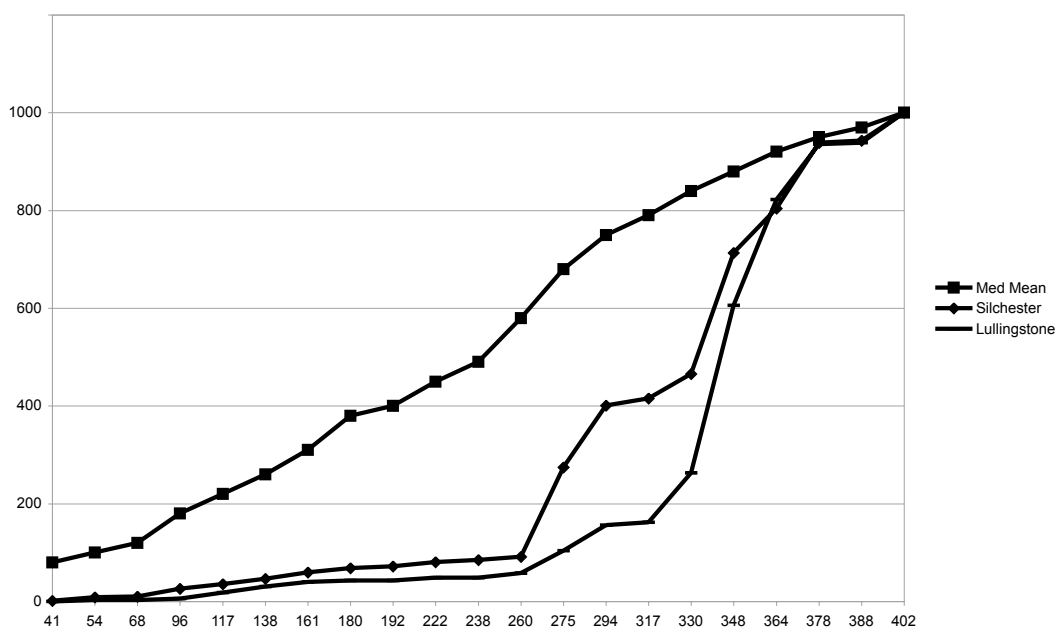


Fig. 1. Coins found on Mediterranean and British sites, AD 1 to 400

Note. Horizontal axis years AD, vertical axis cumulative values per thousand of coins lost.

The result is a fairly direct, if wobbly, line from 0 to 100 per cent, suggesting that roughly the same number of coins is lost in each period.

Dr Kent suggested that this diagram cannot be a true representation of coins found because the losses in the first and second centuries were 'proper' coins, denarii, sestertii and asses, whereas the coins lost in the fourth century were scrappy copper discs. While a little dismissive of the fourth century coinage this is a fair comment. It raises in very clear form the problem of constant coin-number loss and constant value loss. Since some sites do show coin loss with the same number of coins lost in each decade of the fourth century as the first century – but very different coins – we have to try to decide whether the losses represent constant value or not. If they do, then it suggests that the 'scrappy copper discs' of the fourth century held a purchasing power much higher than we might expect. For part of the fourth century (300 to 358) this could be justified by pointing out that the discs were not just copper but contained a small percentage of silver, up to one per cent or so. With treatment for leaching away some of the copper in the surface after the coins were struck but before they were released from the mint the public saw them for their first few months as 'silvery' coins. They might therefore have been given a purchasing power according to their silvery appearance.

The outlook for this interpretation is not good for two reasons. If silver was the deciding factor then one per cent of silver would tariff the intrinsic value of these coins at 100 to the silver piece. Disregarding fairly small differences in weight and fineness, 100 of these coins to a fourth-century silver piece is quite different from four large bronze sestertii to a silver denarius. The second problem is what happened after about 358 when the addition of small amounts of silver to the copper coinage ceased. If the notion based on silver content were correct then the number of bronze coins on the 'constant value' theory ought to jump up at 364 at the latest. This does not happen. In fact it is quite common for the silver-less coins of the House of Valentinian (364–378) to be a little fewer in number than the silvery coins of the House of Constantine (306–361).

What is the alternative? It is one which has had far-reaching effects on late Roman archaeology. If the idea of constant value loss cannot be sustained then the coin finds must mean that less money-value or purchasing power was being lost in towns in Italy and much of France in the fourth century than in earlier centuries. In other words, it seems that such towns were in economic decline in the fourth century. Of course this needs to be argued out in detail in relation to the archaeological evidence. While at first this idea was unacceptable I think it is fair to say that it has gradually been gaining ground over the last forty years. Exactly the same problem worries Jean-Marc Doyen in his publication of the coins from Reims, and in that case the reduction in coin loss can be partly matched with the reduced area occupied inside the town walls.³⁴ But let us return to Britain.

Before we go back to the peak time of coin use in Britain we should look at how Britain compares with the Mediterranean area and how different types of site in Britain compare with one another. The surprising feature of some Italian and French towns is that the coins found in them seem to stay relatively level as they are lost year by year, decade by decade and even century by century. This is not the case in Britain as a comparison of the Mediterranean curve with typical British curves (Fig. 1 above) shows.

To one way of thinking the British town, Silchester on the diagram, makes much better sense than the Mediterranean town. As the value of coins dropped the number of coins lost rose. Following the same train of thought the British rural site, the villa at Lullingstone on the diagram, makes even better sense with even greater relative late coin loss than the town. If the British town is surviving better economically than the Mediterranean town, the village, villa or farmstead in Britain is surviving even better than that. The bulk of these coins belong to the years from about 330 to 380 and, for the first thirty years of that period the coins so commonly lost have a silver component which presumably gave them a value above that of the copper disc. Or do they? The problem, once again, is copying.

³⁴ Doyen 2007, 382–90.

Constantinian copies

The whole problem of regular coins of the House of Constantine and copies was examined by Mike Hammerson.³⁵ He demonstrated that while there were coins that were clearly regular, and there were coins that were clearly copies – ranging, as I like to put it, from the immaculate to the inarticulate – a majority clumped in the centre of any attempted separation. They are neither obviously irregular nor blundered copies as far as style goes. They may be a little smaller than the best regular coins, but then, so are some of the equally good coins of completely regular style. All that sounds very subjective, yet if hard and fast weights and measurements are used there is no obvious break point between the two extremes. The one characteristic which has separated out two groups in the coins from one hoard – and I carefully avoid saying regular coins and copies – is work by Cathy King in which clearly regular coins contained that small amount of silver while the doubtful coins contained no silver.³⁶ What is now needed is a project like that mounted on the Claudian coins in France by Besombes and Barradon. It seems to me a neat and highly desirable post-graduate project to take a good number of Constantinian copies – those from Richborough on which Hammerson worked would be ideal – and submit them to chemical analysis. A first step would be to take clear copies and clear regular coins and give those a full analysis. If this was successful and suggested two reasonably clear groups a larger number of coins which had not undergone stylistic study should be more briefly analysed and the results compared with stylistic analysis. By ‘brief analysis’ I mean that only two or three elements which had been found diagnostic in the full analysis need be examined, or perhaps even a simple presence or absence.

There is one good reason why the copies might not have contained any silver as a matter of policy and that is the state attitude to silver. It is in some sense *sacra*, sacred, set apart, almost a part of the emperor and to misuse silver was to some extent regarded as the equivalent of an attack on the emperor’s person. If these copies were not authorized then to add silver to them, wherever it had come from, would have put the copiers in a dangerous legal position. If they were merely striking bronze discs which were like the official coinage then their punishment if anyone bothered to pursue and catch them might be limited to a mild form such as heavy labour for life rather than capital punishment.

Why were the coins copied when the official mints seem to have been striking so many coins between 330 and 341? At this point the *entente cordiale* breaks down and friendly open warfare begins. As recently as the publication of Jean-Marc Doyen’s great work on the coinage found at Reims the split opened up again. It all depends on what you think the mints were doing, or not doing, between 330 and the great reform dated by the 1100th anniversary of the City of Rome in 348. The French opinion is that the mints produced coins continuously if perhaps irregularly over that period. Then, perhaps around 354, either production weakened or supply became intermittent, and copies were produced ranging from originals struck in 330 (Wolf and Twins, Soldiers and Standards) to the well-known copies of the Fallen Horseman (350 onwards). This has most recently been set out by Doyen in very moderate tones with full references.³⁷

Ever since Carson, Hill and Kent revolutionized the study, identification and dating of ‘Late Roman Bronze Coinage’ from 324 to 498 the British view has been that there were gaps in coin production in different mints at different times.³⁸ One gap occurred shortly after the death of Constantine II in 340. The reasoning here is that the three sons of Constantine share substantial production of coins, and mint-marks, after the death of their father in 337 until the death of Constantine II in 340, after which each western mint produced coins with only one or two mint-marks for which there are no coins of Constantine II. Given the proliferation of mint-marks before 340 the simplest explanation for this tailing off is that the western mints stopped production shortly after 340 – say 341, and did not start again for a few years. This

³⁵ Hammerson 1980.

³⁶ King 1978.

³⁷ Doyen 2007, 320–7.

³⁸ Carson, Hill and Kent 1960.

gap in production widened to become almost a diplomatic incident when Constantius II, the eldest son, with responsibility in the East, indelicately proclaimed his superiority over his younger brother Constans, with responsibility in the West. Constantius II had been proclaimed Caesar in 323 and was therefore entitled to renew his imperial vows when he completed twenty years in 343, and to look forward to his thirtieth anniversary ten years in the future. About 343 his mints in the East therefore started issuing copper coins with the reverse VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX – twenty years completed, vows undertaken for the next ten.

This posed a problem for the court of Constans because after Diocletian's empire-wide reform of the mints and currency all mints tended to follow the lines set down for reverse types by the highest authority. From 330 to 341 all mints struck reverses either for the two imperial cities, Rome (Urbs Roma, Wolf and Twins), or Constantinople (Constantinopolis, Victory on prow), or reverses showing two soldiers holding military standards. Constans failed to take up the challenge in 343, perhaps because it would have meant admitting his junior status to every coin using person in the western empire. He had been proclaimed Caesar in 333 so he would have had to strike copper coins with the reverse VOT/X/MVLT/XX. Instead he seems to have waited for a time and then introduced a new reverse when his mints began to issue bronze again showing two Victories facing one another with the legend VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN (the victories of our lords the emperors).

After this disputed period all mints in East and West then swung into full production for the anniversary year of 348. The reason Carson and Kent attached the victory coins as a prelude to the issues of 348 and left a gap between 341 and perhaps 345 was simply that the style of the emperor's bust changed during the victory issues from the old (330 to 340) style to the new style of the Return of the Happiness of Former Times (Fel Temp Reparatio), the 1100th anniversary. We can leave aside the point that *Later Roman Bronze Coinage* dated the Fel Temp Reparatio issues to 346 because both Carson and Kent later happily admitted that they had made a mistake. They saw so many different types and weights of coins to fit in between 348 and 350 that they felt more time was needed. However, when they realised that the coins formed a series of denominations so that they fitted well together, no extra time was needed, and the issues could return to the appropriate year of 348. John Kent's three-page paper explaining the importance of the Phoenix to this period rates, in my estimation, as one of the most concise and important papers ever published.³⁹

At this point I entered the discussion with the need to explain the rash of Constantinian copies and this coincided with the Carson-Kent chronology.⁴⁰ It seemed then, and it still seems now, that the two factors fit well together so that they can both be accommodated in a single explanation. The years immediately after 330, for whatever reason, saw a great expansion of production by the imperial mints in the West and a corresponding acceptance, use and loss of these coins in Britain. Suddenly the supply stopped early in 341 bringing copious supply to an end. The British coin users had become accustomed to that constant supply so that something had to be done to alleviate the shortage of new coin. The last issues to come in were enthusiastically copied in a remarkable variety of styles and competence, the best of which were indistinguishable from the regular coins whose supply had stopped at source. After four years or so of home supply, production at the western mints suddenly started up again with the Two Victories issues and the need to copy vanished. Copies of the Two Victories do exist but they are much less common than the copies of the Wolf and Twins, Victory on Prow, and Two Soldiers. But the story can be continued before we try to derive wider meaning from events.

In 348 the coinage was reformed. Use of that word always means that the state disregarded the likes and needs of the general population by upgrading the value of the commonly struck coinage for its own purposes. I think a clear example has already been demonstrated in the reform of 274.⁴¹ Then, as in 348, those purposes involved the paying of state bills which are more simply settled with smaller amounts of high value coinage rather than sacks full of

³⁹ Kent 1967.

⁴⁰ Reece 1973, 242–4.

⁴¹ See pp. 16–17 above.

intrinsically worthless copper discs. On the other hand the market – in the sense of pile it high and sell it cheap, to use a modern example – works best with a substantial float of small coins in order to give quick and exact change to customers tendering higher value coins. In 348 things were not as bad as they could have been because there was the system of denominations which at first foxed Carson and Kent so that the inconvenience of the larger coins was offset by the smaller issues with the Phoenix reverse.

By about 354, after the revolt of Magnentius had been contained and eliminated the state both increased the general module of the coinage and apparently sent most of the mint products to the Mediterranean area. The regular coins with reverses of the Fallen Horseman are some of the most common fourth-century coins found on any Mediterranean site. In Britain they are distinctly unusual finds, and any regular coins are always accompanied by numerous copies. These seldom, if ever, achieve the high standard of some of the copying of the issues of 330 to 341, are struck on very irregular flans, and are sometimes overstruck on both regular coins of 330 to 341 and their copies. This overstriking of Fallen Horseman (354–8) on Wolf and Twins (330–41) encourages me to separate out these two periods of copying because I have never seen a Wolf and Twins overstruck on a Fallen Horseman. This suggests that the copies of regular coins of 330–41 had ceased to be made before the Fallen Horseman and its copies began their short life. In deference to the magnificent work of Doyen I ought to add here the brief but telling phrase ‘in Britain, at least’.

In contrast to the period of Diocletian’s reform when Britain received the largest copper/silver coin, the Mediterranean area received the medium, radiate coins, and no one received the smallest coin, the period around 385 to 390 reversed the trend. At this point Magnus Maximus struck smaller and larger copper coins. The larger coins belong to the Mediterranean story while the smaller coins move Britain towards the last issues of copper coin to enter the province.

The return of silver

This leaves us with the sudden re-introduction of silver to common currency, and Britain’s attitude to it. Diocletian had made a good silver coin part of his system but something was wrong and it slid remarkably quickly into a debased oblivion, from which Constantine rescued it around 327 but only for ‘official’ use. That is, such coins were continuously produced from c.327 onwards but very few are found today, so it is assumed that very few were issued and those were intended for use by the state and not by the masses. Suddenly in around 357 the silver coin known today as the *siliqua* was reduced in weight, but not in its fineness of around 96 per cent silver, and a moderate number are known as modern finds. In Britain they occur as site finds at the rate of about one *siliqua* for 1,000 total site finds. This may be a higher proportion than is found in Germany, France or Italy, but comparative material from excavations is not yet common enough to make firm judgements.

The problem of the instability of the copper/silver coinage from its inception to its end and the substantial inflation which accompanied it seem to me to be questions which contain their own answer. When the state debases silver it goes off the bullion silver standard and the coinage seems to have a tendency to find its own value or purchasing power. This presumably is reflected in the face-value of goods for sale which increase to find an equilibrium with the coinage. More money is needed so more coins are struck with less silver in them and the result seems to be a free-for-all in which market activity increases – as judged by coins lost. Diocletian may have made the right decision in re-introducing bullion silver coinage, but either the continuation of the base copper/silver coinage undermined the reform, or the pure silver was put into circulation at the wrong tariff. The monetary managers of around 357 seem to have made the correct decision in increasing the amounts of bullion silver issued at a lower weight and soon afterwards taking the silver out of the small copper coins to provide real small change minted in large amounts for the first time in the Roman Empire.

I am intrigued by this sequence of good silver coinage (with or without accompanying small change) falling into debasement. The final result of debasement, if allowed to run its

course, eliminates copper small change which becomes worthless, so that the debased silver eventually turns into small change and good silver is re-introduced. It would be good if ancient, medieval and modern parallels could be investigated and compared, but I am not the person to do it.

The next step in the discussion of the Roman use of silver depends on the finding of the Hoxne hoard of gold and silver coins and objects and particularly in its study and publication by Peter Guest.⁴² With the large numbers of coins available he was able to extend earlier work on both the regular coins and groups of copies which had previously had a rather shadowy existence simply because they only turned up in twos and threes. He was able to isolate three groups of copies. In each group there is quite strong die-linking, but there are no die-links between the groups. This strongly suggests that the three groups were produced at different times (or possibly, but less likely, different places) because continuous production of all the copies in the same place at the same time would be almost certain to produce a full set of links between the dies used in different issues. The regular coins seem to belong to a stop-go system of production so that at times moderate numbers of coins seem to reach Britain but at other times, virtually none. Unfortunately the scarcity of other similar large hoards from Britain and the virtual absence elsewhere in the empire of hoards surviving for study, means that we do not know whether these periods of shortage are periods of mint inactivity or periods of low supply to Britain. Guest also noted that each of the groups seems to base its copies on the last issues coming in before a period of shortage. The simplest explanation of this is that a group of copies followed soon after the end of supply of the regular coins being copied. Finally, a large number of coins in the hoards are clipped, but both regular coins and copies are clipped, so at least some of the copies were struck before some of the clipping happened. Analysis of the regular coins and the copies found very little, if any, difference between their metal alloy. The simplest hypothesis is that the copies were minted on flans prepared by melting down clippings from pre-existing coins.

While the picture of shortage and copying might by now be expected there are two linked elements here which differ from earlier copying sprees. The copies are visually difficult to distinguish from the regular coins and it is sometimes a matter of a very trained eye and even then the need of a large volume of material for comparison. Metallurgically the copies cannot be distinguished from the regular coins. This makes these late silver copies quite different from Claudian copies, Barbarous Radiates and Fallen Horseman copies. We do not know as yet whether some of the excellent copies of the House of Constantine have the requisite silver content to match the regular coins and this is a matter which needs immediate attention.

How do the silver copies which seem to fill in the gaps of *siliqua* production in the last decades of the fourth century fit into this picture? They are different from earlier copying in several ways. The copying is almost exact, it involves the explicit re-use of silver and it supplies the gaps in production but seems to give up at the end of supply. While it might be coincidence it also marks the end of the large-scale copying of copper coins. This seems a major break in tradition.

The change in the coinage around the year 356–58 is one that has received little comment and I think it has been unjustly neglected. After sixty years of one system of coinage in which the value of copper coins was increased by the addition of a small percentage of silver the process was discontinued and a simple copper coinage returned to the Empire, certainly after 363, after a gap of over a hundred years. The disappearance of silvered copper which I assume was more like very heavily over-valued bronze was made up for by the issue of a reasonable amount of silver of high fineness and reduced weight. It would be interesting to try to calculate whether the removal of silver from the base copper was fully invested in the increased amounts of pure silver coinage issued but such calculations are at present impossible. The end of base silver coinage fairly quickly marks a change in the coinage in datable hoards. While hoards with end-dates up to about 370 contain a proportion of earlier issues, hoards buried

⁴² Guest 2005.

late in the time of the House of Valentinian (364–78) already show a drop in this proportion, and hoards later than this seldom have many coins earlier than 364.

It would be good here to bring in comparative evidence from other provinces but the material simply has not been found. The sound foundation of the study of British silver copies depends on the study of the Hoxne hoard, for while such copies had been seen before the discovery of that hoard there were far too few of them to suggest a coherent picture of die-links and groups. Similar hoards outside Britain are very rare, and none has survived intact for study, so we do not know whether copying is a British peculiarity. On the other hand, British copies seem connected to the clipping of regular coins to provide the silver, and clipping does seem to be particularly British. So much so that the discovery of one or two clipped siliquae in a small hoard discovered high in the Pyrenees has been taken as evidence of British soldiers with British pay moving down to Spain to fight for Constantine III.⁴³

Sadly we have to note that while the analyses of regular and copied coins from the Hoxne hoard show very close similarities in metal content it could be that analyses of silver plate of the period show equally close links. The silver alloy used for coinage and for plate is consistently similar at this period. So it is possible that the gaps in supply of regular silver coins from the continental mints could have been closed by requisition of silver plate, its dismemberment, melting down, and re-striking. This of course is reminiscent of *Hacksilber* and it would clearly be a very economical hypothesis to suggest that while the state controlled late coinage any requisitions of plate, cut up, melted down, had to be turned into official coinage. Later on, after final struggles to keep up the Roman system, the absence of the state removed the need to re-model silver into coinage and *Hacksilber* prevailed.⁴⁴

This goes against an argument that I had formed (but not published) to explain the unusual presence of late silver coins as site-finds and hoards in Britain. I suggested that siliquae circulated in moderate numbers over the whole of the western empire till they were recycled and formed into newer coinage. The peculiarity in Britain was that the coins of the latest fourth century were never officially recycled so that they remained after the idea of coin use had ended. If they were not officially recycled into new silver coins by the state why were they not recycled after the withdrawal of Roman officialdom into plate or jewellery? An important point here is that while clipping took little notice of the legend on the coins it always respected the imperial portrait. It is obviously highly speculative but it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the last siliquae were buried ‘for the future’ because the imperial portrait still had a hold over the imagination.

Silver coinage did continue to be minted in the empire after Britain ceased to be governed from Rome but in sharply decreasing amounts. It might be suggested that this is just one of the effects of the breakdown and dismemberment of the western empire but this will not work because the same happened in the surviving East. The drop in production in the fifth century was so great that it led Grierson in his discussion of the fifth-century coinage to suggest that later fifth- and sixth-century silver coins were produced only in small numbers for ceremonial occasions.⁴⁵ This agrees well with the fifth-century silver coinage reported in the *Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland* where they invariably occur as grave finds so they could well be ‘honours’ buried with the deceased rather than money offerings for the afterlife.

The whole subject of the nature and date of the end of the use of Roman coinage in Britain would need a discussion as long as that which has already taken place so I end with a personal view. I strongly suspect that by the end of the fourth century civilian direction and involvement in coinage was minimal or non-existent so that the end of state direction of coinage meant the end of coinage. The problem of coin supply around 400 is the final shortage and it is the exception. After coins of the House of Theodosius were no longer sent to Britain there was not a spate of copying. There are a few examples of very late copies, just as there are a few

⁴³ Berdeaux-Le Brasidéc and Hollard 2008.

⁴⁴ Reece forthcoming.

⁴⁵ Grierson 1992.

arrivals of coins minted after 400, but they are all rare. For some reason, after making copying at times of shortage almost a provincial habit the Britons of the early fifth century went off the Roman standard and abandoned the use of coinage.

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FIFTY SCEATTAS FROM SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE

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OF late years (to misquote Charlotte Brontë), an abundant shower of hypotheses has fallen upon the west Midlands: they lie very thick at Bidford-on-Avon. The numerous sceattas and early pennies found there have acquired a quite specific commercial explanation. The total number of finds from Bidford and its immediate vicinity currently stands at 55 sceattas (including one Merovingian denier) and 12 pennies (including one Carolingian denier). They were there, so the hypothesis goes, because of the transportation of salt from Droitwich, *en route* to the Thames and eventually by boat as far as London. We shall try to show that that interpretation is unacceptable. What is distressing is that ideas which began, quite properly, as hypotheses should have hardened by dint of mere repetition into certainty, and become, in some minds, unquestioned fact.

Modern Bidford lies some fifteen miles south-east of Droitwich, just to the west of where the Icknield Way crossed the River Avon by means of a ford. And at the centre of modern Bidford a lesser Roman road, Ryknield Street, crossed the Avon. Excavations by Hirst found traces of a crossing on the northern edge of the river immediately to the west of Bidford bridge, where there was a causeway ‘of Roman or later’ date, made of lias slabs and gravel.¹ The salt trade from Droitwich to London could, in the eighth and ninth centuries, have made use of these ancient routeways. Whether it in fact did so is not open to proof. The presence of a very large early cemetery attests to the long history of the place, before the arrival of Anglo-Saxon coins.² But the recovery at Bidford of more than fifty sceattas, plus eleven early pennies (all of which are catalogued in this article), marks it out as one of the most prolific and now one of the best-recorded ‘productive sites’, anywhere in England. Even if there had been many fewer finds, it would be unusual and would attract our attention, because it is so far towards the west. Single finds of sceattas are relatively much more plentiful in the eastern and southern counties of England, and they thin out westwards. In the west Midlands the scatter of finds is extremely thin. There is nowhere else where more than two or three sceattas have been found. Bidford’s isolated monetary importance led Maddicott to ask, in 2005, whether it derived from the salt trade.³ This tentative suggestion has been acclaimed by archaeologists. Indeed, a recent article has as its title, ‘A productive site at Bidford on Avon, Warwickshire: salt, communication and trade in Anglo-Saxon England’.⁴ The (unspoken) unpackaging of the idea that trade in salt explains the sceattas from Bidford would be that the salt was bought and sold there – rather than at Droitwich itself, where the brine springs lay, but where no sceattas have been found.

Now, one should resist the temptation to grade productive sites in importance simply according to the total number of sceattas that have been found, because so much may depend on modern circumstances, such as detectorists having chanced to find the site, its accessibility, and the intensity or persistence of searching.⁵ There may, for all we can say to the contrary, be an undiscovered productive site at Droitwich. Nevertheless, Bidford is a major site. From a scientific point of view it has the great merit that virtually all the metal-detecting there has been conducted by one individual (R.J.L.) throughout, since 1987. All the finds have been

¹ Webster and Cherry 1980, 233 (reporting on work by S. Hirst).

² Humphries *et al.* 1923; Wise and Seaby 1995; Ford 1996.

³ Maddicott 2005. See also Hooke 1981.

⁴ Naylor and Richards 2010.

⁵ The classic case is Fordwich, near Canterbury. Two fields, one on either side of the village, yielded coins. After a few years they ceased to be accessible, because of set-aside and tree-planting. Had it been otherwise, Fordwich would probably have produced a large range of sceattas.

faithfully reported. We can therefore confidently treat them as a random sample of what was accidentally lost. It is the proportions of the different types, rather than the total, which constitutes the more secure evidence – although a large sample is of course helpful in lessening the quirks of statistical variation.

Della Hooke set the charter evidence for the Droitwich salt industry in context, and Maddicott in his recent paper in *Anglo-Saxon England* has given us a wide-ranging survey of Droitwich's salt production and trade specifically in the period of the sceattas, demonstrating from charter evidence the participation of the kings of Mercia in the industry. Of particular interest is a charter of 716 × 717 by which King Æthelbald acquired from the church of Worcester six furnaces, etc. at Upwich in exchange for others at Lootwic and Coolbeorg on the other side of the River Salwarpe.⁶ It was a highly lucrative and large-scale industry, for salt was an essential commodity for preserving butter and cheese, fish, and meat. The annual production of salt at Droitwich has been conservatively estimated at about 1,300 tons. The rewards were shared by various monasteries, which were granted part of the productive capacity. Eleven monasteries are known to have been founded in Worcestershire by c.720, and at least twenty-nine by 800. The salt was distributed to many destinations. From Droitwich a network of salt-ways radiated to all points of the compass, not just towards the south-east and eventually London. These saltways of the early middle ages have been mapped by Hooke.⁷

Maddicott offered sceatta finds as part of the evidence suggestive of trade between Droitwich and London. 'The pattern of coin finds from the south-west Midlands', he wrote, 'is suggestive of a London connection. Of the eighth-century coins discovered in the region, one type predominates: the Series L sceattas in the so-called "Hwiccian" style... One place in particular [Bidford] stands out for its possible commercial significance'.⁸ 'Predominates' is perhaps misleading as it stands. He is able to cite five widely-scattered single finds of the 'Hwiccian' coins from Chedworth, Shakenoak, Badsey, Sedgeberrow, and Alvechurch. One of us (D.M.M.) suggested in 1976 that coins in this style were actually minted in Hwiccia,⁹ mentioning also a find from Portishead on the Bristol Channel coast.¹⁰ Since then, however, two if not three specimens have been published from a productive site near Royston, another find near Cambridge, and two from Ford, near Old Sarum. Among other finds of 'Hwiccian' sceattas, three from the middle Thames valley help to confirm the London connection. They are from Eynsham Abbey (Coin Register 1990, 189), Didcot (CR 2008, 154), and Upton (CR 1992, 237) – all in Oxfordshire.¹¹ A pair of published maps showing their frequency in the currency regionally throughout southern England by regression analysis now need up-dating, but the rest of Series L still looks quite different.¹² It is the contrast that is of key interest. Might the 'Hwiccian' sceattas have been carried to London in the course of trade, and dispersed again from there, e.g. to Royston? Their region of minting remains debateable.

The 'Hwiccian' sceattas are late in date, somewhere around 740, and it is true that for a few years at that time they predominate in the west Midlands. The finds there may lead us to ask ourselves whether they imply a balance-of-payments transfer of coinage from London to Droitwich – which then stimulated a money economy in the local region? And because of the productive site, are we to suppose that the buying and selling of the salt took place at Bidford? But they make up only about ten per cent of the single finds of sceattas from that wide region (four out of just forty-one finds listed by Naylor), and only eight per cent at Bidford, where two of the four recorded specimens are, in fact, from the near-by habitation site of Marlcliff, a mile to the south, on the other side of the river, not from Bidford itself (see Map 1, p. 35).¹³ If Bidford had been the centre of monetary diffusion for thirty or so miles around, should it

⁶ S 102 (trans. Whitelock 1979, no. 64); see the map in Hooke 1981, 130.

⁷ Hooke 1981, 138.

⁸ Maddicott 2005, 45f.

⁹ Metcalf 1976. For Badsey and Sedgebarrow, see Wight 1944 and Metcalf 1976.

¹⁰ Grinsell 1970 (Portishead).

¹¹ Blackburn and Bonser 1986, 74, where the new assessment is fully discussed; Metcalf 1994, 406–9.

¹² Metcalf 2003, Maps 3 and 4, at pp. 44 and 46.

¹³ See below, catalogue nos. 51–4.

not show the higher proportion of the two (eight per cent *v.* ten per cent)? That was what happened with Series D and E (discussed below).

Moreover, earlier sceatta types believed to have been minted in London (in particular the preceding varieties in Series L) are absent, both at Bidford and in the west Midlands, other than a Type 23e from Temple Guiting, Glos.

Two or three decades earlier than primary-phase sceattas, sceattas of Series D and E minted in the Netherlands are conspicuously plentiful at Bidford (17 out of 30, or 57 per cent), and plentiful also in the west Midlands generally (among the 41 single finds mentioned above, 9 out of 21, or 43 per cent). Does Maddicott's suggestion that merchants from the Rhine mouths region or from Friesland would come all the way to Bidford to buy salt sound likely?¹⁴ Surely they could have bought salt nearer to home, with lower transport costs? Again, a note of caution is needed, to say that the Netherlands coins circulated freely in London and the south-east, and that their arrival at Bidford could, so far as the argument goes, have been in the hands of English merchants. Just because a coin was of foreign origin does not necessarily imply that it had been carried directly from abroad, and spent by a foreigner. If, however, the proportion of the foreign coins at Bidford greatly exceeds the corresponding proportion at London, one is on firmer ground. Regression analysis has been used to map the frequency of primary-phase porcupines regionally throughout England, and similar information is available for Series D.¹⁵ In short, the percentage for London is in the low twenties, and for east Kent it is roughly 40 per cent, against 57 per cent at Bidford. As regards London, that looks statistically clear-cut, and we can indeed say that foreign merchants came direct to Bidford, in the primary-phase period, and spent a lot of money there. But was salt what they were buying?

We turn next to a more elaborate and less well-founded hypothesis – Ossa piled on Pelion. Naylor writes, 'As mentioned above, this site has been convincingly (*sic*) associated with the trade in Droitwich salt, one of the region's most important industries, with the atypical coin loss patterns at Bidford interpreted as being related to serious flooding at the brine springs in the eighth century as shown by the excavations at Upwich'.¹⁶ The 'atypical coin loss patterns', referring to an above average ratio of primary-phase to secondary-phase sceattas, as compared with sites further east, is a factoid. Naylor and Richards have published a histogram with two columns showing the chronological distribution of the Bidford finds, with the first column, 42 per cent, from the years 680–710, and only 10 per cent from 710 to 740.¹⁷ Corresponding updated figures, from the catalogue below, would be 46 and 38 per cent, much less of a decline. Further, the suggested dates for the two columns are almost certainly misleading. The early part of the English primary phase (Series A and BI) is unrepresented at Bidford. And Series D, Type 2c, for example, is necessarily later than Series C, which it imitates. Most of the specimens of Series D and E are of later sub-varieties within those series. The date of transition between primary and secondary sceattas has recently been advanced by up to a decade, to *c.* 720, by reference to the Netherlands evidence and the death of King Radbod.¹⁸ Moreover, the dates refer to dates of minting, not of loss. In short, it seems doubtful whether more than one or two of the catalogued coins from Bidford were lost before 710.

More puzzling is the proposed connection with flooding at Droitwich. Hurst and Hemingway, the excavators, discuss and illustrate the thick alluvial deposit caused by (annual?) flooding at Upwich.¹⁹ As may be imagined, they found very little that was dateable within the alluvium (radiocarbon dates of 442–598 and 542–607), but judged that the beginning and end of the episode could be dated, in so far as the alluvium sealed hearths (radiocarbon date 600–660)

¹⁴ Maddicott 2005, 46.

¹⁵ Metcalf 2003, map at p. 42, for the primary-phase porcupines. For Series D, see the map, Fig. 7.4, at p. 186 in Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009. Single finds of Series D plus primary E are in the ratio 84:100 in the south east, and 58:100 in the (south-) western Midlands.

¹⁶ Naylor 2011, 297.

¹⁷ Naylor and Richards 2010, 196.

¹⁸ See Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009, Chapter 8.2, 'Attaching political significance to the "porcupine" design: the date of transition from Series D to E in Friesland', 279–84.

¹⁹ Hurst and Hemingway 1998, 27–8.

and, at the other end of the phase, a wooden trackway was later constructed above the alluvium (radiocarbon date 686–788). The date brackets are, as usual with radiocarbon, wide. Referring this information to the primary/secondary phase transition at Bidford is not in any way decisive, or even helpful.

A further over-interpretation on the part of Naylor is his ‘fact (*sic*) that this pattern [i.e. the 42%/10% decline] is replicated across the western Midlands, which would suggest that coin loss in the area did decline in step with flooding at Droitwich’.²⁰ Leaving aside what has just been said in the preceding paragraph, the underlying idea would seem to be that the salt industry dominated the monetary affairs of the west Midlands.

At the time of the Domesday Survey and in later centuries there is good documentary evidence to the effect that salt was carried along well-known ‘saltways’, towards the head of navigation on the Thames, at Lechlade or Bampton.²¹ It may have been so already in the eighth century, although that would seem to rest only on conjecture. The sheer weight and volume of hundreds of tons of salt produced annually made river transport the obvious economic choice, where possible.²² One is tempted to remark that this well-evidenced traffic at the time of the Domesday Survey has left few if any coin finds e.g. of Edward the Confessor or William I at Bidford.

The exceptionally high proportion of Netherlands sceattas in the primary phase is the salient fact (and it really is a fact) about the Bidford site. There are a couple of other districts in England which show a similar phenomenon, and which have been inelegantly described as ‘hot spots’. One of them is at crossings of the upper Thames in the district of Oxford, Abingdon, and Dorchester. (Note that there is also a cluster of ‘Hwiccian’ sceattas here, mentioned above.) Regression analysis shows dramatically that the concentration of Netherlands sceattas here is in an otherwise almost empty region.²³ The other is a productive site near Sledmere on the Yorkshire Wolds, where the percentage is again just over fifty.²⁴ What these three ‘hot spots’ have in common is not salt, but (to anticipate), possibly sheep. Elsewhere in eastern and southern England the proportions are more moderate, but in aggregate they represent very substantial monetary transfers from the Netherlands to England, without corresponding counterflows of English coins to the Netherlands – a balance-of-payments transfer. What was its scale? We now have statistical estimates of the numbers of dies employed for Series D and E, something like 3,750 dies in the primary phase alone, with an expectation that a hundred dies could produce something like a million coins. But that does not answer the question, because some of the production of those dies was exported to England, and some stayed at home. The best procedure is to measure the foreign coins in the English currency *pro rata* against English series of sceattas, which were not significantly depleted by export, and for which a die-corpus is available.²⁵ For the moment, let us just say that many millions of foreign sceattas were spent in England and that, although Bidford’s share cannot be separated out, it is likely to have been substantial. Wool was a highly-priced commodity, and the export of English wool to the Continent is a familiar theme in the economic history of both the early and later middle ages.

It is time to offer an alternative hypothesis for the Bidford site. Finberg, writing long ago about Saxon settlement in the Cotswolds, in his *Gloucestershire Studies*,²⁶ noted that Gloucester Abbey in the first half of the eighth century was actively engaged in sheep-farming, and had flocks of sheep on the Cotswold hill-pastures. Mercian bishops and abbesses, he judged, drew an important part of their revenues from the traffic in wool. In 743/5 the bishop of Worcester was freed from payment of toll on two ships at London: this has been taken to imply a com-

²⁰ Naylor 2010, 297.

²¹ Maddicott 2005, 49f.

²² Maddicott 2005.

²³ Metcalf 2003, Map 2.

²⁴ Bonser 2011, catalogue P.1–10 and C.1–12.

²⁵ Metcalf forthcoming.

²⁶ Finberg 1957, 12–14.

mercial interest.²⁷ Again, however, sceatta finds from Gloucester and Worcester and their immediate vicinities are few, and no productive sites have been discovered there. That led us to wonder whether the merchants who came up the Thames valley to buy the wool had to overshoot the mark, so to speak, going beyond the Cotswolds, because the wool belonged to an institution located down in the vale, beyond the Cotswold edge. The abbess of Gloucester's wool was no doubt delivered to Gloucester by the shepherds, and it would be there, for practical reasons, that the shearing took place. Much the easiest way for a fleece to be carried from the Cotswolds down to Gloucester was on a sheep's back. We then went on to wonder whether a similar explanation might apply to the Bidford productive site. Could the present-day parish church be on the site of an eighth-century monastery or convent? Because Mercian written sources from the eighth century mostly perished in the course of the Viking assaults, it is not far-fetched to think that that might have been the case. The discovery, again by one of us, of a very high-quality gold manuscript pointer (now in the Warwickshire Museum) at the productive site offers some encouragement.

This alternative hypothesis, of the export of English wool to the Netherlands, already in the first half of the eighth century, makes better sense of the high proportion of sceattas of Series D and E at Bidford, and also at other productive sites, including the Yorkshire Wolds, where merchants might have visited a known annual fair. So far as Bidford is concerned, there is no more possibility of converting hypothesis into fact than there was with the presumed buying and selling of salt. This raises interesting general questions of how students can discern true perspectives of the social and economic history of the early middle ages, from which no overall statistics and very little quantifiable evidence survives, other than coinage. Charter evidence can be satisfyingly detailed, but it is episodic: one cannot be certain that the conditions it describes can safely be generalized. Perhaps one should recognize that the broad historical perspectives are always going to be provisional, based only on probability, and that a hypothesis may hold the field until a better one is offered. But what makes one hypothesis better than another? One should look for coherence within the interpretation of the particular site, and also coherence with the broader picture of the circulation of sceattas in southern England. Bidford in the years *c.*710–*c.*850 shows similar characteristics to numerous other productive sites, and it seems that the hey-day of the sceatta currency was an episode driven by foreign trade. Salt does not account for the exceptionally high proportion of primary sceattas of Netherlands origin, apparently imported direct to Bidford. It is these foreign coins which dominate the evidence. That is the fatal weakness of the 'salt hypothesis'. The link with London, manifested by the 'Hwiccian' sceattas, is a postscript. Another part of Naylor's ideas is when he turns to the incipient monetization of the west Midlands, and remarks that 'Without salt, coin perhaps became of little use and either no longer reached the region in any quantity or else did not remain as coined silver for long'.²⁸ One would wish, however, to look at the evidence of the 41 coins that have been listed in much more detail, before concurring. To say that a sceat is of such or such a type is not enough. Without studying photographs, one cannot know whether the sub-type matches up with what has been found at Bidford, or even whether the coin is imitative.

In any case, the west Midlands is a very extensive region, and the finds from that region as a whole are a secondary aspect of the evidence, which do not at this stage reinforce Naylor's view of the monetary significance of either Droitwich salt, or of the Bidford productive site. It has been suggested above that there could, for all we can say, have been an undiscovered productive site at or near Droitwich. One could add that there are, however, no single finds clustered in the vicinity of Droitwich, such as might be considered as reflecting a monetary spin-off from the undiscovered centre. From Worcester there is a primary-phase porcupine (*SCBI 17 Midland Museums*, 65) and a specimen of Type J, 37 (*Coin Register 1990*, 185). But there is absolutely no link between the 'Hwiccian' sceattas and Droitwich. As the evidence

²⁷ S 98; Clarke and Dyer 1968–69.

²⁸ Naylor 2011, 297 and 299.

stands, the distribution-pattern of single finds of 'Hwiccian' sceattas (see Map 1) is strictly south-of-Avon, with one cluster in the Oxford region, and another in what was once Winchcombeshire. There is an outlying find, again decidedly southerly, at Portishead on the Bristol Channel. Thus, 'Hwiccian' sceattas are not scattered throughout the west Midlands: their distribution-pattern is concentrated on the Oxford/upper Thames region – and on Hwiccia. Winchcombe was the early power-base of the Hwiccian rulers.²⁹ The church at Winchcombe was doubtless founded by the Hwiccian royal house, and its reputation as a royal mausoleum persisted beyond the sceatta period.³⁰ The River Avon was the northern frontier of Winchcombeshire at its greatest extent. Bidford was just on the other side of the river, but if there were a political aspect to the distribution, it might give added interest to the finds from nearby Marlcliff.

Also, the picture of trade at a productive site may have been complex: salt and wool are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In particular, the 'Hwiccian' sceattas of Series L may reflect some new commercial initiative on the part of Londoners. One could speculate that they had, until the 740s, obtained their salt from East Anglia, for example, and only then turned to another source of supply. Some such hypothesis seems necessary to account for the absence of the earlier types of Series L.

Bidford: a cluster of sites with differing chronologies

Bidford is special because the quality of detailed recording of the finds demonstrates that there was a cluster of four or five near-by localities, clearly separated from each other and spread over a distance of a mile or so, with different histories of coin loss.

At Bidford, some of the various localities were in use concurrently, but the evidence is statistically strong that they did not all have the same date-range. When the productive site came to life, in $c.710 \times 720$, there was little enough coinage in use in south Warwickshire. The two main productive sites, which we label A and B, lie north of the river and east of the Icknield Way. They are half a mile or more east of the modern parish church. The evidence is clear that both began to be used commercially at the same date. There is no evidence of habitation at either. Site A, consisting principally of one large field today, continued strongly into the early secondary phase of sceattas, whereas coin losses at Site B, which at its closest point is only a hundred yards or so away, ended right at the beginning of the secondary phase if not sooner. Even allowing for a mismatch between the modern field boundaries and the situation in the eighth century, there can be no reasonable doubt about the significance of the overall contrast. As the record stands, there is even a contrast between sites A and B as regards the finds from the Netherlands, of Series D and primary E. Site B has 9 : 1, whereas Site A has 1 : 2. That looks clear enough, but we are reluctant to give the contrast any monetary significance in the primary phase, since we have no evidence nor any reason to believe that D and E were carried to England separately from each other. To occur differentially at Bidford, they would have had to be sorted out by users in England, and there is virtually no comparable evidence. The only explanation that comes to mind is that the primary-phase porcupines from Site A, and after all there are just a couple of them, were lost during the secondary phase (see Table 1 below).

Tower Hill Farm lies immediately south of the Stratford Road, close to Site A. Marlcliff, about a mile south of Bidford, lies south of the river and west of the Icknield Way. Finds of sceattas from Marlcliff have been recorded from two adjacent sites, to the east and west respectively of the lane leading to Bickmarsh.³¹ The finds all lie within a short distance of each other, and could be thought of as originally a single cluster. Nevertheless, it seems that the finds catalogued below as coming from Marlcliff Lane East and Marlcliff Lane West again have a different chronological range from each other. Marlcliff Lane West has yielded sceattas of the

²⁹ Bassett 1989.

³⁰ Bassett 1985, 82–5. Elsewhere, Bassett mentions Coenwulf, who died in 821, claiming his 'hereditary lands belonging to Winchcombe' (Bassett 1989, 8).

³¹ Wise and Seaby 1995, give a grid reference of SP 099 501 for the upper field, south.

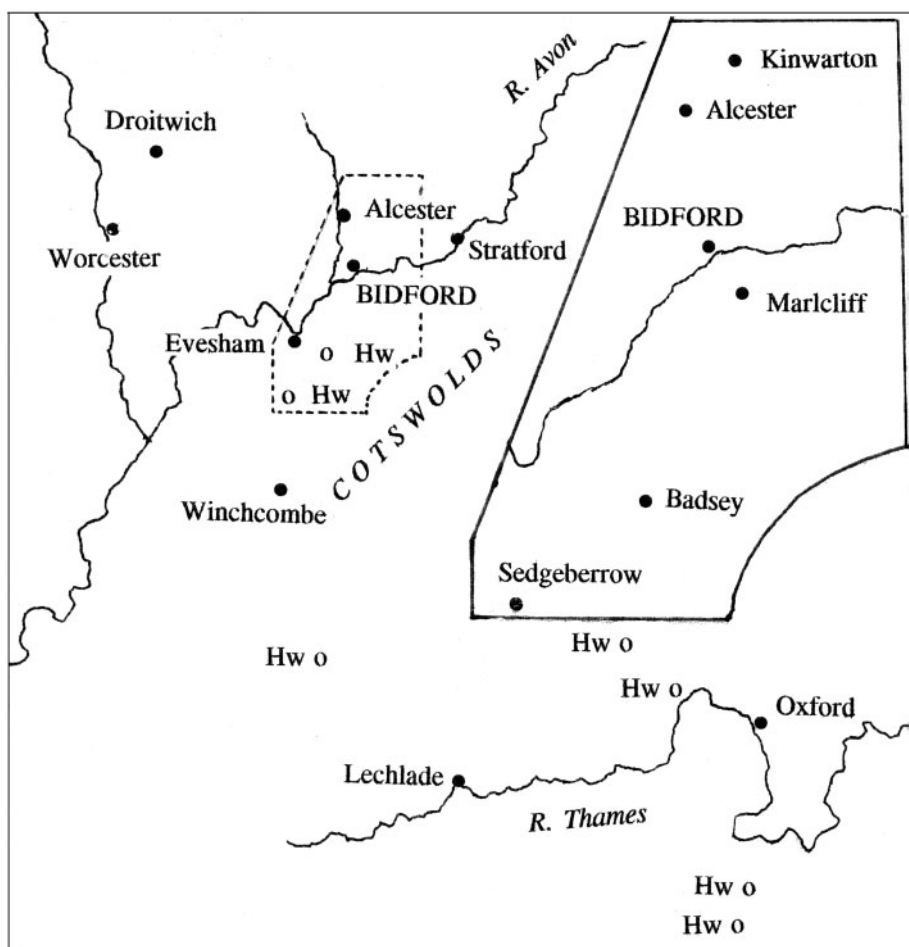


Fig. 1. Map of Bidford, Droitwich, and the middle Thames and eastern Hwiccia, showing the Bidford area in detail. Single finds of 'Hwiccian' sceattas are marked Hw. Find-spots of 'Hwiccian' sceattas (from north to south): Bidford-on-Avon (2), Marlciff (2), Badsey, Sedgberrow, Chedworth, Shakenoak, Eynsham Abbey, Didcot, Upton. Outside the area of the map: Portishead. Alvechurch, originally published as Hwiccian, and cited by Maddicott 2005, is in fact of Type 68.

mid- and late secondary phase, and even a scarce tertiary porcupine. The other place where a mid-secondary phase sceat has been found is the Grafton Lane site,³² essentially part of Bidford A (the field where sceatta losses continue later than on Site B). Here, a good number of early pennies were also found, usually in a fragmentary state of preservation. Early pennies, of the period of Offa and a little later, were found, well-scattered over an area of about 500 yards, i.e. definitely single finds. Wise and Seaby spoke in 1990 of four pennies (now in the Warwickshire Museum), as coming from 'a small area on either side of the Stratford Road',³³ i.e. close to Bidford A. In their 1995 paper, mentioned above, they gave details of these early pennies plus two others, one in the British Museum and one in private possession, and they insisted that all these were stray losses, not a scattered hoard. The ratio of finds of pennies to sceattas, at 12 to 50, is higher than at most productive sites.³⁴ Nevertheless Bidford conforms generally with various other productive sites in the east and south of England, where it is usual to see that losses of sceattas come to an end, followed by a gap in the third quarter of

³² Grafton Lane runs north from the Stratford road, and then turns to the north-east. Wise and Seaby 1995 gave a grid reference of SP107 258.

³³ This was in a typescript which unfortunately did not see the light of day, and which was superseded by their 1995 paper.

³⁴ For a general survey of some thirty-four productive sites, see Blackburn 2003.

the eighth century, followed by a resumption of monetary activity in the fourth quarter, under Offa, or sometimes even later, in the early ninth century.³⁵ To that extent, Bidford conforms with and forms part of a widespread pattern of trading activity with international ramifications. Overall, the losses of sceattas at Bidford dwindle rather earlier than at most sites, i.e. at about the end of the primary phase. There is then a renewed spike of activity late in the secondary phase, reflected by sceattas of Series L. They help us to see that the much more numerous earlier losses are also a compact episode, flourishing for perhaps not much more than ten or fifteen years. The gap between losses of sceattas and early pennies is perhaps longer than average. But the resumption is perfectly well attested.

The coins of Series L at Bidford are late in date in the secondary phase, and are in the so-called 'Hwiccian' style. Although they are only a few, they are of wider interest as adding to the find-evidence from within or close to the sub-kingdom of the Hwicce. They again point to the importance of the trade-route of the Thames valley, in the late secondary phase.³⁶ It was originally suggested that coins in this style were Hwiccian in origin, but the discovery of specimens in the Hampshire basin and elsewhere cast doubt on the idea. It now seems on the whole more likely that they were minted at London: at a time when southern England was sinking into a deep monetary recession, the dwindling supplies of silver are more likely to have been available in London than in the Cotswold region.

There are also just a few recorded finds of sceattas from Alcester (the Roman *Alauna*),³⁷ Kinwarton (about three miles north from Bidford), and Oversley (about a mile from Kinwarton), where the use of money may have been partly a spin-off from the main focus of activity, but perhaps something separate, as regards Series F. Part of the explanation may be that a few scattered finds pre-date the rise to prominence of the productive site (as seems to have been the case in the Isle of Wight.³⁸)

It may help to tabulate the finds from the various fields, in order to bring out the contrasts. Table 1 is based on the catalogue, below.

We hope that our exploration of the topography within the 'productive site' will encourage the more detailed recording of finds within productive sites, by other searchers. The authorities in the Isle of Wight, for example, are setting the pace, using GPS technology to record the find-spots of sceattas and early pennies from a productive site to the nearest metre. Who knows what insights will emerge, but an obvious gain is to establish whether or not, after the severe monetary recession of the third quarter of the eighth century, the early pennies came from the self-same site as the sceattas.

When did the productive site rise to importance? The Aston Rowant hoard

At Sledmere, in the Yorkshire Wolds, it was unambiguously foreign money, Series D and E, that initiated the exchange economy,³⁹ and something similar may be true for Bidford. We suggest $c.710 \times 720$ as the date when this trade began. It seems that the earliest losses of English sceattas from Bidford are probably those of Series C, introduced in the south-east when Series A came to an end. Series B, which is generally so plentiful in England, is virtually absent from Bidford. Series C characterizes the initial monetary starting-point or horizon, when sceattas began to accumulate in Warwickshire in any quantity. Series D, Type 2c imitates the obverse of the English Series C, and is necessarily later than the beginning of that series. The Bidford finds will run later still, because the sub-varieties of Type 2c have been classified into a chronological sequence, of which the full range is represented.

We can perhaps catch a glimpse of what that money on its way up the Thames valley towards the Cotswolds looked like, in the Aston Rowant hoard.⁴⁰ The hoard, found in Oxfordshire,

³⁵ Metcalf 2009, 12–14, includes a general consideration of the varying length of the gap.

³⁶ The attribution remains problematic, but see Metcalf 1974 and Metcalf 1994, vol. 3, 486–9.

³⁷ In a field opposite Cherry Trees motel, SP10155735. See Seaby 1986, 47.

³⁸ Work in progress by Dr K. Ulmschneider and D.M.M.

³⁹ Bonser 2011.

⁴⁰ Kent 1972.

TABLE 1. The coin finds from the cluster of sites at Bidford, by phase and type/series. Where there is more than one coin of any type, the number is given in parentheses.

	<i>Marlcliff</i>		<i>Bidford</i>		<i>Tower Hill</i>	<i>Alcester</i>	<i>Kinwarton</i>
	<i>East</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	(<i>A</i>)		
<i>Primary phase</i>				A BII C1 C2 (2)			
	C1		A/C D2c	D8 D2c (8)			
	E		E (2) E/D	E		E F	E
				R1–2 (2) Vernus C/R (2)		BIV	
			Merov.				
<i>Secondary phase</i>				Æthiliræd			
			J37 J36 J72 G (2) X L20/18				
		O/40 L/15 L/15					
			E (2)		E (2)	E	
<i>Tertiary phase</i>							
		E					
<i>Pennies</i>			(<12)				

was dominated by Series D, and contained a mixture of English and foreign sceattas in very much the same proportions as have been found at Bidford, in so far as one can judge from a sample of 50 – little or no A or BI, some BII, some R1–2, F, a good showing of C, and of primary E, and a preponderance of D. The hoard has traditionally been dated to *c.*710, but it has recently been argued, starting from the chronology of the deniers of the bishops of Paris, that it may be five or more years later than that.⁴¹ Although this is fanciful, the hoard could even have been a sum of money on its way to Bidford, so close is the match with the currency at the productive site(s). One small but significant difference between the hoard and the site-finds is that the latter include a few contemporary copies, possibly sub-standard, which the owner of the hoard knew enough to reject.

Trade reaching Bidford from other directions?

Intermediate in date between the primary-phase sceattas and those of Series L, there are five of Series J and G, of early secondary date. They raise intriguing but difficult questions about the direction from which they reached the Bidford area. Series J and G are not characteristic of the currency of London and the south-east. Could the trading links of Bidford have switched, for a short period, to the north-east of England? In default of a convincing political context, it seems an implausible idea. The whole question of imitation in Series J and G, and the widespread distribution of the types through many English regions, remain problematic and uncertain. We would not wish to offer any firm opinion, except to say that the types are known at Domburg, and that a Netherlands source would make the most economic sense. This is a question for future research. As things stand, all five specimens are from the longer-running site referred to as Bidford A.

⁴¹ Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009, 133–9 and 279–84.

The recent find of a second specimen of Series F at Oversley (compare the first at Alcester), hints at the arrival of sceattas into the district in the primary phase from another direction. Could this have been before the productive site was up and running? Against that, the new specimen appears to belong late in Series F – unless our classification of Series F is chronologically back-to-front: varieties c) and d) are heavier, even if their style strikes one as simpler.

Early pennies

There was a lull in the third quarter of the eighth century, during an economic recession which affected most of southern England, and then a resumption of trading, reflected by a number of broad silver pennies of King Offa and his successors, in particular Coenwulf. Coins minted as far away as East Anglia reached Bidford (nos. 62–6 below). Several of the finds are broken fragments. It is not clear whether the damage is secondary, i.e. caused after the coins were lost. Most of them are from the site designated Bidford A. As that site is the source of most of the secondary-phase sceattas, other than a couple of specimens in ‘Hwiccian’ style, it would seem that knowledge (or ownership?) of the site survived the economic downturn.

CATALOGUE

The finds are listed as nearly as possible in their chronological order, in the hope of making their historical implications clearer. Their great merit is that they provide a complete, unselective record of what has been found at Bidford-on-Avon, during a quarter of a century’s searching. R.J.L. showed the early finds to Mr W.A. Seaby, and subsequently showed the majority to D.M.M. one by one, year in and year out, as he found them. Descriptions of the types have been kept to a minimum. The classification of the sceattas of Series D and E follows that worked out in the monographs by W. Op den Velde and D.M. Metcalf, published as Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003 and 2009–10. For other series, see Metcalf 1993–4. For the broad pennies of Offa, see Chick 2010, and for later pennies, Naismith 2011. wnr = weight not recorded. CR = Coin Register. Most of the coins are illustrated (1.5 × actual size) on Pls. 1–2.

1. English primary-phase sceattas

1. Series A.
1.04 g. October 1998.
Site: Bidford S. (‘From a new site, ‘Bidford S’, west of Bidford B’; see also no. 19 below.)
Although the style is, at first glance, accomplished, on closer inspection the row of dots representing hair, which should be either a straight line (A1, A2) or L-shaped (A3), is curved. The eye-brow curves around the eye, the two dots for the lips are small, and the chin is globular and large. The *rev.* die is much as it should be, except that the letters in the standard are large.
2. Series B. Type BII.
1.18 g. November 2003.
Site: Bidford A.
The head is in acceptable style, except that it lacks the usual prominent rounded chin. On the *rev.*, the cross is equal-limbed, and the crosslet is weakly struck. Traces of the characteristic AVAV legend on both sides.
3. Type BII.
0.93 g. (broken). August 2004.
Site: Bidford B.
The coin is struck off-centre. The double row of dots representing the diadem has dots that are small and closely packed (unlike the dots of the circular borders). No central jewel to the diadem. The central part of the legend reads VATAA. The *rev.* is in good style, reading VAVAV. Early BII?
4. Series C. Type C1.
1.19 g. December 1989.
Site: Marcliff Lane, East, i.e. on the eastern side of Bickmarsh Lane, some 25 m from the lane boundary, nevertheless only 50–75 m away from two other sceattas.
A good, early example. On the *obv.*, the head is round, with a small annulet below the final rune. Possibly the same die as Rigold 1960, Hoard VI, 4 (Southend-on-Sea). The *rev.* die is likewise very similar. Cf. no. 5 below.
5. Type C1.
0.80 g. (broken). January 2006.
Site: Bidford B.
A die-duplicate of no. 4.

6. Type C2.
1.16 g. June 1996. Not illustrated.
Site: Bidford B.
7. Type C2.
[wnr] January 2007.
Site: Bidford B.
Small head, cf. Metcalf 1993–4, 122.
8. A/C imitation.
1.22 g. February 1993.
Site: Bidford A.
On the *obv.*, the hair-line is rounded, the nose is long and straight, and there is a confused group of bold dots including two for the mouth. No proper truncation is visible. On the *rev.*, the letters T, T are aligned diagonally, and there is a squarish pellet in place of the central annulet.
Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 5. CR 1992, 212 ('in the Stratford Road area, SP 107503').
9. Series R, Type 1–2.
0.98 g. May 1996.
Site: Bidford B.
No letter T visible before the runes, and no sign of the legend ITAT.
See Metcalf 2007, 59, no. 12a (Variety 3).
10. Type 1–2.
[wnr] September 2008.
Site: Bidford B.
Possibly Variety 11, but the crucial details are not available, because the coin is broken. (Metcalf 2007, –).
11. Series F, variety d. Small flan.
1.17 g. March 2003.
Site: Alcester, opposite Bridge End.
12. VERNVS, ?imitation.
[wnr]. September 1997.
Site: Bidford B.
The *obv.* is laterally reversed, copied perhaps from group 1. The *rev.* conforms with group 1. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, cf. nos. 3445–8.
13. R1–2/Æthiliræd, imitation.
[wnr]. August 2010.
Site: Bidford B.
The *obv.* is a good copy of Type R1, except that the runes are blundered, and the neck is more like that seen on Type R3. The nose in particular copies R1 carefully. The letter A behind the head has a pellet within it, and the left-hand limb is a dotted line. The *rev.* is so convincing that one has to ask oneself whether this coin could be an early, experimental product of the *Æthiliræd* workshop. Against that, note that the first rune I, which is tall, has a pellet at the top (marking the 12 o'clock position) and runs straight through as a single line into the opposing half of the inscription. Early secondary phase?

2. Netherlands sceattas of Series D and E

Series D

The so-called 'continental runic' sceattas, Rigold Series D, were minted in Frisian territory, e.g. at or near Wijnaldum in Friesland. They were exported to England primarily, however, through Domburg. Type 8 is apparently the earlier of the two types. Type 2c, which is much more plentiful, necessarily post-dates the introduction of Series C, whose *obv.* it copies. It seems that Series D came to an end in c.720, following the death of King Radbod, i.e. it is confined to the primary phase. Type 2c is plentiful in the Aston Rowant hoard, right up to the final Sub-variety 4c. A corpus of Series D has been published as Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003. It includes all but the more recent of the Warwickshire finds.

14. Series D, Type 8.
1.16 g. May 2003.
Site: Bidford B (Grafton Lane).
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 98.
15. Series D, Type 2c, Sub-variety 1b.
1.17 g. March 1999.
Site: Bidford B (Grafton Lane).
From the same *obv.* die as two specimens from Domburg and one from Bakkum (Noord Holland). That strongly suggests a continental origin, but the coin could nevertheless be imitative, as there are irregularities of style. The alloy appears very coppery, but this may well just be a surface phenomenon. Cf. Metcalf 1993–94, 161. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2003, no. 252.

16. Type 2c, probably Sub-variety 2e.
1.21 g. 1999?
Site: Bidford B (Grafton Lane)
Obv. weakly struck, *rev.* in sharp and high relief. Feet of runes visible. The patterning of the *rev.* pseudo-inscription is irregular.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 339.
17. Type 2c, Sub-variety 2f.
1.18 g. April 1991. Not illustrated.
Site: Bidford A (Grafton Lane, sheep pen), SP 1070 5258, 'close to where the pennies were found in April 1991'.
From the same *obv.* die as a specimen from Biddenham, Bd, and from the same dies as Metcalf 1993–4, no. 166, ex Aston Rowant.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 387. Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 1. CR 1990, 172.
18. Type 2c, Sub-variety 3a.
1.16 g. November 2004.
Site: Bidford B.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 557.
19. Type 2c, Sub-variety 3e.
1.14 g. January 1998.
Site: Bidford B ('From a new site, 'Bidford S', west of Bidford B').
From the same *obv.* die as two specimens from Wijnaldum (Friesland). *Rev.* with large cross, not pommée.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 779.
20. Type 2c, Sub-variety 3 (3a or 3g?).
1.17 g. June 1999. Not illustrated.
Site: Bidford B (Grafton Lane).
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 1109.
21. Type 2c, Sub-variety 4b.
1.10 g. June 1999.
Site: Bidford B (Grafton Lane).
Light chestnut-brown patina gives the appearance of a coppery alloy. Cf. no. 15 above, also from Grafton Lane.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 1034.
22. Type 2c, Sub-variety 4.
1.03 g. May 2010.
Site: Bidford B.
The *obv.* lightly struck, the *rev.* very deeply struck.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, –.
23. Type 2c, copy with curving radiate crown (Sub-variety 2d).
1.04 g. October 1998.
Site: Bidford B ('From the usual, easterly site').
Six specimens are known from the same *obv.* die, of which two are in the Remmerden hoard and one in Aston Rowant. The remaining two specimens are from the Netherlands, where all six will certainly have originated. The group is discussed in Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, 14.
Op den Velde and Metcalf 2003, no. 339.

Series E

During the primary phase, 'porcupine' sceattas were minted in the Big Rivers region of the lower Rhine and Maas rivers, concurrently with Series D in Friesland. In the secondary phase, porcupines were minted in both north and south. They were exported to England already mingled together, chiefly via Domburg. A corpus of Series E is in press (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10). With a couple of early exceptions it includes all but the most recent of the Warwickshire finds.

Primary phase

24. VICO, Variety 2.
1.09 g. August 1984.
Site: Alcester, one km east of Alcester church, in a field opposite the Cherry Trees motel, SP 10155735, from where an (earlier) Anglo-Saxon belt-plate was also recovered (Seaby 1986, 47).
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, –. CR 1988, 112.
25. Variety G2.
1.20 g. June 1994.
Site: Bidford A.
From the same dies as a find from Bledlow, Bk, and from the same *obv.* die as a find from Barham, Sf.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0399. Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 3.

26. Variety G3.
1.08 g. May 1990. Not illustrated.
Site: Bidford, 'in the same area as the pennies'.
From the same *rev.* die as another English find, Gillis, July 2007.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0513. Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 4. CR 1990, 176 = EMC 1990.0176.
27. Variety G3.
1.10 g. November 1991.
Site: Kinwarton, SP 100518.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0515. CR 1991, 102 = EMC 1991.0102.
28. Variety G4.
0.72 g (very worn). May 1987.
Site: Marlcliff East, immediately to the SW of a Romano-British settlement in the upper field. See Hingley, Pickin and Seaby 1987, 41–2.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, –. CR 1987, 62.
29. Variety G4.
1.15 g. March 1998.
Site: Bidford A.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 0541.
30. Variety D.
[wnr]. September 2007.
Site: Bidford B.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, –.

Secondary phase

31. Sub-variety a. Variety with 7 dots in standard.
1.01 g. March 2003.
Site: Alcester, same site as no. 24 above.
The flan is reduced and ovoid in shape, but there is no sign of clipping.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 2745.
32. Sub-variety c.
[wnr]. November 2006.
Site: Bidford A.
Cf. Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1143–9.
33. Sub-variety d.
0.85 g (chipped). March 1999.
Site: Bidford, Tower Hill (from where there is another coin catalogued as being of the same sub-variety, although not closely similar in style; see no. 34).
The coin has suffered some flaking away, but its layered appearance should probably not be interpreted as plating, since the interior seems to be of as good silver as the outer layers.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1358.
34. Sub-variety d.
0.80 g. September 1999.
Site: Bidford, Tower Hill (as no. 33).
The obverse imitates, quite carefully, the design of Variety G of the primary porcupines.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1378.
35. Sub-variety e.
0.94 g. November 1995.
Site: Bidford, Tower Hill, SP 111521.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 1705.
36. Sub-variety e?
1.13 g. October 1997.
Site: Alcester ('From the same site as [no. 24 above], with no other sceattas from the site in all the intervening years'.)
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, –.
37. Sub-variety h.
1.17 g. 1996/7. (Found by Mr G. Ross.)
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 2046.
38. Sub-variety k.
[wnr]. January 2011.
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, cf. 2625–7.
39. Sub-variety k.
1.17 g. December 1993.
Site: Bidford A.
The *obv.* is laterally reversed. The *rev.* is of the 'mixed grill' category. (Originally described as an E/D 'mule'.)
Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 2679.

Tertiary phase

40. Variety F (late variant?).

0.88 g. June 1987.

Site: Marlcliff West (found on the west side of the lane, nevertheless less than 100 m. from no 28).

From the same *obv.* die as Metcalf 1993–4, no. 257, and the same *rev.* die as Op den Velde and Klaasen 2004, no. 955.

Metcalf and Op den Velde 2009–10, 3415.

3. Secondary phase, mainly English types

The coins are grouped, in approximate chronological order, namely sub-primary phase varieties, then Series J and G, followed by one coin of Series O and one (Danish) sceatta of Series X. Finally, there are four fairly late examples from Series L.

- 41–2. R/C2 ‘mules’.

1.20 g, 1.14 g. August 2004.

Site: Bidford B

Matt chestnut brown patina. In August 2004 Mr Laight found two die-duplicate ‘mules’, three weeks apart, and only a couple of hundred yards from each other. Even more remarkably, two more specimens from the same dies were found, separately, at Kingston Deverill, eighty miles away (CR 2002, 76). A fifth duplicate, which in a sense validates these four, comes from the Woodham Walter hoard, Essex. The coins are discussed, in context, in Metcalf 2007, 67–9. As they have outward-facing runes, the earliest possible prototype is Type R3, and the ‘mules’ are therefore certainly from the secondary phase.

43. Type BIV.

1.12 g. December 2003.

Site: Oversley (c.1 mile from Alcester). Described at the time of finding as ‘from a field where many Roman and medieval coins have been found, but nothing Anglo-Saxon hitherto’. See now the Postscript, below, for a Series F from Oversley.

The obverse of this very scarce type, which lacks a legend, seems to be copied from Series J rather than from BI or BII, and the coin is therefore of secondary date. (But the serpent’s jaws, visible on the *rev.* at 3 and 9 o’clock (!), hark back to Series B.) The *rev.* has a small, equal-armed cross centrally, with an annulet below as well as to each side. A similar find from Friesland hints at a continental origin. Morel-Fatio 1890, 326 (Gentilhomme 1938, no. 64) is from the same stable: note the pellets in front of the forehead. On the Bidford specimen, traces of the *rev.* pseudo-inscription are visible. On the obverse, the outer border is interrupted by a tiny letter S at 8 o’clock. See Metcalf 1993–4, pp. 163–4.

44. Series J, Type 37.

0.97 g. September 1996.

Site: Bidford A.

The style of Type 37, as between official coins and copies, is notoriously difficult to judge, but this specimen looks of very good quality. See Metcalf 1993–4, p. 351.

45. Series J, Type 72.

0.85 g. August 1994.

Site: Bidford A. (It was noted at the time that the find-spot was about 500 yards from a porcupine, G2, found at the same site a couple of months previously.)

The style is similar to that of two specimens in the Brussels cabinet (Metcalf 1993–4, p. 355) and, less exactly, to four finds from Domburg (32–5). Presumably of continental origin.

Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 6.

46. Series J, Type 36.

[wnr] March 2007.

Site: Bidford A.

The style corresponds well with that of the York (Fishergate) and Hamwic finds. The coin, which is well struck and fresh, would seem to be English (Metcalf 1993–4, 361–2).

47. Series G.

1.12 g. June 1998.

Site: Bidford A.

The style seems acceptable, except perhaps for the row of dots in the *rev.* margin. Flan of irregular shape.

48. Series G.

0.83 g. November 2002.

Site: Bidford A.

In good style, with characteristic almond-shaped eye, and rounded drapery. The lips, however, are represented by simple pellets.

49. Series O, Type 40.

1.03 g. June 1989.

Site: Marlcliff, West of lane.

Entirely regular in style. Weathered, with some wear.

50. Series X.
0.82 g, November 2003.
Site: Bidford A.
The style of die-cutting is close enough to that of the main series. The crosses to either side of the facing head are incomplete, i.e. the horizontal stroke is omitted. The secret-mark is unrecorded. It consists of an L-shape, without terminal pellet, attached to the back of the monster rather than to its chin. The alloy is not noticeably debased. Possibly imitative?
51. Series L, Type 15.
0.97 g, July 1988.
Site: Marlcliff, West of lane. (Stated at the time to have come from quite close to no. 40, found the year before.)
Worn and obscure, but in 'Hwiccian' style. The *rev.* is apparently similar to *BMC*, no. 91 and the Badsey find (see Wight 1944 and Metcalf 1976, pl. 12, 9–10), while the obverse, with cross before the face, has rounded or boat-shaped drapery of the bust, and a diamond of four dots at the foot of the cross.
CR 1988, 129.
52. Series L, cf. Type 20/18, in 'Hwiccian' style.
0.76 g, April 1991.
Site: Bidford A (Grafton Lane, sheep pen).
Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 8. See the note in CR 1988, no. 188.
53. Series L, Type 15, in 'Hwiccian' style.
1.06 g, June 1993.
Site: Found by Mr Les Phillips at SP 109524.
Possible confusion with Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 7?
54. Series L, Type 15, in 'Hwiccian' style.
1.01 g, June 1996.
Site: Marlcliff, West ('the first sceat from the site since 1989').
Obv. with alternating linear and dotted drapery, in V-shape. Triple diadem-ties.

4. Merovingian denier?

Substantial numbers of Merovingian deniers have been found throughout England. See the list in Metcalf 2009, 30–1.

55. Marseille?
Obv. A-monogram, flanked by R, B.
Rev. Cross-crosslets and saltire, with central annulet.
Prou 1892, 1613–14.
[wnr] April 2007.
Bidford A.
Other English finds from Kent and from Watton, Nf. (both now in Abramson colln) and from Oxborough, Nf. (EMC 1999.0143). This variety, which is related to the English Series W, is illustrated and discussed in Metcalf 2005, 14–15. With four finds on record, one has to ask oneself whether this could be, after all, an English variety, although the identity of style with Prou's specimens is not in doubt.

5. Early pennies

Eleven early pennies (not illustrated) have been found at Bidford. Most have come from the site about 1 km east from the centre of the village, on either side of the Stratford road. Some of the early finds were published in Wise and Seaby 1995, 64.

56. Offa, king of Mercia (757–97), moneyer Ealræd (Canterbury, light coinage).
[wnr] 2003.
Site: Bidford.
EMC 2005.0006. Chick 2010 95d.
57. Offa, moneyer Eoba (Canterbury, heavy coinage).
1.34 g, November 1988.
Found by Mr Les Phillips.
CR 1988, 149. Chick 2010 227a (illus.).
58. Offa, moneyer Beagheard (London, light coinage).
1.13 g, May 1991.
Site: the same general area, east of the village.
CR 1992, 254 = EMC 1992.0254. Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 9. Chick 2010 17d.
59. Archbishop Æthelheard (793–805) with Coenwulf, king of Mercia (796–821).
1.17 g (chipped). October 1988.
Site: 'east of the village'.
CR 1988, 140. Naismith 2011 C.22.1.

60. Coenwulf, portrait/cross and wedges type, moneyer Sæberht, c.805–c.810.
[wnr] (frag.). August 1985.
Site: 'east of the village'.
CR 1988, 156. Naismith 2011 C.26.d.
61. Baldred, king of Kent (c.823–25), moneyer Diormod.
1.03 g. September 1997.
Site: 'east of the village'.
CR 1997, 121. Naismith 2011 C.61.1b.
62. Eadwald, king of East Anglia (796–c.798), moneyer Eadnoth.
0.34 g (two frags.). April 1986.
CR 1988, 142. Chick and Seaby 1991. Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 11. Naismith 2011 E.2.1i.
63. Eadwald, moneyer Eadnoth.
0.45 g (frag.)
EMC 1996.5002. Shott 1996. Naismith 2011 E.2.1j.
64. Eadwald, Circumscription type, moneyer Eadnoth.
1.28 g, crumpled. April 1991.
Site: 'east of the village'.
CR 1990, 196 (with commentary). Wise and Seaby 1995, no. 12. Naismith 2011 E.2.2b.
65. Coenwulf, moneyer Wihtræd (East Anglian mint).
[wnr] 1978.
Site: Found at the top of B5 quarry in the base of plough soil during excavation on the cemetery site by Miss Sue Hirst.
Seaby 1982. Naismith 2011 E.12.1d.
66. Ceolwulf I, king of Mercia (821–23), moneyer Wodel. East Anglian portrait issue.
1.64 g (?) (chipped). April 1994.
Site: Found by Mr G. Ross.
Wise and Seaby 1995, Appendix 3. Naismith 2011 E.20.2l.

POSTSCRIPT

Since the typescript was submitted, four further finds have been made. They are, briefly:

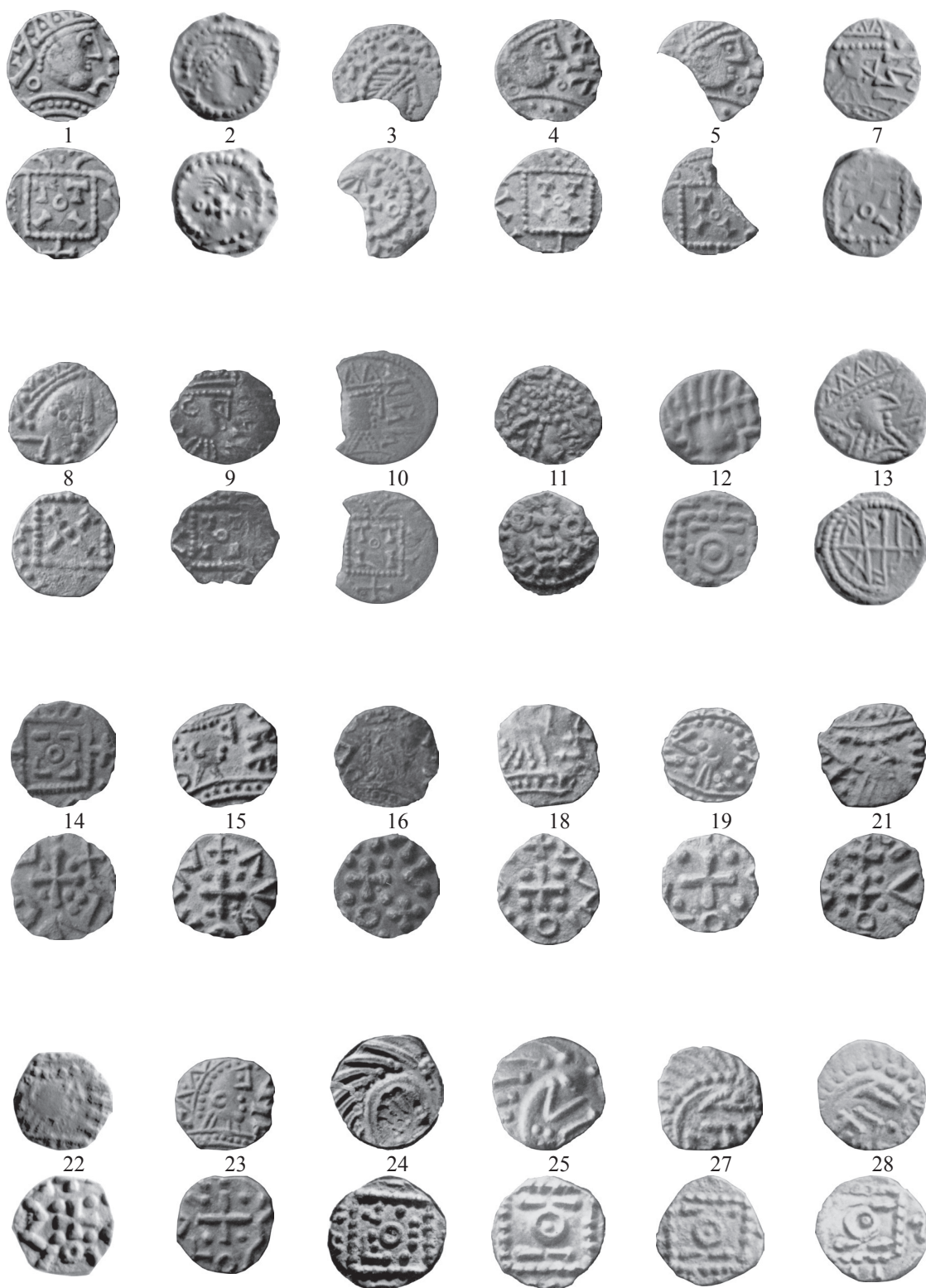
- (1) A Series F from Oversley. Its *rev.* is clearly of Variety c, while the obverse is in a dotted style, e.g. the nose and eye-socket are dotted rather than linear. This is a rare variant. One would wish to keep open the possibility that the current classification is back-to-front, varieties c and d (which are heavier) being earlier than a and b. If that were so, the Oversley find might perhaps pre-date the productive site.
- (2) The central part of a Canterbury penny of King Ecgbert of Wessex, 802–39, in style A (Naismith 2011 C.79, dated to c.828–39). From Bidford.
- (3) The central part of a Carolingian 'temple' type denier. By good fortune the initial cross on the obverse has survived, and one can see that the ruler's name begins with L (rather than HL as seen on coins of Louis (*Hludovivcs*). Apparently a coin of Lothar. From Bidford.
- (4) An R3/E imitation, as Metcalf 1993–4, no. 400. Plated? From Marlcliff, east.

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PLATE 1



LAIGHT AND METCALF: FIFTY SCEATTAS (1)



THE ANNEXATION OF BATH BY WESSEX: THE EVIDENCE OF TWO RARE COINS OF EDWARD THE ELDER

HANNAH WHITTOCK

By the end of Anglo-Saxon England, Bath lay within the county of Somerset; a shire which had been part of Wessex since the seventh century, though first named in the late ninth century. However, for much of the Anglo-Saxon period land grants by, firstly, kings of the Hwicce (a kingdom absorbed into Mercia during the eighth century) and, later, by kings of Mercia, indicate that it was not originally a West Saxon settlement. Two coins of Edward the Elder offer crucial evidence suggesting when this annexation into Wessex probably occurred.

The early history of Bath

The foundation charter of Bath Abbey dates to 675, or 676, and records Osric, the king of the Hwicce, granting land for the foundation of a nunnery.¹ This is one of the first extant charters issued by a king of the Hwicce² and appears to be of questionable authenticity but may embody features of the original grant.³ This foundation charter has been much debated. It has been argued that it is based upon a genuine charter but that the location in the original has been replaced with the location of Bath. It is also possible that the charter, as it survives, was not actually the *foundation* charter for Bath, since Bath, in the mid-eighth century, was a male institution and yet the charter refers to a nunnery. It is difficult to imagine that it had been a double-monastery a century earlier.⁴ The most recent analysis of the charter has similarly concluded that the received text is probably a later fabrication, although it does seem to have been based on a genuine seventh-century document.⁵ It is unclear at what date the charter, as it currently survives, was fabricated or adapted, but it is likely to have been forged at a relatively early date, probably with the aim of providing an early origin for Bath.⁶

Certainly though, the Osric of the charter was a historical figure and it seems that Bath lay on the edge of the Hwiccian kingdom by the late seventh century.⁷ Bede mentions Osric,⁸ and the king also possibly attested a charter of Frithuwold, subking of Surrey, which was later confirmed by Wulfhere of Mercia (658–74), in 672–4 and seems to have been mentioned in Gloucester's foundation charter of 679, as one of a pair of *ministri* (clearly denoting demotion to sub-kingship) under King Æthelred of Mercia (675–704), as well as in the Bath charter of

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¹ See Kelly 2007, 3; S 51.

² Sims-Williams 1990, 31.

³ Hooke 1985, 14.

⁴ Edwards 1988, 222.

⁵ Kelly 2007, 3.

⁶ Kelly 2007, 62.

⁷ Kelly 2007, 3.

⁸ Bede (*HE* IV.23), Sherley-Price and Farmer 1990, 245.

675.⁹ What is clear is that Bath Abbey was under the control of the see of Worcester by the middle of the eighth century, until it passed into the hands of Offa of Mercia (757–96), and it seems that the proem to the foundation charter of 675 was written in order to establish Bath as a Hwiccian establishment, closely associated with the see of Worcester from the time of its alleged foundation.¹⁰

From the late seventh century, influence in the Bath area passed to the Mercian kings who, as well as challenging the authority of the kings of the Hwicce, also later challenged the role of the bishops of Worcester in this southern region of the diocese. At the Synod of Brentford, in 781, the church of Worcester relinquished its claim to the minster at Bath and surrendered it to Offa, king of Mercia, in return for lands in the heart of the kingdom and confirmation of its possession of other minsters and lands.¹¹ This arrangement implies that the Bath estate was already part of the hereditary property of the previous Mercian king, Æthelbald, which may be consistent with land held in a sensitive border area.¹² After this date, Bath Abbey should probably be considered an *Eigenkloster* (a royal proprietary monastery) of the Mercian kings. According to the twelfth-century historian, William of Malmesbury, Offa is said to have been staying at Bath when in a dream he was told to found the monastery at St Albans. The sensitivity of this border settlement was revealed in Offa's actions to reduce the influence of Cynewulf of Wessex in the vicinity by reversing Cynewulf's earlier grant of land to Bath Abbey north of the river Avon.¹³ Further underlining the frontier nature of the settlement, Offa's son Ecgrith met the West Saxon ruler, Beorhtric, there in 796. The reference, in the charter issued then, to 'the celebrated monastery' reinforces the close association between it and the Mercian royal dynasty.¹⁴ The parallels between the location at Bath and the contemporary construction of Charlemagne's palace at the hot springs of Aachen may suggest that the Mercians aspired to emulate the Carolingian style of *Romanitas*.¹⁵ As late as 864, King Burgred of Mercia was granting a charter at Bath.¹⁶

However, a brief entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* suggests that, by 906, the town had been annexed into Somerset and Wessex. The *Chronicle* notes: 'In this year Alfred, who was reeve at Bath, died.'¹⁷ This Alfred was clearly of significant interest to the West Saxon compiler of the *Chronicle* and he was almost certainly the first West Saxon royal official in the newly annexed territory. Two coins offer important evidence for the probable dating of this annexation into Wessex.

Two rare coins of Edward the Elder

Corroborative evidence for the West Saxon annexation of Bath, prior to the reeve's death, comes from the fact that Edward the Elder (ruled 899–924) was operating a mint there early in his reign. More precisely, the Bath penny of Edward the Elder, now held in the British Museum,¹⁸ was minted prior to c.905, as it was at this point (or shortly afterwards) buried in the Cuerdale hoard.¹⁹ This refines the 'date-window' for Bath's annexation to c.900–905, since Edward did not accede to the throne until after his father's death in October 899 and he was engaged in putting down a challenge, by his cousin Æthelwold, to his rule within Wessex that winter (899–900). Thus, 900 is the *earliest* likely date for a significant action at Bath by the new king and a date after 902 (or 903) may be even more likely as it was then that Æthelwold was

⁹ Sims-Williams 1990, 34; charters S 1165 and S 70.

¹⁰ Edwards 1988, 220–1.

¹¹ S 1257.

¹² Kelly 2007, 6–7.

¹³ Williams 1999, 27; S 265.

¹⁴ S 148.

¹⁵ Lapidge, Blair and Keynes 1999, 54.

¹⁶ Kemble 1839, no.590; S 210.

¹⁷ Whitelock 1961, 60. Manuscripts C and D of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* date this event to 906, manuscript A dates it to 905.

¹⁸ British Museum, BMC 1.

¹⁹ Lyon 2001, 74; Graham-Campbell 2001, 222.

killed in battle and the threat to West Saxon security eased somewhat.²⁰ The unique character of this coin makes it so important in dating the annexation to the early years of the reign of Edward the Elder.



Fig. 1. Edward the Elder, Bath penny, mint-name BAD and title REX SAXONVM. 1.81 g. *BMC* 1, ex Cuerdale hoard. © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 2. Edward the Elder, Bath penny, mint-name BA and title REX SAXONVM, 1.61 g. Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.353–1990, ex C.E. Blunt collection. © The Fitzwilliam Museum.

The Bath coin is distinctive for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is the earliest definite example of any coin minted at Bath. In assessing the significance of this, it needs to be borne in mind that this does not prove that this was the first time coins were issued from Bath; especially since in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, mint-names are exceptional and we cannot assume that a complete representation of original issues survives. Canterbury and London mints, for example, are prominently named around this time but are known to have been active from the seventh century. In addition, the mint-signed issues from Bath, Exeter and Winchester are all so rare that our understanding of the operation of these mints may be far from complete. Nevertheless, Bath's mint-signed coinage appears to be part of a West Saxon group from mints which (with the possible exception of Winchester) had not been clearly active before and this may reinforce the interpretation that minting probably started at Bath with this issue of Edward the Elder.

Secondly, and even more significantly, the coin carries the mint-name (though not the moneyer) on the reverse, reading BAD (Bath). No other surviving coin of Edward the Elder bears a mint-name,²¹ except for one made using a different reverse die and reading BA. This is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.²² The identification, from its shorter mint-name, is perhaps a little less certain. However, the current interpretation is that it too is a Bath coin.²³ Despite this, as it does not come from a dateable find-spot, such as Cuerdale, its significance in dating the annexation of Bath is less clear than in the case of the British Museum example. However, its style suggests that it almost certainly dates from the same period of Edward's reign.

The nature of these coins (so untypical of Edward's coinage) suggests that they represent a specific commemorative, or celebratory, issue and it seems likely that this was Bath's new status as a West Saxon town. It may also have become a fortified *burh* at about this time, although precisely dateable evidence for Late Saxon defences at Bath is difficult to identify. The Roman

²⁰ Whitlock 1961, 60.

²¹ Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 314. See also: North 1994, 35.

²² Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.1.353–1990. The exceptional nature of these two pennies is remarked on by Lyon 2001, 67, n.8. The Fitzwilliam Museum coin is first recorded in J.D. Cuff's collection, sold at auction by Sotheby, 8 June 1854 (lot 480). There is no indication in that catalogue of its provenance. It may have been from the Cuerdale hoard but this is unproven (Dr Rory Naismith, pers. comm., July 2011).

²³ Dr Martin Allen, pers. comm., February 2011; a point reinforced by Dr Rory Naismith, pers. comm., July 2011.

city wall, on the northern side, certainly survived into the Late Saxon period, when it seems that defensive outworks were constructed on the revetted lip of the re-cut Roman ditch.²⁴ Bath shared this characteristic relationship between its Anglo-Saxon defences and surviving Roman walls with Chichester, Exeter, Portchester and Winchester.²⁵ The re-cut Roman ditch and the outworks are thought to be contemporary (and Late Saxon) as they were not constructed in any known Roman fashion. It is noticeable that the length of Bath's defensive perimeter, as measured by the *Burghal Hidage*, is greater than the length of the Roman walls, which suggests that the Late Saxon measurement of the town's defences followed that of the outworks rather than the Roman walls themselves; this is corroborated by the evidence for defences lying outside the actual Roman wall as noted earlier.²⁶ While the *Burghal Hidage* assessment for Bath suggests that there were useable defences there by the early tenth century, at least, these defences (whether refurbished Roman ones or Anglo-Saxon constructions) were not necessarily newly built;²⁷ however, there is no evidence for the actual restoration of Roman walls, at *burhs* which utilised these, prior to the tenth century.²⁸ In the case of Bath, the street plan appears to be late ninth- or tenth-century in date.²⁹ A large east-west ditch to the south of the town wall, uncovered during major building work at the South Gate Development in 2007, may represent Roman defences which were cleared in the Late Saxon period, or they may represent a defensive feature dug as part of the Alfredian and Edwardian refortification of Bath. Exact dating though has not been established.³⁰

However, the surviving Roman walls (in whatever state of repair) may have encouraged the use of Bath as a stronghold *prior* to this and one of the attractions of Bath to Offa, in the eighth century, may have been that it possessed functioning defences, as well as being a key frontier site on the border with Wessex.³¹ Thus, while the completion of burghal defences may have prompted the issuing of the Bath coins of Edward the Elder, this matter cannot conclusively be established as the decisive factor, although it is still a strong possibility. Even if burghal status was a factor, it needs to be borne in mind that the motivation for creating a *burh* extended beyond military purposes, as these settlements also increased royal control over a given area.³² Consequently, their role went well beyond their military characteristics, since *burhs* also had an economic and administrative function, as seen in the law of Edward the Elder that buying and selling should take place in a *port* (a recognised market centre).³³ This meant that the king's reeve could oversee economic transactions in these designated locations.³⁴ This is particularly significant given the prominence given to the recording of the death of 'Alfred, who was reeve at Bath'.³⁵

There are though, of course, *other* possible motives for such an exceptional coin issue and these must also be borne in mind, alongside the matter of burghal status. These could include commemorating a royal visit; or these mint-signed coins could have been intended for the giving of alms in connection with a significant church. In this context it should be remembered that Bath, as explored earlier, had enjoyed a notable combined political and ecclesiastical role since the reign of Offa of Mercia in the eighth century. Such minster-places provided a nucleus, from which later *burhs* and urban areas could develop.³⁶ Indeed, most of the major towns that were recorded in *Domesday Book* were royal fortresses by the late ninth or tenth century and many of these locations also contained minsters. As Wessex expanded, after the 870s, its

²⁴ O'Leary 1981, 1.

²⁵ Schoenfeld 1994, 59.

²⁶ Abels and Morillo 2005, 9. For Bath in the *Burghal Hidage* see Hill 1996, 190–1.

²⁷ O'Leary 1981, 22.

²⁸ Abels and Morillo 2005, 8. See also: Hunter Blair and Keynes 2003, 293.

²⁹ Lapidge, Blair and Keynes 1999, 54.

³⁰ Bruno Barber, pers. comm., December 2011. Barber with Halsey, Lewcun and Philpotts forthcoming.

³¹ O'Leary 1981, 27.

³² Holt 2009, 59.

³³ I Edward c.1 (trans. Attenborough 1922, 114–17, at 114.).

³⁴ Holt 2009, 66.

³⁵ See n.17 above.

³⁶ Blair 2005, 333.

burghal policy built on the pre-existing Mercian pattern which had associated minsters with fortified sites; many of the *burhs* which were recorded in the *Burghal Hidage* were actually ecclesiastical in nature when first recorded and about two-thirds of them either contained minsters or were sited close to minsters.³⁷ In support of this interpretation of an ecclesiastical causal factor behind the exceptional Bath coin issue, is the fact that Exeter and Winchester were also important Church centres (the latter with combined ecclesiastical and dynastic importance for Wessex); this may suggest similarities with Bath and may explain the distinctive coins which were issued from these three centres under Alfred and Edward the Elder (see below for parallels with these earlier Winchester and Exeter issues under Alfred). In short, the exceptional design of the Bath coins, as with these earlier coins from Winchester and Exeter, may have denoted an unusual *purpose* as well as, or instead of, an unusual *context* of production.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, whatever motivated the minting of the exceptional Bath coins, they still constituted an untypical form of coinage for Edward the Elder; they were minted in the early years of his reign; they were struck in a town which previously had been both a Mercian frontier settlement and one closely associated with the Mercian royal house. This is highly suggestive of a significant reason for their minting and, whilst this might have ranged from new defences to a significant church donation, this is likely to have been *combined* with celebrating the new West Saxon governmental presence in the town. Indeed, given the close relationship between the previous rulers of Mercia and the church in Bath, any major West Saxon church donation, or alms giving, in the town will have had profound political as well as religious significance.

Alfredian parallels to the Bath pennies of Edward the Elder

As has been briefly alluded to, the closest parallels to the British Museum Bath penny are late coins of King Alfred which also carry the mint-name as a three-letter statement, Winchester, WIN,³⁸ and Exeter, EXA.³⁹ Each of these coins (see Figs. 3–4 below) also carries the obverse legend REX SAXONVM ('king of the Saxons'). Of all Alfred's coins, this royal title in this form is found only on coins from these two mints.⁴⁰ These particular coins probably mark either the completion of burghal defences at these two towns or important donations associated with the Church. Some specimens of the *Cross and Lozenge* coinage (c.875–80) also give Alfred the abbreviated title of REX SAX.⁴¹ These have been attributed to die cutters operating in Canterbury, London, Winchester and elsewhere.⁴² However, these do not offer as exact a parallel with Edward's title on the Bath pennies (see below) as do the Alfredian issues from Winchester and Exeter.



Fig. 3. Alfred, Winchester penny, mint-name WIN and title REX SAXONVM. 1.56 g. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁷ Blair 2005, 331.

³⁸ British Museum, 1854.0621, 28.

³⁹ British Museum, 1838.0710, 32. For a comparison of these coins with the Bath issue of Edward the Elder see North 1994, 35.

⁴⁰ North 1994, 125–6.

⁴¹ These are nos 28, 42–51, 53–4, 56 and 58–9 in Blackburn and Keynes' list of *Cross and Lozenge* coins. The first of these is in the London style and all the Alfred coins from Winchester carry this inscription (nos 42–51). See Blackburn and Keynes 1998, 140–8.

⁴² North 1994, 124.



Fig. 4. Alfred, Exeter penny, mint-name EXA and title REX SAXONVM. 1.58 g. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The Bath penny of Edward the Elder also carries the obverse title of +EADVVEARD REX SAXONVM ('Edward king of the Saxons'). This particular title of Edward on a coin is very significant, as it is confined to the British Museum Bath example and to the Bath penny in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection (see Figs. 1–2 above). This further indicates the novelty and significance of these coins, since all other coins of Edward the Elder carry the royal title +EADVVEARD REX. These two pennies are therefore highly exceptional and distinctly untypical of Edward's coinage.⁴³

The political message of the royal title on the Bath pennies

The choice of this particular title, REX SAXONVM, for the Bath pennies of Edward the Elder is clearly significant, because it was unusual to express the ethnic/territorial component of a royal title on coins of this period; hence the large majority of Alfred's and Edward's coins simply accord them the title REX. In contrast, REX SAXONVM (when it was used) was the title traditionally used by West Saxon kings in charters and on coins to express their role as kings of Wessex. REX SAXONVM was used sporadically on issues from both Wessex and Kent during the reigns of Ecgbert and Æthelwulf earlier in the ninth century;⁴⁴ it was sparingly used by Alfred, as noted above; it was similarly used sparingly by Edward; and its use was revived later, in the tenth century. In the earlier examples though it had developed a particular association with the West Saxon monarchy. This was almost certainly why it was the title used on Alfred's coins minted at Exeter and Winchester⁴⁵ (towns firmly within the historic borders of Wessex). It can be contrasted with the title *Anglorum Saxonum rex*, or *Angulsaxonum rex* ('king of the Anglo-Saxons') which developed in charters during Alfred's reign (and continued into the reign of Edward the Elder) to convey a rule which now encompassed both Wessex and Mercia.⁴⁶ Alfred even experimented with a form reflecting this wider aspiration, REX ANGLOX, on the coins of his *Two Emperors* issue.⁴⁷ This particular coinage type – which was copied from a fourth-century Roman gold solidus – is often interpreted as showing Alfred using coin design for specific propaganda purposes. However, since the Alfredian coin was based on a Roman coin commonly found in Britain, had been copied previously in the mid-seventh century and was also issued by Alfred's contemporary, Ceolwulf II of Mercia, it may be that the propaganda significance of these coins has been overstated.⁴⁸ Whatever the exact reason for the selection of this Roman prototype the distinctive royal title used on Alfred's version contrasted with the more usual title of ÆLFRED REX, found on a large number of his other coin issues.

For Alfred (as later for Edward) there is good reason to suggest that all the coins of the REX SAXONVM type were intended as ceremonial or special issues of some kind and that this formula was selected in order to convey such a message. This is strikingly illustrated by the examples of the so-called 'Offering Pieces' which combined this royal title with the reverse inscription ELI MO[sina], which can be translated as 'alms'. With a weight of 10.5 g, or

⁴³ Lyon 2001, 67, 75. North 1994, 126–9.

⁴⁴ North 1994, 119–20, nos 589–90 and 596–8.

⁴⁵ Keynes 1998, 36, n.154.

⁴⁶ Brooks 2003, 47.

⁴⁷ North 1994, 124.

⁴⁸ Blackburn 1998, 112–113.

approximately seven regular pennies, the examples currently known were clearly intended as part of a ceremonial payment to the church in Rome, or for some other charitable payment.⁴⁹ Interestingly enough, given the importance of this location to one of the other Alfredian REX SAXONVM issues, the ‘Offering Pieces’ were probably struck at Winchester late in Alfred’s reign.⁵⁰

Consequently, the title used on Edward the Elder’s Bath pennies resonated with both West Saxon monarchy and with acts of ceremonial celebration and seems to have communicated the new *Realpolitik* along the Avon valley: Bath was now ruled by Edward, as king of Wessex. Minted at a time when a semi-independent Mercia still existed under the joint-rule of Edward’s sister and her husband, the annexation of Bath into Wessex, as publicized by the mint-name and the royal title, seems unambiguous. Even if the motivation for the issue was connected to a Church event, its political message was *also* clear.

These two coins, therefore, are highly important, as they clearly were intended to convey a distinct political message. We may sum up their novel characteristics as follows: they are the first evidence we currently have of minting at Bath (although this is always subject to new discoveries); the presence of an Edwardian mint-name; the identification of the mint in the style of late coinage of Alfred (in the case of the British Museum penny); the royal title following another late model of Alfred’s found on (probably) celebratory coin issues. This all suggests a commemorative/celebratory function for this rare Bath issue of Edward the Elder.

This review of the numismatic evidence, therefore, corroborates the documentary evidence from the *Chronicle* entry for 906. Consequently, these two coins mean that we can suggest with some confidence that the annexation of Bath occurred *after* 900 (accession secured for Edward the Elder), or perhaps after 902 (end of the heightened threat to West Saxon security posed by Æthelwold’s revolt), and *by* 906 (prior to the death of Alfred, ‘reeve at Bath’ and by which time the Bath penny in the British Museum had almost certainly been minted).

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⁴⁹ Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 314.

⁵⁰ North 1994, 126. See also Pratt 2001, 71.

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THE MINTS AND MONEYPERS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1066–1158

MARTIN ALLEN

Introduction

BETWEEN 1983 and 1988 the late Dr Eric Harris published tables of the mints and moneyers of the English coinage from 1066 to 1158 in a series of twenty-six articles in the *Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin*, with a supplement in 1991.¹ There had been no published summaries of the types issued by each moneyer of the Norman coinage since the publication of Brooke's *British Museum Catalogue (BMC)* in 1916.² Harris's lists were a notable achievement, but their usefulness was limited by their appearance in such a large number of parts, and they suffered from numerous errors and omissions, many of which Harris himself corrected as the series progressed. Soon after the completion of Harris's lists Tim Webb Ware compiled an unpublished consolidated summary, which corrected many of the remaining errors and added new entries, principally based upon the holdings of the British Museum, the 1988 Coin Register of this *Journal*, and auction catalogues and sales lists. Webb Ware's consolidated mint and moneyer lists have been immensely useful to the author of this note in recent years, as a museum curator often called upon to identify Norman coins for the Fitzwilliam Museum's Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC), but they are unpublished and now more than two decades old. Since the completion of the work of Harris and Webb Ware new hoards and single finds have considerably increased our knowledge of the coins issued by the English and Welsh mints between 1066 and 1158, and there is a great need for the publication of updated and revised lists, which this article is intended to address.

The first stage in the preparation of the new lists of mints and moneyers was to collate the information provided by Harris and Webb Ware, checking any questionable or tentative attributions of coins in the original sources. The annual Coin Registers of 1987–2011, EMC and various volumes in the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles (SCBI)* series provided large numbers of additions and amendments, and unpublished records of coins identified at the British Museum in a card index kept by its Department of Coins and Medals also supplied additional material. Jeffrey North has very generously donated his own copies of the three editions of his *English Hammered Coinage* to the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the numerous manuscript notes and inserted photographs they contain were invaluable in the preparation of the new lists.³ Unpublished notes compiled by William Clarke provided many additions to the lists in the reigns of William I and William II. The comprehensive library of auction catalogues and price lists formed at the Fitzwilliam Museum by its Honorary Keeper of Ancient Coins, Prof. T.V. Buttrey, has also been of great assistance with the project.

The collections of the Fitzwilliam Museum and the British Museum have proved to be exceptionally fruitful sources of information. The Fitzwilliam Museum acquired a large part of Dr William Conte's extensive collection of Norman coins in 2001, and since the publication of Brooke's *BMC* in 1916 the holdings of the British Museum have been considerably

Acknowledgements. This article could not have been written without the help of Marion Archibald, Dr Edward Besly, Dr Marcus Phillips, Emily Freeman and Dr Gareth Williams in providing access to information about the contents of various important English, Welsh and French hoards. John Sadler has supplied much unpublished information about coins of the Ipswich mint and I have also greatly benefited from the advice of Vincent West on the listing of mints and moneyers in Stephen types 2 and 6.

¹ Harris 1983–88; Harris 1991.

² Brooke 1916, I, cxcviii–ccli.

³ North 1963; North 1980; North 1994.

enriched by coins from many important hoards of the period and other sources. Marion Archibald has very generously provided information about the Lincoln (Malandry), Prestwich and Wicklewood hoards in advance of her own publication of them, and her publication of the Box hoard has added three mints in the reign of Stephen (Castle Combe, Marlborough and Trowbridge) to those known when Harris published his lists.⁴ Dr Edward Besly has supplied unpublished information about the Abergavenny area hoard of coins of William I, Dr Gareth Williams has given the author the opportunity to study the Knaresborough area hoard of coins of Henry I type 15 before its dispersal under the terms of the 1996 Treasure Act, and Dr Marcus Phillips and Emily Reid have provided access to their work on the Pimprez hoard before its publication in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.⁵ The author's published corpora of Henry I type 14 and Stephen type 7 were the main sources for updated information on the mints and moneyers of those types, and recent studies of the Bury St Edmunds, Cambridge, Durham, Huntingdon, Winchester and Worcester mints have also been important sources of information.⁶

The allocation of moneyers to mints in the lists in the Appendix to this article has presented many problems of attribution, not all of which it is possible to resolve. One of the most intractable of these problems is the need to distinguish between coins of Chester and Leicester, which have similar mint signatures in the reigns of William I (1066–87) and William II (1087–1100), and early in the reign of Henry I (1100–35). Chester is unambiguously named as *Cestre* in Domesday Book, but its coins usually have variants of *Lege-(Lehe-)cestre* until the first decade of the twelfth century, while the Leicester mint has variations on the similar name *Legra-(Lehra-)cestre*.⁷ It is relatively straightforward to attribute all coins with the crucial letter *r* to Leicester, but in many cases there are coins of apparently the same moneyer both with and without it. An apparently unique coin of the Leicester moneyer Ælfsi in William I type 7 has an unambiguous mint signature (LERHRE), but other coins of Ælfsi or Elfsi in William I types 2, 5 and 8 with LEGECE, LECESTR and LEHECE have been attributed to Chester.⁸ Similarly, there are coins of a moneyer Frith(e)gist or Friothekest in William I types 2 and 3 with ambiguous mint signatures (LEGE, LEG and LEI) in addition to a William I type 7 penny of Fretthgest with a clear Leicester signature (LHR), but in this case no other mint has a moneyer with any version of this name in the Norman period and it may be suggested that all of these coins should be attributed to Leicester.⁹ One moneyer of William I type 2, Ælfweard, is only known from coins with the mint signature LEHI, which might refer to either Chester or Leicester.¹⁰ A reverse die of the moneyer 'Unnolf' (presumably the Chester moneyer Suno(u)lf) in William I type 8 has the unambiguous mint signature CESTRE, but the coins of Chester in William II types 1 to 4 continue to have potentially ambiguous variants of *Lege-(Lehe-)cestre*.¹¹ In the coinage of Henry I the possibility of confusion between Chester and Leicester mint signatures remains until type 3 at least. A Henry I type 3 penny of the moneyer Lifnoth with the mint signature LEGC can be attributed to Chester only because there is a moneyer of that name at Chester in William II type 3.¹² Harris listed 'Orthin' as a Leicester moneyer in William II type 3 from a coin of 'Othwthen' with the mint signature LEIC, but there is a coin of 'Owthyn' in Henry I type

⁴ *Coin Hoards* 1 (1975), 89–90, no. 359 (Lincoln hoard, 1971–72), and 91–2, no. 360 (Prestwich hoard, 1972); Christie's, 15 May 1990, lots 1–159 (Wicklewood hoard, 1989); Archibald 2001 (Box hoard, 1993–94).

⁵ *TAR* 2002, no. 217 (Abergavenny area hoard, 2002); *NC* 170 (2010), *Coin Hoards* 2010, no. 61 (Knaresborough area hoard, 2008–09); Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011 (Pimprez hoard, 2002).

⁶ Allen 2009 (Henry I type 14); Allen 2006b (Henry I type 14); Eaglen 2006 (Bury St Edmunds); Allen 2006a and Allen 2011 (Cambridge); Allen 1994 and Allen 2003 (Durham); Eaglen 1999 and Eaglen 2002 (Huntingdon); Biddle 2012 (Winchester); Symons 2003 and Symons 2006 (Worcester).

⁷ Brooke 1916, I, clxvii–clxviii, clxxxiv.

⁸ *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 41 (Leicester mint signature); *BMC* 77 (William I type 2); Lockett lot 926 William I type 5); *BMC* 585–6; *SCBI* 5, 399–400 (William I type 8).

⁹ *BMC* 80 (William I type 2; mint signature LEI); *SCBI* 20, 1357 (William I type 2; LEGE); EMC 2012.0019 (William I type 3; LEG); BM; ex Dr W. Williams (CM 1923, 5–8, 1) (William I type 7). Brooke 1923 argues that both of the BM coins should be attributed to Leicester.

¹⁰ *BMC* 78; *SCBI* 5, 394.

¹¹ *BMC* 598 (Unnolf).

¹² *SCBI* 5, 421.

2 with an undoubted Chester mint signature, [E?]**ESTR**.¹³ There are no known coins of the Chester mint between Henry I types 3 and 7, but variants of *Cestre* are general on coins of Chester from type 7 onwards.¹⁴ Coins with variants of *Legra-*(*Lehra-*)*cestre* can usually be attributed to Leicester with some confidence after type 7, although a type 7 penny of a moneyer Fulcred with the mint signature **LE** might be from either Leicester or Lewes.¹⁵

Other examples of moneyers with ambiguous mint signatures are Godesbrand at **BII** (Barnstaple or Bath) in William I type 8 and Huberd at **MÄ** (Maldon or Malmesbury?) in Henry I type 4.¹⁶ A William I type 2 penny of Lifwine at **TIIN** might be a coin of either Tamworth or Taunton, and in Stephen type 1 a penny of Al[fr]ed at **TÄN** attributed to Taunton by Brooke and Mack is perhaps more likely to be a coin of the Tamworth moneyer of that name.¹⁷ The coins of the moneyer Bertold at **RI** in Stephen type 1 were formerly identified as the earliest issues of the Castle Rising mint, but the finding of a lead trial piece from Bertold's dies below the walls of Richmond Castle, North Yorkshire, in 1987 indicated beyond any reasonable doubt that this moneyer actually worked in Richmond.¹⁸ A Stephen type 2 penny of a moneyer Turstan with the ambiguous mint signature **DVN** has been reattributed from Durham to Dunwich after the discovery of further coins of Dunwich in the Wickwood hoard, but the recent identification of Durham as a mint of Stephen type 7 has introduced an element of doubt into the attribution of the type 7 coins of the moneyers Nicol(e) and R[ogier?] with mint signatures reading **DVN** and **DVNE** to Dunwich.¹⁹ There is also some potential for confusion between the mint signatures of Stamford (*Stanford* in Domesday Book) and Steyning (*Staninges*).²⁰ H(ei)rman has usually been regarded as a Stamford moneyer in William II type 4 (**STIII**) and in Henry I types 1 (**STN**), 3 (**STENI**), 7 (**STÄ**) and 14 (**STÄN**), but Sharp has argued that the mint may be Steyning.²¹ Similar doubt attaches to the attribution of Stephen type 7 pence of Aschi[l] (**STN**) and [Rodb?]ert (**STEN**) to Stamford or Steyning.²² A Henry I type penny 10 reading **†GODRI[--]N:ŠÄN** is tentatively attributed in the lists to the Sandwich moneyer Godric, who is also recorded at this mint in types 12 and 14, but this must remain uncertain because there is a moneyer of the same name at Bury St Edmunds in types 13 and 14, and moreover the mint signature **ŠÄ(N)** appears on coins of Bury in type 15.²³ The irregular and independent coinages issued during the civil war of Stephen's reign provide numerous particularly ambiguous or apparently unintelligible mint signatures, most of which are no easier to resolve than when Mack published his survey of the coinage of Stephen in 1966.²⁴

The lists of mints and moneyers in the Appendix are divided into three sections, covering the reigns of William I and William II together, Henry I and the coinage of the reign of Stephen (including Stephen type 7, which continued to be issued for about four years after Stephen's death in 1154). In each section the moneyers of a particular mint are listed alphabetically, showing the names in the forms that appear on their coins, which it is hoped will be

¹³ Harris, *SCMB* 798 (Mar. 1985), 61; Glendining, 9 June 1976, lot 31; Stewart 1992, 123, no. 28 (William II type 3); BM; ex Lockett lot 1047 (CM 1955, 7–8, 148) (Henry I type 2). A William II type 5 cut halfpenny reading **†O[] [L?]EĒEST** (BM card index, Jan. 1996) may be another coin of this moneyer.

¹⁴ A coin of the Chester moneyer Ai(l)ric in Henry I type 7 has [**]****ESRE** (*SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 266), and coins of Chester in Henry I type 10 have **EE** (moneyer Cristret: FM; CM.1023–2001) and **EE** (moneyer Gillemor: FM; CM.1024–2001). In Henry I type 14 the recorded Chester mint signatures are **ĒES**, **ĒEST** and **ĒESTRE**, and at Leicester they are **LECE**, **LEIC**, **LEICES** and **LEREC** (Allen 2009, 91, 106–7, 116–17, nos 74–84, 200–16).

¹⁵ *BMC* 40.

¹⁶ *BMC* 298; *SCBI* 21, 1194 (Hwatemán); *BMC* 502–3; Lockett lot 960 (part) (Godesbrand); FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.970–2001) (Huberd).

¹⁷ *SCBI* 18, p. ix, no. 1346 (William I type 2); *BMC* 105; Mack 1966, 44, no. 36 (Stephen type 1).

¹⁸ Mack 1966, 41, no. 8; Archibald 1991a, 345, no. 55; Blackburn 1994, 161 n.31.

¹⁹ Dolley 1968, 31–3, no. 7; Allen 1994, 391–2; Allen 2003, 166; Allen and Webb Ware 2007, 279–80.

²⁰ Brooke 1916, I, clxxxiii.

²¹ Blackburn and Bonser 1983 and *SCBI* 27, 1511 (William II type 4); *BMC* 15 (Henry I type 1); BM (CM 1973, 8–23, 17; ex Lincoln hoard) (Henry I type 7); Allen 2009, 150 (no. 760) and *SCBI* 27, 1517 (Henry I type 14); Sharp 1999.

²² Sharp 1982; Allen 2006b, 244–5, 283, nos 250–1.

²³ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 27); Eaglen 79–80, 222.

²⁴ Mack 1966.

more useful to readers endeavouring to identify a difficult specimen than a normalized form which may be relatively remote from anything seen on the coins. When the name of a moneyer is not fully legible on his coins the probable number of missing letters is indicated with dashes, if it is possible to estimate it. The types recorded for each moneyer are indicated by an 'x', with a footnote when there is an addition or amendment to Harris's lists.²⁵ Mules between types are listed under the later of the two types involved, and doubtful attributions are indicated with a question mark.

The first column in the table for the mints and moneyers of William I and II records the appearance of a similar moneyer's name at the same mint in the coinage of Edward the Confessor (1042–66) or Harold II (1066).²⁶ The tables for William I and II and for Henry I have additional columns to show when moneyers of the same or a similar name are known at the same mint during the last decade or so of the eleventh century (William II types 1–5) and the first decade of the twelfth (Henry I types 1–6 and 9), and there are similar columns in the Henry I and Stephen tables to show the overlap between Henry I types 14 and 15 and Stephen type 1.²⁷ The Henry I table has a further column to list the moneyers of round halfpence, and the fifteen types of Henry I's penny coinage are arranged in the order proposed by Blackburn, with the minor amendment that type 8 is placed after type 7, as suggested by Conte and Archibald.²⁸ In the Stephen table there are separate columns for regular coins of type 1; the Pereric coinage; coins of type 1 from 'erased' obverse dies, reverse dies with added 'roundels' and irregular or unofficial dies of type 1 in the name of Stephen; coinages in the name of Matilda; other independent coinages, not imitating Stephen's type 1; the coinages of David I of Scotland and his son Henry; and finally Stephen's own types 2, 6 and 7.

Discussion

In 1966 Dolley argued that there was a considerable amount of continuity in minting places and the identity of moneyers in the early years of the Norman Conquest, and in support of this he noted that about 100 out of some 140 moneyers recorded in the brief reign of Harold II in 1066 also struck coins for William I.²⁹ The new lists of mints and moneyers provide the means to examine this question in much greater detail. Table 1 shows that only forty-eight (about 32 per cent) of the 149 moneyers now recorded in the coinage of Harold II are known to have issued William I's first type, although this number rises to seventy-four (nearly 50 per cent) if moneyers represented in William I type 2 are included.³⁰ A significant number of the Anglo-Saxon moneyers may have lost their lives or have been displaced in 1066, but there was no wholesale replacement of moneyers, as was to occur on several occasions in the twelfth century (in 1125, 1158 and 1180). The apparent closure of sixteen of the mints of Harold II during the issue of William I type 1 may indicate some temporary disruption of mint organization in the early stages of the Norman Conquest, but the number of missing mints might be reduced by future discoveries. Fifteen of the sixteen apparently missing mints reopened later in the reign of William I (the single exception being Droitwich), and no completely new mint was opened until the first appearance of Pevensey in William I type 5.

²⁵ For reasons of brevity and clarity footnotes have not been provided on the numerous occasions when Harris omitted a type listed in Brooke's *BMC* by an apparent oversight.

²⁶ Jonsson and van der Meer 1990 lists the mints and moneyers of c.973–1066.

²⁷ William II type 1 may have been introduced in about 1090 and not at the beginning of the reign in 1087 (Eaglen 2006, 55–8). Blackburn 1990, 55–72 reviews the evidence for the order of the types of Henry I's coinage and their chronology, placing type 9 immediately after type 6 and tentatively dating it to c.1109–11.

²⁸ Blackburn 1990, 55–62; Conte and Archibald 1990, 234.

²⁹ Dolley 1966, 11–15, esp. pp. 11–12.

³⁰ The mints and moneyers of Harold II have been listed by Jonsson and van der Meer 1990 and Pagan 1990. Twenty-three moneyers of the reign of Harold II have been recorded at the same mint in William I type 2 but not in type 1: Sægod/Sigod at Bedford, Ælfw(i)ne/Alfwine and Leofstan/L(i)o)fstan at Ipswich, Oswold at Lewes, Autgrim/O(u)thgrim at Lincoln, Brihtwi(ne) at Malmesbury, Sæwine/Sewi(ne) and Swetman at Northampton, Ælfwi/Elfwi at Oxford, Ærn(e)wi/Earnwi and Wulfmær/Wulmfer at Shrewsbury, Osmund at Southwark, Liofric at Stamford, Dermon/Drman at Steyning, Brihtric at Taunton, Wulfwine at Warwick, Gar(e)ulf at Worcester and Ale(i)o)f/Aleigf, Awthb(e)rn/Outhbeo(r)n/Ow(i)tbern/Othtbe/Othtebrn/Iuthbern/Uwthbern, Arcetel, Læsing/Leigsing/Le(i)s(i)nc/Lesis and Sweartcol at York.

TABLE 1. Moneyers of Harold II and William I type 1

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Harold II</i>	<i>William I type 1</i>	<i>Same name in both periods</i>
Bath	0	1	
Bedford ³¹	3	1	
Bedwyn	0	1	
Bridport	1	0	
Bristol	3	2	2 moneyers: Ce(o)rl/Carel, Leofwine/Li(o)fwine
Cambridge	5	1	
Canterbury ³²	5	3	3 moneyers: Eadweard, Man(na), Wulfred
Chester	3	1	
Chichester	2	1	
Colchester	4	3	3 moneyers: Br(i)htric, Goldman, Goldstan
Cricklade	1	1	1 moneyer: Leofred/Li(o)fred
Derby	2	2	1 moneyer: Froma/Froam/Frona
Dorchester	1	0	
Dover	2	1	
Droitwich	3	0	
Exeter	3	6	3 moneyers: Brihtric, L(e)fwine/Lifwine, Livinc
Gloucester	6	2	2 moneyers: Ordric, Silæcwine/Sil(e)acwine/Sil(e)ac
Guildford	1	0	
Hastings	3	3	2 moneyers: Dun(n)i(n)c/Duni(e)/Dning, Thio(d)red
Hereford	5	1	
Hertford	0	1	
Huntingdon	1	2	
Ilchester	1	2	1 moneyer: Æ(ge)lwine/Æglwini/Wægelwine
Ipswich	3	0	
Leicester	2	1	
Lewes	3	0	
Lincoln	9	6	3 moneyers: Agemund/Ahemund, Almær/Ælmar/Ælmer/ Almær, Garvin
London	8	8	2 moneyers: Ædwi(ne)/E(a)dwine/Edwi(i), Swetman
Maldon	1	0	
Malmesbury	1	0	
Northampton	3	0	
Norwich ³³	6	4	1 moneyer: Thur(e)grim
Nottingham	2	2	2 moneyers: Forn(a), Man(na)
Oxford	3	3	1 moneyer: Godwine
Rochester	2	0	
Romney	1	1	1 moneyer: Wul(f)mær
Salisbury	0	2	
Shaftesbury	3	0	
Shrewsbury	4	0	
Southwark	1	0	
Stafford	0	1	
Stamford	4	2	2 moneyers: Brunwine, Leofwine/Liofwine/Lufwine
Steyning	1	0	
Taunton	1	0	
Thetford	4	5	2 moneyers: Godric, Godwine
Wallingford	4	3	3 moneyers: Brand, Brihtmær/Brihtmar, Swe(ar)t(l)inc/ Sweartline/Sweortnc/Swertlic/Swetlind/Swirti(n)c/ Swirtlic
Wareham	1	2	1 moneyer: Sideman
Warwick	3	1	1 moneyer: Thiurcil/Th(u)rcil/Thurkil

³¹ The number of moneyers known at Bedford in the reign of Harold II has been increased from the two listed by Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, 55–6, and Pagan 1990, 195, to three by the finding of a coin of the moneyer Brihric (Coin Register 2009, no. 373).

³² The Canterbury moneyer Wulfred is only known in the reign of Harold II from a coin listed in unillustrated nineteenth-century auction catalogues (Pagan 1990, 191).

³³ Manna can be added to the list of five Norwich moneyers in the reign of Harold II provided by Jonsson and van der Meer 1990, 93–4 (Coin Register 1994, no. 235). Pagan 1990, 194, notes the unconfirmed listing of a coin of Manna in a notebook of W.J. Webster.

<i>Mint</i>	<i>Harold II</i>	<i>William I type 1</i>	<i>Same name in both periods</i>
Wilton	3	2	
Winchcombe	1	0	
Winchester	5	4	4 moneyers: Ælfwin(e), And(e)rbod(a)/Anderbode, Lifi(n)c/Livinc, Leofwold/Liefwold/Lifwo(l)d/Liffwold/ Liofwold/Liufwold
Worcester	4	3	3 moneyers: E(a)stmær/Eastmer, Li(o)fric, Wicinc/ Wiginc
York	12	6	4 moneyers: Autgrim/O(u)thgrim/Oethgrim, Autholf/ O(u)tholf, Roscetel/Rozcetel, Ulfcetel/Ulfkecel
Mint totals	48	37	23
Moneyer totals	149	94	48

It is reasonable to assume that the lists of types known for each moneyer between 1066 and 1158, and even the lists of moneyers' names, are incomplete at present, because new discoveries are constantly being made. To investigate the rates of additions to the lists in recent years, Tables 2–4 summarize the numbers of moneyers added to the record in each type from 1989 to 2011, by single finds and hoards, and by otherwise unrecorded coins first seen on the market in that period. It will be seen from Table 2 that the rates of discovery have been relatively low in the fifteen types of William I and William II. In contrast, Table 3 shows that none of the first twelve types of Henry I has a percentage of new records in 1989–2011 below 15 per cent, and that four of these earlier types have figures of 40 per cent or more, indicating that the record of moneyers is still extremely incomplete in this period (1100–c.1121). The last three types of Henry I (types 13, 14 and 15, c.1121–35/6) have percentages below 10 per cent, suggesting that the record is relatively complete towards the end of the reign. This is certainly the part of Henry I's coinage best known from hoards.³⁴ The data for 1135–58 in Table 4 suggest that the lists of moneyers are fairly complete in Stephen type 1, which provided as much as 78 per cent of the coins in hoards of the period analysed by Blackburn, but that there may be many more gaps in the record in other types.³⁵

TABLE 2. Moneyers first recorded in a type between 1989 and 2011: coinages of 1066–1100

<i>Reign Type</i>	<i>William I</i>								<i>William II</i>					<i>Total</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
1989–2000	4	3	6	4	2	6	4	1	4	1	0	0	3	38
2001–11	1	1	4	3	7	4	8	0	1	2	2	1	1	35
1989–2011 total	5	4	10	7	9	10	12	1	5	3	2	1	4	73
1989–2011 percentage of total recorded	5.3	2.9	10.4	6.5	7.0–7.1	12.2	13.5	0.6	4.5–4.6	1.9	1.5	1.4	5.7–5.9	5.0
Total recorded moneyers/type	94	136	96	108	127–9	82	89	178	109–10	154	134–6	72	68–70	1,447 1,454

TABLE 3. Moneyers first recorded in a type between 1989 and 2011: coinages of 1100–35

<i>Henry I type</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	<i>Half- penny</i>	<i>Total</i>
1989–2000	4	11	8	15	3	10	10	4	7	14	13	6	8	1	1	7	122
2001–11	6	3	6	6	4	1	7	5	5	15	4	7	1	0	8	4	82
1989–2011 total	10	14	14	21	7	11	17	9	12	29	17	13	9	1	9	11	204
1989–2011 percentage of total recorded	18.9– 19.2	25.5– 25.9	31.1– 31.8	48.8– 50.0	23.3	39.3	44.7	45.0	17.1– 17.6	51.8– 52.7	15.0	28.9	9.4– 9.6	0.7	8.0	84.6	21.2– 21.6
Total recorded moneyers/type	52–3	54–5	44–5	42–3	30	28	38	20	68–70	55–6	113	45	94– 6	136– 43	112– 13	13	944– 61

³⁴ Blackburn 1990, 52–4.³⁵ Blackburn 1994, 148–50, 201–5.

TABLE 4. Moneyers first recorded in a type between 1989 and 2011: coinages of 1135–58

Type (Stephen/other)	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr.	Mat.	Ind.	Sc.	2	6	7	Total
1989–2000	3	0	0	0	8	0	10	0	6	15	8	50
2001–11	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	4	1	7	18
1989–2011 total	5	0	1	0	9	0	12	0	10	16	15	68
1989–2011 percentage of total recorded	3.1–3.2	0.0	50.0–52.6	0.0	36.0–42.9	0.0	21.1–23.5	0.0	16.1– 16.4	34.0– 34.8	15.2–15.3	13.5– 13.9
Total recorded moneyers/type	158–60	11	19–20	7	21–5	12	51–7	5	61–2	46–7	98–9	488–504

Key to Tables 4 and 7 and to lists of moneyers of 1135–58 in Appendix

Per.	Pereric
Er.	Type 1 erased dies
Ro.	Type 1 roundels
Irr.	Type 1 irregular (in the name of Stephen)
Mat.	Matilda: (A) Imitating Stephen type 1; (B) Independent types
Ind.	Independent coinages
Sc.	David I of Scotland (D) and Henry of Northumbria (H)

To investigate the relative completeness of the lists further, Tables 5–7 summarize the numbers of coins of each type in hoards discovered since 1989, with new moneyers recorded from a hoard shown in parentheses.³⁶ It will be seen that there is a shortage of new hoard data for 1066–1100, and in most of the types of Henry I, but the data in Table 5 do give some indication that the record is still incomplete in this period. The discovery of 14 new moneyers for Henry I type 11 amongst only 24 coins of the type in the Pimprez hoard is striking confirmation of the suggestion that the record is particularly incomplete in the earlier types of Henry I, and the low numbers of new moneyers for Henry I type 15 in the Pimprez and Knaresborough area hoards provide evidence of the relative completeness of the lists at the end of the reign. In Table 7, 72 coins of Stephen type 1 in the Pimprez hoard provided no new moneyers whatsoever, but the Box hoard has shown the potential for substantial additions to the lists for independent types, as the Wicklewood hoard had done for Stephen types 2 and 6. The figures from Wicklewood and Portsdown Hill seem to indicate that the record is much more complete in Stephen type 7 than in types 2 and 6.

Tables 8–10 summarize the numbers of moneyers at each mint in each type between 1066 and 1158. In an attempt to take account of the incompleteness of the record there are two figures in many cases: the actual number of moneyers recorded (with uncertain attributions indicated by a range of figures) and, where appropriate, an adjusted total, calculated by assuming that moneyers who have not been recorded in a type but who are known in both of the adjacent types were actually active in the type.³⁷ This method of adjustment cannot make any allowance for moneyers completely unrecorded in any type at present, with a potential

³⁶ The sources of the data in Tables 5–7 are as follows: *NC Coin Hoards* 1996, no. 131 (Corringham); *Coin Register* 1994, nos 237–8, and Metcalf 1998, 184, 255 (Cranwich); *TAR* 2002, no. 217, and information from Dr Edward Besly (Abergavenny area); *NC Coin Hoards* 2000, no. 45 and Gannon and Williams 2001 (Maltby Springs and Tiverton); *Coin Register* 1994, nos 240, 242, and Metcalf 1998, 187, 255 (Bradenham); *Coin Register* 1998, no. 155 (Louth area); *NC Coin Hoards* 2008, no. 54 (Stalbridge); *EMC* 2008.0135, 2008.0273 (Lewes); *EMC* 2008.0204–5 (Andover); *NC Coin Hoards* 1997, no. 51 (Toddington); *NC Coin Hoards* 2007, no. 61 (Carleton Rode); *NC Coin Hoards* 2010, no. 62 (Holbeck); *NC Coin Hoards* 2010, no. 61 (Knaresborough area); *NC Coin Hoards* 1996, no. 132 (Bedford area); *NC Coin Hoards* 1999, no. 45 (Bledlow with Saunderton); *NC Coin Hoards* 2001, no. 77 (Grendon); Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011 (Pimprez); *NC Coin Hoards* 2008, no. 55 (York area); *NC Coin Hoards* 2009, no. 69 (Dunton); Archibald 2001 (Box); Buckland Dix & Wood, 28 June 1995, lots 171–91, and Allen 2006b, 251 (Portsdown Hill); Christie's, 15 May 1990, lots 1–159, and information from Marion Archibald (Wicklewood); Dr Barrie Cook (Mansfield Woodhouse and Eynesford) and Dr Gareth Williams (Tibberton and Stogumber).

³⁷ Blackburn 1990, 60–1, 65–6, calculates adjusted figures for the moneyers in each of the fifteen types of Henry I by assuming activity throughout gaps in the record of up to about a decade. The adjustment has not been applied where a moneyer is known in the coinage of Harold II and in William I's type 2, but not in type 1.

TABLE 5. Coins of 1066–1100 in hoards discovered since 1989 (numbers of new moneyers in parentheses)

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
Corringham 1994	12 (1)	11 (1)	1										
Cranwich 1994	–	–	–	2 (1)									
Tibberton 2008–09	–	–	–	4 (2)									
Stogumber 2012	–	–	–	4? (1)									
Maltby Springs 1999	–	–	–	1	4								
Tiverton 2000	–	–	–	–	6								
Abergavenny area 2002	–	1	–	–	62 (4)	4 (2)	2						
Bradenham 1994	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 (1)						
Louth area 1992	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2					
Stalbridge 2005	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1+	1+			

TABLE 6. Coins of 1100–35 in hoards discovered since 1989 (numbers of new moneyers in parentheses)

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Henry I types</i>														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15
Lewes 2008	1	2 (1)													
Andover 2002–08	–	–	–	–	–	–	2 (2)								
Toddington 1995	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9 (4)					
Carleton Rode 2003–04	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4				
Mansfield Woodhouse 1991	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	75+ (7)				
Holbeck 2007	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Knaresborough area 2008–09	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	177–8 (4)
Bedford area 1994	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1+
Pimprez 2002	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	24 (14)	1	–	–	33	315 (4)
Wicklewood 1989	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 (1)	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	15

for underestimation, but the possibility that some moneyers were genuinely inactive during apparent gaps in their record of types might compensate for this to a certain extent.

It will be seen from Table 8 that the numbers of moneyers and mints fluctuated very widely between 1066 and 1100, reaching a peak of 178 (181 adjusted) at 65 mints in William I type 8 (the *Paxs* type, 1087–c.1090?), and falling to only 68–70 (72–4) at 35–7 mints in William II type 5, at the end of the eleventh century.³⁸ The figures for the reign of Henry I (1100–35) in

³⁸ The dating of the *Paxs* type is discussed by Archibald 1984, 324, 328; Allen 1994, 385; Eaglen 2006, 55–8.

TABLE 7. Coins of 1135–58 in hoards discovered since 1989 (numbers of new moneyers in parentheses)

<i>Hoard</i>	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr.	<i>Types</i> Mat.	Ind.	Sc.	2	6	7
Bedford area	>c.150										
1994	(1)										
Bledlow with Saunderton	2										
1998											
Eynesford	9–11										
1993											
Grendon	4										
2000											
Humberside	3										
1993											
Pimprez	72										
2002											
York area	8										
2005											
Dunton	2	–	–	–	–	–	1				
2007											
Box	8	–	4	–	–	–	92				
1993–94							(10)				
Portsmouth Hill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	25
1995											(3)
Wicklewood	42	–	2	–	3	1	4	1	109	134	29
1989	(1)				(3)		(2)		(4)	(13)	(1)

Table 9 show the decline continuing to a nadir of only 20–31 (31–40) moneyers at 15–19 (18–21) mints in Henry I types 5, 6, 9 and 8 (c.1106–13). This would seem to provide evidence of the effects of the general shortage of silver from European mines in the years around 1100 postulated by Spufford.³⁹ The numbers recover sharply to 113 (114) moneyers at 46 (47) mints in type 10 (c.1117–19), before falling to 45 (78) at 30 (37) mints in type 12 (c.1119–21) and rising again to 136–43 (138–45) at 53–4 mints in type 14 (c.1123–1124/5). The sharp peaks in the figures in type 10 might possibly have been connected with the heavy taxation during Henry I's war in Normandy in 1116–20, which was complained about in the 1117 and 1118 annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.⁴⁰ The fall in the figures after type 14 to only 110–11 moneyers at 22 mints in type 15 (1125–35/6) provides clear evidence of the consequences of Henry I's assize of moneyers in 1124–25 and the subsequent closure of mints.⁴¹ In the early years of the reign of Stephen (1135–54) many of the mints closed under Henry I were reopened, and this is very evident in the figures for Stephen's type 1 in Table 10.⁴² The figures fall from a peak of 158–60 moneyers at 44 mints in type 1 to only 46–62 (51–62) moneyers at 17–21 mints in Stephen's type 2 and 6, the issue of which was limited to the southern and eastern areas of the kingdom under Stephen's control during the civil war of his reign, recovering to 98–9 moneyers at 44–6 mints in type 7, after the restoration of peace and the reestablishment of a national coinage in 1153–54.⁴³

³⁹ Spufford 1988, 95–105; Blackburn 1990, 73.

⁴⁰ Swanton 1996, 246–9; Hollister 2001, 244, 246–70, 272–6.

⁴¹ Blackburn 1990, 68–71; Allen 2009, 82–5.

⁴² Blackburn 1994, 153–60.

⁴³ Blackburn 1994, 161–4; Allen 2006b, 244–8.

TABLE 8. Mints and moneys of William I and William II
Note. Numbers in parentheses give the adjusted total of moneys where relevant.

<i>Mint</i>	<i>William I types</i>							<i>William II types</i>					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
Abergavenny?								1					
Barnstaple		1			1	1	1 (2)	1					
Barnstaple or Bath								1					
Bath	1		1		1			2	0 (1)	1			
Bedford	1 (2)	2	2	1 (2)	2		1	1 (2)	3	2 (3)	2		
Bedwyn	1												
Bridport					2		1	2					
Bristol	2	1 (2)	2	2	2	2	2 (3)	5	2	3	3	2	2
Bristol or Cricklade					1								
Bury St Edmunds			1										
Cambridge	1		1	2	2	1 (2)	1	2	1	2	1		
Canterbury	3	2	2 (3)	4	4	3	5	8	6–7	8	7 (8)	5 (6)	4
Cardiff								2					
Chester	1	4			1			3	2	3	3 (4)	2 (3)	0–1
Chester or Leicester		1											
Chichester	1	0 (1)	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	3	2	1
Colchester	3	3	1	1	2	2 (3)	2 (3)	5	1 (2)	5	2–3 (3–4)	4 (5)	2 (3)
Cricklade	1	1	0 (1)	1	2	0 (1)	1	1		1	1		
Derby	2	2	1 (2)	0 (1)	1		1	2	2	2			1
Dorchester			1	1 (2)	2	2	1	2	1	2	0 (1)	2	1
Dover	1	1	2	2	2		4	5	2 (3)	3	2	2	2
Durham								1		1	1		
Exeter	6	3	4	4 (5)	4	3	2	3	2 (3)	3	2	3	2
Gloucester	2 (3)	3	2 (3)	3	3	0 (1)	1	3	1	2	4	2	
Guildford				1	1			1			1		1
Hastings	3	1			2			2	1 (2)	3	3	3	3
Hereford	1	4	2 (3)	2 (3)	5 (6)	2	0 (1)	4	2 (4)	5	3	1	2
Hertford	1 (2)	1			1		1	2	2	2 (3)	3		
Huntingdon	2 (3)	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1 (2)	2	0 (1)	1	
Hythe					1			1	1	1	1	0 (1)	1
Ilchester	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1 (2)	2		
Ipswich	0 (2)	5	3	3 (4)	4	3	3 (5)	6	4 (5)	2 (3)	2	1 (3)	2
Launceston					1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Leicester	1	4	2	1	1	0 (1)	3	2	2	3	1	0 (1)	1
Lewes	0 (1)	2	1 (2)	3	2	2	1 (2)	3	2	3	3	1 (2)	2 (3)

TABLE 8. *Continued.*

<i>Mint</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
Lincoln	7	7	7	7	7	4	4	2	2	5	7	4	1
	(8)					(6)		(3)					(2)
London	8	11	12	12	7	6	8	8	9	13	14-15	9	11
			(14)	(14)	(8)	(7)	(9)	(9)				(10)	
Maldon			1	0	1	0	1	3	1	1	1		0-1
				(1)		(1)							
Malmesbury	0	1	1	1	1			2	1	1	1		
	(1)												
Marlborough			1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Northampton	0	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	2		1
	(2)						(1)						
Norwich	4	4	3	3	4	3	4	7	2	6	4	2	4
		(6)			(5)				(3)		(5)	(3)	
Nottingham	2	2	2	2	1			2	1	1		1	1
									(2)				
Oxford	3	7	5	6	4	2	3	3	2	6	4	1	1
	(4)		(6)		(5)	(3)			(3)				
Pevensey					1			1	1	1	1		
Rhuddlan								2					
Rhuddlan or										1			
Rhyd-y-Gors?													
Rochester	0	1	0	1	1			2	1	2	3	1	1
	(1)		(1)									(2)	
Romney	1				2	2	1	3	1	2	2	0	2
									(3)			(1)	
St Davids								2					
Salisbury	2				1	0	1	2	2	3	3	0	1
						(1)						(1)	
Sandwich		1		3	2	3	2	3	2	1	2	3	2
							(3)						
Shaftesbury				1	2	3	3	3	1	2	2	2	
Shrewsbury	0	4	0	3	3	1	0	3	3	3	2	1	1
	(4)		(3)				(1)					(2)	
Southwark	0	2			1	1	2	4	4	4	5	3	2
	(1)									(5)		(4)	
Stafford	1	2						2	1	2	1	1	1
Stamford	2	4	5	1	1-2	2	0	3	2	1	1		1
	(3)						(1)						
Stamford or Steyning												1	
Steyning	0	1	0	1	1	1		1	0	1	2	1	1
	(1)		(1)						(1)				
Sudbury		1				1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
							(1)		(1)				
Tamworth		2						2	2	2			
Tamworth or Taunton		1											
Taunton	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
	(1)												
Thetford	5	6	6	5	6	3	6	6	7	7	4	2	4
						(5)			(8)				(5)
Totnes										1	1		
Twynham (Christchurch)							1						
Wallingford	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1
Wareham	2	0	1	2	3	2	2	4	1		1		
		(1)											
Warwick	1	2	1	2	3			4	4	3	1		
	(2)												
Watchet						1	0	1			1		
							(1)						
Wilton	2	4	3	4	2	0	2	3	2	3	2		
			(4)			(2)			(3)				

<i>Mint</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
Winchcombe				1	1	0	1	1					
Winchester	4	6	7	5	5	7	5	8	7	5	7	4	3
Worcester	3	6	5	3	3-4	2	1	4	3	4	1	1	1
York	(4)			(6)	(4-5)		(2)		(4)		(2)		
	6	11	1	4	5	4	2	4	1	2	3	2	
	(11)		(4)				(4)		(2)				
Uncertain mint						1							
Moneyer total	94	136	96	108	127-9	82	89	178	109-10	154	134-6	72	68-70
Moneyer total (adjusted)	120	141	115	117	131-3	98	107	181	129	158	141-3	87	72-4
Mint total	37	44	37	42	56	36	42	65	51	56	52	33	35-37
Mint total (adjusted)	45	46	41	44	56	43	48	65	54	56	54	37	35-37

TABLE 9. Mints and moneyers of Henry I

Note. Numbers in parentheses give the adjusted total of moneyers where relevant.

<i>Mint</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	<i>Halfpenny</i>
Barnstaple		1											1	1		
Bath													1	1		
Bedford					1		1	1			1	1	2	1		
Bristol	0	2	1	2	1					1	4	1	3	3	2	
	(2)		(2)									(2)		(4)		
Bury St Edmunds									1-2				2	2	1	
Cambridge					1	1				1	1		1			
Canterbury	3	4	2	3	1	2	2		2	2	5	2	5	6-7	7-8	
			(3)									(4)				
Cardiff					1					1	1			1		
Carlisle														1	1	
Chester		1	1						1-2		2		1	4	5	
Chichester				1		1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2		
									(2)	(2)						
Colchester	1	2	1	1					1	0	1	1	3	1		
									(1)			(2)				
Derby													1	1		
Dorchester									1			1	0	2	1	
												(1)				
Dover	1		1				1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1		
							(2)					(1)				
Durham											1			1		
Durham?									1							
Exeter		1							2	3	2	1	0	3-4	6	
												(1)				
Gloucester		1	1	1		1		1			1			3	6	
Hastings	2	0	2	2					2	2	5	2	0	3		
		(1)										(1)				
Hereford						1		1	0	2	2	0	1	2	4	1
									(1)			(1)				
Hertford		1														
Huntingdon	1	2	2								1	1	1	2		
Hythe														1		
Ilchester											1	1				
Ipswich	2	1	2	1	1					1	2	1	3	5	1	
Leicester	1	1		1					1	1	1	1	2	2		
Leicester or Lewes									1							
Lewes	3	1			1		3	0	1	1	3	1	1	2		
								(1)				(2)	(2)			
Lincoln	2	2		1	2	2	1	0	5	3	7	1	4-5	5	9	1
					(3)	(7)	(10)	(1)		(4)		(4)				
London	10	9-10	7-8	8-9	8	7	10	5	15	12	14	4	12	13-14	22	
						(11)	(11)	(11)		(14)		(11)				

TABLE 9. *Continued.*

<i>Mint</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	<i>Halfpenny</i>
Maldon or Malmesbury				1												
Northampton	1	1	1			1		1	1	1	2	1	4	3	6	
Norwich	2	2	3	2	1	0 (1)	2	0 (1)	3	3	4	3	4 (4)	5-6 (5)	13	2
Nottingham		1	1				1	0 (1)	1	0 (1)	1	0 (1)	1	1	1	
Oxford	1	1		1			1	1	1	1	2			2	2	1
Pembroke											1			1	1	
Pevensey							1				1			1		
Rochester	2				1				1	0-1	1			1		
Romney								1	1	1	1		1	2		
Rye										1	0 (1)	1				
Salisbury	1-2	1		1		1				1	1	1	1-2	2		
Sandwich		1	0 (1)	1		1	3	0 (2)	3	1	1	1	2 (3)	4		1
Shaftesbury		2		1						2	2	0 (1)	2	3		
Shrewsbury				2							1	1	1	1		
Southwark	3	2	2	2	0 (1)	1	0 (1)	1	2 (3)	2	3	2 (3)	2	2		
Stafford											1		1			
Stamford		1	2	1	2	1			2	1	1	2	0 (2)	3	1	
Stamford or Steyning	1	0 (1)	1						1					1		
Sudbury	1	0 (1)	1	0 (1)	1				1		1		1	1	1	
Tamworth								1			1	0 (1)	1	1		
Taunton														1		
Thetford	5	5 (6)	5	3	3	1	2 (3)	2	2	3 (4)	6	4 (6)	5 (6)	8-9	4	
Totnes	1					1	1	1				1				
Twynham (Christchurch)		1							1					1		
Wallingford	2	3	2	1	1			1	1	0 (1)	2	1 (2)	2	2		1
Wareham			1		1	1			1	0 (1)	2	0 (1)	2	2		
Warwick	1					1	1		1		4	0 (2)	3	3		
Watchet										1				1		
Wilton		1	1	2	1	1			1	1	1	1		2		1
Winchester	4	2	1	2	2	2 (3)	3	1 (2)	3	4 (5)	6	3 (5)	5	6-7	8	3
Worcester							1		1		1	1	2	2-3		
York	1	1	3	1		1	2	1	3	1 (3)	4	1 (4)	4	5	7	2
Uncertain mint									2		4		2		1	
Moneyer total	52- 3	54- 5	44- 5	42- 3	30	28	37	20	68- 70	55- 6	113	45	94- 6	136- 43	110- 11	13
Moneyer total (adjusted)	54- 5	58- 9	47- 9	43- 4	31	35	40	35	71- 3	67- 8	114	78	103- 5	138- 45	110- 11	13
Mint total	24	29	22-3	24	18	19	18	16	32- 3	29- 30	46	30	38	53-4	22	9
Mint total (adjusted)	25	31- 43	23- 4	25	19	20	19	21	33- 4	33- 4	47	37	44	53-4	22	9

Note. Numbers in parentheses give the adjusted total of moneyers where relevant. See p. 60 for key to types.

[illegible]

TABLE 10. *Continued.*

<i>Mint</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>Per.</i>	<i>Er.</i>	<i>Ro.</i>	<i>Irr.</i>	<i>Mat.</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Sc.</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Sherborne							0–1				
Shrewsbury	2				1						1
Salisbury, Sandwich, Shaftesbury or Shrewsbury											1
Southampton							2				
Southwark	4										
Southwark or Sudbury	1										
Stafford	1										
Stamford	2	1	1				1			1	
Stamford or Steyning											2
Sudbury	1			1						1	2
Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Stafford or Sudbury	1										
Swansea					1		1				
Tamworth	1						0–1				1
Taunton											1
Thetford	5		2	1			1		5	3	2
Trowbridge							1				
Wareham	2					1	2				
Warwick	3									1	2
Watchet											1
‘Wiht’			1		1						
Wilton	2						1				2
Winchester	7	1									1
Wivelscombe?							1				
Worcester	3										2
Yarmouth										1	
York	9		1		1		2				2
Uncertain mint	1				1		1		2–3	1	2
Moneyer total	158–60	11	19–20	7	22–6	12	51–7	5	61–2	46–7	98–9
Moneyer total (adjusted)										51–2	
Mint total	44	7	11	4	14–16	3	27–31	3	17	21	44–6

APPENDIX. TABLES OF MINTS AND MONEYES

Moneys have been listed alphabetically, showing the names in the forms that appear on their coins. The types recorded for each moneyer are indicated by an ‘×’, with a footnote when there is an addition or amendment to Harris’s lists. When the name of a moneyer is not fully legible the probable number of missing letters is indicated with dashes, if it is possible to estimate it. Mules between types are listed under the later of the two types involved, and doubtful attributions are indicated with a question mark. Additional first and final columns record the appearance of a similar moneyer’s name at the same mint in preceding and successive periods.⁴⁴ The Henry I table includes a further column to list the moneyers of round halfpence. See pp. 56–7 above for a full discussion of the methodology and arrangement of the Appendix.

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group
CR	<i>BNJ</i> Coin Register
EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds
FM	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
UKDFD	United Kingdom Detector Finds Database

⁴⁴ See p. 57.

Auctions

Allen	W. Allen, Sotheby, 14 Mar. 1898
'Beauvais' hoard	Glendining, 4 Nov. 1987, lots 1–161
Bird	Dr B. Bird, Glendining, 20 Nov. 1974
Bliss	T. Bliss (Part 1), Sotheby, 22 Mar. 1916
Brettell	R.P.V. Brettell, Glendining, 28 Oct. 1970
Carlyon-Britton	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, Sotheby, 20 Nov. 1916 and 11 Nov. 1918 (two consecutively numbered sales)
Doubleday	G.V. Doubleday, Glendining, 8 June 1988
Drabble	G.C. Drabble (Part 2), Glendining, 13 Dec. 1943
Elmore Jones	F. Elmore Jones, Glendining, 13 Apr. 1983, 10 Apr. 1984 and 7 Oct. 1986 (three consecutively numbered sales)
Lawrence I	L.A. Lawrence, Sotheby, 24 Feb. 1903
Lawrence II	L.A. Lawrence, Glendining, 14 Mar. 1951
Lockett	R.C. Lockett, Glendining, 6 June 1955, 11 Oct. 1956, 4 Nov. 1958 and 26 Apr. 1960 (four consecutively numbered sales)
Murdoch	J.G. Murdoch, Sotheby, 31 Mar. 1903
Norweb	E.M. Norweb (English coins – Part 3), Spink Sale 56, 19 Nov. 1986
Rashleigh	E.W. Rashleigh, Sotheby, 21 June 1909
Roth	B.M.S. Roth, Sotheby, 19 July 1917
Wicklewood hoard	Christie's, 15 May 1993, lots 1–159
Wheeler	E.H. Wheeler, Sotheby, 12 Mar. 1930

WILLIAM I AND WILLIAM II

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>		<i>William I types</i>							<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Abergavenny?															
Ælfwine									× ⁴⁵						
Barnstaple															
Leofwine			× ⁴⁶					× ⁴⁷							
Seword						×	×		×						
Barnstaple or Bath															
Godesbrand									× ⁴⁸						
Bath															
Ægelmæ									×						
Brungar				×											
Osmær	×	×				×			×		×				
Bedford															
Godric	×										×				
Lifwi								× ⁴⁹		×		×			
Neigel										×					
Sægod/Sigod	×		×	×	×	×				×	×	×			
Sibrand		×	×	×		×			×						
Bedwyn															
Cild	×	×													
Bridport															
Ælfric									×						
Brihtwi(ne)								× ⁵⁰	×						
Godwine						× ⁵¹									
Hwateman	×					×									

⁴⁵ Boon 1986, 67; Besly 2006, 707–8.⁴⁶ Blackburn 2000, 145.⁴⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.846–2001); ex Spink 1985; Stewart 1986.⁴⁸ Mint signature BII.⁴⁹ Dr W.J. Conte collection.⁵⁰ *SCBI* 51, 1088.⁵¹ Abergavenny area hoard.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>		<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5			
Bristol																
Barc(u)it/Barcwit/ Barch[–]t										2/1 mule ⁵²	× ⁵³	×	×	×		
B(r)ihtwo(r)d/Brwode						×	×	×	×	×	×					
Brunstan								×								
Ce(o)rl/Carel	×	×		×	×	×										
Colblac								×	×	×						
Leofwine/Li(o)fwine	×	×	×	×	×	×		×								
Snedi/Sindi												×	×	×		×
Swe(i)gn/Swein							×	×								
Bristol or Cricklade																
Wufic					×											
Bury St Edmunds																
Godinc			×													
Cambridge																
Æ(g)lmær				×	×	×										
Frise										×						×
Godric		×														
Odbearn				×												
Ulfci(t)l/Ulfeitl					×		×	×								
Wib(e)rn	×								×	×	×					
Wulfwine	×		×													
[]ric								×								
Canterbury																
Æg(e)lric									×	×						
Ældræd/Ældred/Aldræd											×			×		
Ælfræd/Ælfred/Alfræd/ Alfred/Elfred	×			×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			
A(h)gemund/Ahemund									×	×		×	×	×	×	
Algod													×			
Bri(h)two(l)d								×	×	×	×					
Burnoth								×								
Eadweard	×	×														
Edwine	×												×	×	×	
Godric							×	×								
Gyldewine			×													
Man(na)	×	×	×	×	×											
Simær/Simeær						×	×	×	?	×	×					

⁵² BM card index: '+BARCIT ON BRIC', 'Fd Rushall, Wilts. Shown at BM by HM Coroner (via Paul Robinson Devizes) 30.10.93', 1.15 g, no images.

⁵³ Two coins: (1) BM; ex T. Burton; found Leominster, Hertfordshire (CM 1968, 5–1, 1); (2) *SCBI* 51, 1145.

⁵⁴ *SCBI* 51, 1089; Harris 1987, 345.

⁵⁵ BM card index: 'PIIFRICONI[]RICCI', 'Photo only – no weight – shown by Ian Stewart 18/8/73'.

⁵⁶ EMC 2011.0189; Allen 2011, 257–8.

⁵⁷ Two coins: (1) Allen 2006a, 242, no. 10; (2) EMC 2010.0315; CR 2011, no. 115; Allen 2011, 258.

⁵⁸ FM (CM.653–2010); found near Attleborough, Norfolk, 28 Aug. 2010 (EMC 2010.0299; CR 2011, no. 114); Allen 2011, 257.

⁵⁹ EMC 2012.0004; fragment reading []RIEONGRI[].

⁶⁰ Drabble lot 907.

⁶¹ CR 1996, no. 272.

⁶² Allen lot 303 (part).

⁶³ Doubleday lot 650.

⁶⁴ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 54).

⁶⁵ BM; ex Spink (CM 1928, 3–5, 5).

⁶⁶ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1954, 4–5, 1).

⁶⁷ Patrick Finn list 1 (Spring 1994), no. 40.

⁶⁸ *NCirc* 90 (1982), 206, no. 5822 (not illustrated).

⁶⁹ CR 1988, no. 202.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>		<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Windeg/Winedi(eg)/ Windei				× ⁷⁰		× ⁷¹	×			×	×	×	×	×	4/5 mule and 5	×
Wulbo(l)d									×	×	×	×	×			
Wulfred	×	×							×							
Wulfric						×	×			×						
Wulfwine	×							×								
Wulfwad/Wulfwold												×	×	× ⁷²		
Cardiff																
Ælfsie/Ælfs Turi										×						
Swien										×						
Chester																
Alcsi				×												
Ælfsi/Elfsi ⁷³	×		×				×			×						
Ælfwine	×											×		×		
Bruninc	×	×														
Grimm				×	× ⁷⁴											
L(i)f(i)nc										×		×				
Lifnoth/Lienoth	×												×			×
Lifwine	×									×	×	1/2 mule and 2	×	× ⁷⁵		
Othwthen													×	× ⁷⁶	× ⁷⁷	×
Suno(u)lf/Unnolf				×						×	×	×				
Ulf														×	× ⁷⁸	
Chester or Leicester																
Ælfweard				×	× ⁷⁹											
Chichester																
Bru(n)m(a)n		×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
Edwine										×	×	×	×			
Godwine							×	×				×	×	×	×	×
Colchester																
Ælfric												×			×	
Æ(l)fsi										×		×		×	× ⁸⁰	×
Ælfwine	×											×	× ⁸¹			
Br(i)htric	×	×	×													
Derman/Dirman/ Drmman	×					×	×			×						
Goldhfc/Goldhac													×	×		
Goldman	×	×	×												×	

⁷⁰ St James's Auctions 5, 27 Sept. 2006, lot 95.

⁷¹ BM; ex the Rev. C.W. McLaughlin (CM 1926, 7–14, 3).

⁷² BM; ex G.S. Robertson (CM 1954, 5–7, 1).

⁷³ Ælfsi/Elfsi has usually been identified as a Chester moneyer, but a coin of William I type 7 (*SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 41) has the Leicester mint signature **LERHRE**. Coins of William I types 2 (*BMC* 77) and 5 (Lockett lot 926) reading **LEGECE** and of William type 8 with the mint signatures **LECESTR** (*BMC* 585 and *SCBI* 5, 399) and **LEHECE** (*BMC* 586 and *SCBI* 5, 400) should probably be attributed to Chester.

⁷⁴ *SCBI* 5, 397.

⁷⁵ *SCBI* 5, 420.

⁷⁶ Glendining, 9 June 1976, lot 31; Stewart 1992, 123, no. 28; reading **+OÐPÐENONLEIL**. Harris, *SCMB* 798 (Mar. 1985), 61, lists 'Orthin' as a Leicester moneyer in William II types 3 and 4 on the basis of this coin and lot 34 in the same sale, which is a cut halfpenny said to read '+ORD ON ---'. There is a Chester moneyer named Owthin in Henry I type 2.

⁷⁷ BM card index: cut halfpenny reading **+O[]L?EEST**, 'Shown Mr R.V. Hudson, Jan. 1996', 0.95 g.

⁷⁸ *SCBI* 5, 420.

⁷⁹ The mint signature on the two known coins of the moneyer Ælfweard in William I type 2 (*BMC* 78; *SCBI* 5, 394) is **LEHI**, which could refer to either Chester or Leicester.

⁸⁰ Glendining 21 Sept. 1983, lot 18.

⁸¹ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Carlyon-Britton lot 1882 (CM 1923, 3–10, 6); (2) CNG mail bid sale 46, 24 June 1998, lot 1869.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Goldstan	×	×	×												
Siward/Siword											×	? ⁸²	×		
S(i)wigen												×		×	×
Wulfric									×						
Wulfward/Wulfwo(r)d							×	×	×						
Wulfwi(n)e	×			×	×	×		×	×	×	×				
Cricklade															
Ælfwine	×								×						
Edo(l)uf											×	×			
Leofred/Li(o)fred	×	×	×		×	×									
Wulstan(e)						×		×							
Derby															
Colbegen/Colbein		×	×	×											
Froma/Froam/Frona	×	×	×		×	×									
G(o)dwine								×	×	×	×				
Leofwine/Lifwine	×								×	×	×			×	
Dorchester															
Ælfgæt											×		×		
Godwine	×				×	×	×						×		
Lieric/Lifric									×						
Ote(e)r				×		×	×	×	×	×	×				
Siwgen														×	
Dover															
Brumman/Bru(n)man				×	×	×									
Cinstan	×							×							
Edword								×	×						
Godwine	×								×		×				×
Goldwi(in)e									×				×	×	
Lifric/Lu(l)f(r)ic								×	×	×	1/2 mule and 2				
Lifwine	×							×	×	×	×	×			
Manwine	×	×	×	×	×	×						×	×	×	×
Durham															
Cutthbrht									×						
Ordriic												×			
Ordwi											×				
Exeter															
Ælfwine	×	×	×	×	×	×									
Brihtric	×	×													
Brihtwine		×								×	×	×			
Edwine													×		
Goda		×													
L(e)fwine/Lifwine	×	×							×		×	×	×	×	
Livinc	×	×													
Semær							×	×	×						
Sæw(e)ard/Seword/ Siword			×	×		×									

⁸² *SCBI* 18, 1372.⁸³ BM; ex Doubleday lot 667 (CM 1988, 6–8, 4).⁸⁴ Dix Noonan Webb, 14 Dec. 2004, lot 37.⁸⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.819–2001); ex Spink 1991.⁸⁶ *SCBI* 51, 1126.⁸⁷ Blackburn and Bonser 1985, 57, no. 8; *SCBI* 42, 1762.⁸⁸ Two coins: (1) FM (CM.BI.35–R); (2) *NCirc* 116 (2008), 210, no. HS3468 (attributed to Godwine).⁸⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.846–2001); found London (Thames Exchange) 1989; CR 1988, no. 198.⁹⁰ CR 1988, no. 199.⁹¹ EMC 2002.0005; CR 2002, no. 204.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Sæwine/Sewine	×				×	×	×	×	×	×	×				×
Sw(e)otinc/Swottinc				×	3/4 mule and 4										
Wulfw(i)ne	×		× ⁹²	×	×	×	×						×	×	
Gloucester															
Briht(n)oth	×								×		1/2 mule and 2				
Edwold												×			
Go(d)wine	×											×	×		×
Leofwine/Li(o)fwine	×			×	×	×									
Ordric	×	×	×												
Sewine												×			×
Sæwold/Sewold											×		×		×
Silæwine/Sil(e)acwine/ Sil(e)ac	×	×	×		×	×		×	×	×					
Wulfge(a)t/Ufgæt	×		×	×	×	×			×						
Guildford															
Ælfric	×													×	
Seric					×	×			×			×			
Hastings															
Cipincc									×						
Colswegen			×												
Dermon/Dirman											×	×	×	×	×
Dun(n)i(n)c/Duni(e)/ Dning	×	×	×			×			×		×			×	
Eadwine						×									
Godric										×	×	×	×	×	×
Sperlinc/Spirlic												×	×		×
Thio(d)red	×	×													
Hereford															
Ægelric		×													
Æg(e)lwi(ne)			×	×		4/5 mule and 5			×	×	×	×			
Ægnwi			×												
Ælfwi	×								×	×	×				
Æstan					×		×								
Brihtri(i)c			×		×	×									
Edwi	×		×												
Godric											×				
Hethewi					×										
Leostan					×										

⁹² BM; ex Corringham hoard (CM 1995, 4–2, 18).

⁹³ SCBI 19, Gloucester, 136.

⁹⁴ A hoard of four William I type 4 pence of the Gloucester mint found at Tibberton, Gloucestershire, in 2008 and 2009 consisted of three coins of the moneyer Leofwine and one of 'Silac' (information from Dr Gareth Williams).

⁹⁵ SCBI 19, Gloucester, 137.

⁹⁶ Stewart 1989; Stewart 1992, 123, no. 51.

⁹⁷ See n.94.

⁹⁸ SCBI 19, Gloucester, 134.

⁹⁹ CR 1998, no. 151.

¹⁰⁰ EMC 2011.0160.

¹⁰¹ BM; gift of H.H. King (CM 1975, 11–26, 183).

¹⁰² SCBI 51, no. 1116.

¹⁰³ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 6).

¹⁰⁴ EMC 2009.0367; CR 2010, no. 260.

¹⁰⁵ Abergavenny area hoard.

¹⁰⁶ Abergavenny area hoard (three coins).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Lifs(t)an									×		×	×			
Lifwine														×	¹⁰⁷
Ordwi						×	¹⁰⁸	×	¹⁰⁹		×	×	×	×	
Wulfwine	×			×					×		×	×	×	×	
Hertford															
Æl(f)gar											×	×			
Sæman/Semæn		×						×	×	×	¹¹⁰	×	×		
Thædric/Theatric/ Thidric						×	¹¹¹		×	×	×	×	×		
[]ig			×	¹¹²											
Huntingdon															
Ælfric									×	¹¹³					
Ælfwine	×							×	×		×				×
Godric	×	×	1/2 mule and 2	×	¹¹⁴	×									
Godwine	×		×	×	×	×	×								
Siwat(e)/Siwatoe										×	×		×		×
Thurgim		×	¹¹⁵												
Hythe															
E(a)dræd/Edred						×			×	×	¹¹⁶	×	×		×
Ilchester															
Æ(ge)lwine/Æglwini/ Wægelwine	×	×			×	×	×								
Æhlward/Ælw(w)ord/ Elfword							×	×	×	×		×			
Lifwine											×	×			
Wi(ch)xsi/Wixie		×	×	×			×								
Ipswich															
Ægelbriht			×	×	¹¹⁷	×	4/5 mule								
Ægelric									×	¹¹⁸					
Æg(e)lwine/Æglwnie/ Ælfric			×	¹¹⁹			×	¹²⁰	×						
Ælfw(i)ne/Alfwine	×		×					×	×	×		×			×
Brunic	×										×	¹²¹			
Elfstan						×	¹²³						×	¹²²	
Godric								×	¹²⁴						

¹⁰⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.936–2001); ex Bruun lot 95.

¹⁰⁸ Abergavenny area hoard (three coins).

¹⁰⁹ Abergavenny area hoard.

¹¹⁰ *NCirc* 97 (1989), no. 3227, reading []MIINONHRT[].

¹¹¹ EMC 2006.0361; CR 2007, no. 350.

¹¹² FM (CM.512–2010); found Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, 1989; EMC 2003.0092; CR 2003, no. 227; cut halfpenny reading []IGONHEOR[].

¹¹³ Eaglen 1999, 139, no. 305.

¹¹⁴ Eaglen 1999, 138, no. 297.

¹¹⁵ Harris 1991, 8; Eaglen 1999, 136, no. 288; found Southwark Bridge, c.1989.

¹¹⁶ Allen lot 315.

¹¹⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.821–2001); found London (Thames Exchange) 1989.

¹¹⁸ Baldwin's Auctions 40, 3 May 2005, lot 122.

¹¹⁹ M. Vosper, 14 Oct. 2007 (information from J.C. Sadler).

¹²⁰ CNG mail bid sale 47, 16 Sept. 1998, lot 2402.

¹²¹ EMC 2010.0422; CR 2011, no. 117.

¹²² *SCBI* 26, p. 104, no. 19.

¹²³ CR 2000, no. 116.

¹²⁴ EMC 2010.0192; CR 2011, no. 116.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Leofstan/L(io)fstan	×		×	2/3 mule and 3 ¹²⁶		×	×								
Leofwine/Liewine/ L(i)fwine							×		×	×	×	×		×	×
Mantan					×										
Sweg(e)n/Swein									×	×					
Wulfric					×										
Wulfwine			×	×					×						
Wulfword						×				×					
Launceston															
Æg(e)l(m)ær/Ælmer										×	×	×			
Godric							×	×	×						
No moneyer's name (‘Sagsti Stefani’)						×									
Leicester															
Ægelric		×	×												
Ægelwine	×			×	×	×		×							
Ælfsi								×							
Frethhgest/Frith(e)gist/ Friothekest			×	×				×							
Godric	×		×						×	×		1/2 mule and 2			
Lierie	×		×												
L(ii)f(i)nc									×	×	×				
Sewine	×										×	×		×	
Lewes															
Ælfric					×				×	×	×				
Ælwine															
Brih(t)mær/Brihtmer											×	×		×	×
Edwine	×											×			
Oswold	×		×		×	×	×		×						
Wi(i)nræd/Win(e)red			×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×
Lincoln															
Agemund/Ahemund	×	×	1/2 mule and 2												
Æl(f)not(h)/Alfoth	×			×							×	×	×		

¹²⁵ Two coins: (1) CR 1998, no. 150; (2) CR 2009, no. 375.

¹²⁶ CR 2000, no. 111 (type 3).

¹²⁷ SCBI 53, 202.

¹²⁸ SCBI 20, 1472.

¹²⁹ SCBI 26, 1359.

¹³⁰ Found near Debenham, Suffolk, c. 1989; reading ‘+P[]FPORDONG[]I’ (information from J.C. Sadler).

¹³¹ Stewart 1989; Stewart 1992, 123, no. 29.

¹³² *The Searcher* 323 (July 2012), 41; EMC 2012.0132.

¹³³ Locket lot 2844. A fragment of a William I type 2 penny reading $\pm\text{ÆG[]EGE}$, which has been attributed to the Leicester moneyer Ægelwine (SCBI 17, no. 513), might be a coin of this moneyer.

¹³⁴ See n.73.

¹³⁵ UKDFD 27126 (recorded Sept. 2010); EMC 2012.0019; reading $\pm\text{FRIO-ÐEKESTONLEG}$.

¹³⁶ BM; ex Dr W. Williams (CM 1923, 5–8, 1); reading $\pm\text{FRE-ÐHGESTONLHR}$ (HR ligated).

¹³⁷ Spink Auction 166, 12 Nov. 1993, lot 2.

¹³⁸ FM; ex Arthur W. Young bequest 1936; ex Carlyon-Britton 744; reading $\pm\text{LIFIINCONLEIGRI}$.

¹³⁹ Stewart 1989; Stewart 1992, 123, no. 32.

¹⁴⁰ *Mark Rasmussen Numismatist List* no. 21 (Summer 2011), no. 24.

¹⁴¹ SCBI 42, 1732.

¹⁴² SCBI 51, 1128.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	1042–66	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Ælmær/Ælmar/Ælmer/ Almær	×	×	1/2 mule and 2												
Arnc[]													×		?
A(s)ci(t)l												×	×		?
Autgrim/O(u)thgrim	×		×	×											
Fol(c)ærd/Folcard												×			
Garvin	×	×													
Gifel/Givel	×	×	×	×											
Godric	×			×											
Le(u)fwine	×							×				×	×		
Osberan		×													
Os[]															
Seirman										×		×			
<i>Siferth?</i> : ¹⁵² Sæfarth/ Safrth/Se(i)fwarth/ Siferth/Sifreth/ Siffarth/Sigfeorth/ Sigeforth/Sigiforth/ Sihf(e)orth/Siifrth/ Siforth			×	×	×	×		×	×						
<i>Siward?</i> : Secwarth/ Segwarth/Segwararth/ Segweard/Sigæwith/ Sighwe(r)th/Sigiwerth/ Signwerth/Sig(v)erith/ Siguewith/Sigword/ Sihworth/Siword		×	×	×	×	4/5 mule and 5	×								
The(i)rsten/Thorstan/ T(h)urstan/Thursan/ Thuresten					×	×		×		×	×	×			
Ulf	×				×	×	×	×	×	×	×				
Unce														×	
Unspac					×	×	×								
Wi(h)tric						×	×								
Wulbern															
Wul(f)si		×	×	×											
Wulstan					×	×						×			
London															
Æg(e)lric	×		×	×							×				
Ægelwine	×		×		×										
Æg(e)lword	×											×	×	×	
Al(d)gar/Ælgar/ E(a)ldgar	×	×	×	×	×							×		×	×

¹⁴³ CR 1993, no. 236.¹⁴⁴ The BM card index includes an Edward the Confessor *Pyramids* type/William I type 1 mule of this moneyer found in the Billingsgate spoil.¹⁴⁵ CR 1989, no. 86.¹⁴⁶ CR 1996, no. 273.¹⁴⁷ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, no. 221; (2) *SCBI* 27, no. 904.¹⁴⁸ BM (CM 1923, 11–5, 48); Mossop 1970, Pl. LXXXV, no. 7.¹⁴⁹ *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 222.¹⁵⁰ Mossop 1958–59, no. 2.¹⁵¹ *SCBI* 27, 906.¹⁵² Mossop 1970, note to Pl. LXXXI discusses the various forms of these names, suggesting that they represent two separate moneyers with names that may be normalised as Siferth and Siward.¹⁵³ Two coins: (1) EMC 2007.0256; (2) Spink Auction 194, 26 Mar. 2008, lot 760.¹⁵⁴ CR 1987, no. 173.¹⁵⁵ *SCBI* 27, 909.¹⁵⁶ CNG mail bid sale 90, 23 May 2012, lot 2413.¹⁵⁷ *NCirc* 104 (1996), no. 3364.¹⁵⁸ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 54, 1292; (2) Dix Noonan Webb, 10 Dec. 2009, lot 144.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Aldred										×					
Ælfgar	×											×			×
Ælfræd/Ælfre(d)/Alfræd	×				×				×	×					
Æ(o)lfsi/Elfsi	×	×	×	×											
Ælfweard	×	×	×												
Æl(f)wine/Elfwine	×	×	×		×			×		×	×	×	×	×	
Æscil												?			
Æwi									×						
Ba(r)t											×	×			
Blacsunu			×		×										
Bricmar												×			
Brihtmær	×					×						×			
Br(i)htric				×		×		×							
Brihtwi(ne)								×	×	×					×
Bruni(n)c/Brun(ei)	×								×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Colswegen					×										
Edred	×							×							
E(a)dric	×			×	×			×	×	×	×				
Edward	×					×	×								
Ædwi(ne)/E(a)dwine/ Edwi(i)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			
Estmær	×													×	×
Godinc			×	×	×										
Godric		×	×	×		×	×		×	×	×				
Godwi(ne)	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
Lifs(e)i	×										×				
Lifwine	×										×			×	×
Manic							×								
Ordgær/Or(d)gar												×	×	×	×
Sibode				×											
Smæwine													×	×	×
Swetman	×	×													
Th(i)dric											×	×	×	×	×
Uhtred				×											
Walcin													×		
Wulf(r)ic	×				×										
Wulfweard/Wulfword	×					×						×	×	×	
Wulfwi(ne)	×	×	×	×	×		×	×						×	×
Wulgær/Wulgar											×				×
Wulnoth	×											×			×
Wulstan	×									×					
Maldon															
Ælfwine									×						
Ælf(w)ord									×			×			
Edword														?	

¹⁵⁹ *SCBI* 51, 1086.¹⁶⁰ *NCirc* 95 (1987), 332, no. 7102.¹⁶¹ The reverse inscription of a William II type 3 penny in Stockholm may be tentatively read as **†ÆSCILON[---]DEN** (*SCBI* 11, Stockholm, no. 233).¹⁶² Leimus and Dolley 1985–86 discusses a mule between an obverse die of William I type 1, with a variant bust facing right, and an Edward the Confessor *Hammer Cross* reverse die of the London moneyer Ælfweard, who is not otherwise recorded in the reign of William I (*SCBI* 21, 1217).¹⁶³ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 42, no. 1739; (2) Patrick Finn list 12 (1998), no. 98.¹⁶⁴ Harris 1987, 345.¹⁶⁵ *NCirc* 102 (1994), no. 7151.¹⁶⁶ Patrick Finn list 14 (1998), no. 107.¹⁶⁷ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 16, no. 290; (2) *SCBI* 51, 1134.¹⁶⁸ A William II type 5 penny of a moneyer Edword with a mint signature reading **MLDI** has been tentatively attributed to Maldon (*SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 237).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>				<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5
Li(o)f(e)sun(u)/ Lifsune/Lefun				×		×		× ¹⁶⁹	7/8 mule and 8	×				
Wulfwine											×			
Malmesbury														
Brihtwi(ne)	×		×	×	×	×								
Godsbrand									7/8 mule and 8					
Seword									×	×	×	×	×	
Marlborough														
Cild				×	×	×	×	×	×	×				
Northampton														
Godwine					×	×						×		
Sæwine/Sewi(ne)	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Swetman	×		×											
Wulwi				×										
Norwich														
Ægelfrth												×		
Æg(e)lric						×				×	×			
Ælfric/Alfri											×	×		×
Breisel														×
Ædwine/E(a)dw(i)ne	×	×	×											
Edw(w)old						×			×		×			×
Godefurth		×		×										
Godric/Godriici/ Godriiei Godrinci					×	×	×	×	×					
Godric Brd									×					
Godwine/Godwid	×				×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
How(i)orth			×						×			×	×	×
Inhuh(e) or Inhun(e)								×	×					
Lifwold			×											
Man(na)	×	×		×										
Oter											×		×	×
Thur(e)grim	×	×	×	×	×		×	×						
Toufie											×			
Ul(f)cit(e)l									×					
Nottingham														
Ætcer/Acere/Atsere									×		×			
Forn(a)	×	×	×	×	×									
Halden(e)/Haldin	×												×	×
Man(na)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		7/8 mule and 8					
Wulfric										×				

¹⁶⁹ *SCBI* 51, 1093.¹⁷⁰ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 57).¹⁷¹ Two coins: CR 1994, nos 237–8.¹⁷² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.840–2001); ex Baldwin 1991; Harris 1991, 8.¹⁷³ CR 1987, no. 176.¹⁷⁴ BM; ex L.A. Lawrence (CM 1950, 6–6, 7).¹⁷⁵ EMC 2003.0156; CR 2003, no. 245.¹⁷⁶ *SCBI* 54, 1293.¹⁷⁷ *BMC* 833.¹⁷⁸ EMC 2003.0163; CR 2003, no. 240.¹⁷⁹ *NCirc* 89 (1981), 247, no. 5369.¹⁸⁰ *NCirc* 112 (2004), 185, no. HS1673.¹⁸¹ EMC 2011.0081; fragment reading [JIINNII ON NOI[].¹⁸² Patrick Finn list 3 (Winter 1994/95), no. 70.¹⁸³ *NCirc* 98 (1990), no. 6830.¹⁸⁴ CR 1988, no. 195.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Oxford															
Ægelwi/Eglwi	×		×	×	×						×	×			
Ælfwi/Elfwi	×		×		×	×					×				
Brihtæd/Brihtred	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				
Drman														×	
Godwine	×	×	×	×	×	×					×		×		
Har(e)g(od)/Heregod	×	×	×	×	×	×		×							
Iglnoth														×	
Man			×												
Sw(w)etman	×								×		1/2 mule and 2	×			
Wulfwi	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×			
Pevensey															
Ælfhe(h)						×			×	×	×	×			
Rhuddlan															
Ælfwine									×						
[]ivan									×						
Rhuddlan or Rhyd-y-Gors?															
Hrveov											×				
Rochester															
Æl(f)stan											×	×		×	×
Guthræd/Guthred										×	×	×			
Lif(s)tan	×		×		×				×						
Lifwine Horn	×					×			×						
Wulfwine												×	×		×
Romney															
Ælmær						×	×								
Coc									×	×					
Gold														×	
Win(e)d(e)i								×	×		×	×		×	
Wul(f)mær	×	×				×			×		×	×			
Wulfnoth							×								
St Davids															
Ifliwine									×						
Turri									×						
Salisbury ¹⁹²															
E(a)dword											×	×			
Esb(e)rn/Osbern									7/8 mule and 8	×	×	×		×	×
Godric	×	×				×		×							
Godwine	×								×	×	×	×			
Safara		×													

¹⁸⁵ *SCBI* 12, 181.¹⁸⁶ Stewart 1983.¹⁸⁷ *SCBI* 51, 1117; Harris 1987, 345.¹⁸⁸ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 43); Elmore Jones 1955–57, 191–4, Pl. XIV, no. 19.¹⁸⁹ BM (CM 1923, 1–6, 62); Carlyon-Britton 1911; Boon 1986, 65; Besly 2006, 708. A manuscript note by George Brooke in a copy of his *BMC* kept in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum (Brooke 1916, I, lxxii) states: ‘Professor J.E. Lloyd says [in a letter of 15 Feb. 1930, not traced] that Rhyd-y-Gors must at this time be Rhyt- (not Rhud or Rhudd) and that Rhuddlan is much more likely’.¹⁹⁰ Harris 1991, 8 (‘seen at BM’).¹⁹¹ CR 1998, no. 154.¹⁹² Harris, *SCMB* 817 (Jan./Feb. 1987), 7, lists Aldwine as a Salisbury moneyer in William I type 8, citing the G.V. Doubleday collection, but the only coin of this mint and moneyer in the Doubleday sale (Glendining, 8 June 1988, lot 806) was a specimen of Henry I type 14.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Sandwich															
Æbe[---]ine			× ¹⁹³												
Adalbot/Athlbold					×								×	×	×
Ælfeeh/Ælf(h)eh					×	×	×	×	×	×					
Alfgær/Alfgar												×	×		
Alf(g)æt/Ælfget/Ælfgte					×	×	×		×	×	×				
Athlbold					×								×	×	×
Godwine							×	×	×			×			
Wulfword													×	×	×
Shaftesbury															
Æln(i)oth/Alnoth	×				×	×	×	×	×						
Baldewine												×	×		
C(in)ihtwine/Ci(n)twine						×	×	×	×						
God(e)sbran(d)							×	×	×						
Swgan/Swgen										×	×				
Wulfgæ(r)d											×	×	×	×	
Shrewsbury															
Æglric/Eglric	×		×		×										
Ærn(e)wi/Earnwi	×		×		×	×			×	×	×	×			
Godesbrand	×		×						×						
H(a)th(e)brand										×	×	×		×	×
Segrim						×			×	×	×				
Wulfmær/Wulmfer	×		×		×	×									
Wulfic													×		×
Southwark															
Ældo(u)lf/Aldo(ul)f									×						
Ældræd/Ældred/Aldred										×	×	×			
Al(f)gar													×		×
Edward												×	×		
Godric	×							×	×						
Leofwine/Lifwine/ Luofwine	×		×			×	×			×		×		×	×
Lif(f)w(w)ord									×	×	×	×			×
Osmund	×		×					×	×	×	×				
Sprot													×	×	×
Wulgar											×	×			
Stafford															
Æl(f)noth											×				
Godric									×	×	×	×	×	×	
Godwine	×	×	1/2 mule and 2						×						
Wulfnoth			×												
Stamford															
Arcil						?									
Arntl														×	×
B(r)unstan									×	×					

¹⁹³ Carlyon-Britton 1910, 22; Baldwin's Auctions 40, 3 May 2005, lot 119.

¹⁹⁴ Triton XI, 8 Jan. 2008, lot 1657.

¹⁹⁵ Stogumber hoard (information from Dr Gareth Williams).

¹⁹⁶ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.910–2001); ex Spink 1991.

¹⁹⁷ Lockett lot 1014.

¹⁹⁸ Three coins: (1–2) Two die-duplicate mules between an obverse die of Edward the Confessor's *Pyramids* type and a reverse die of William I type 2 reading +GODE2BRIINDON2 (*BMC* 71 and FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.807–2001); ex Baldwin 1994) (3) William I type 2 penny reading +GODE2BRIINDOI (*SCBI* 42, 1736. The *Pyramids* type obverse die is also known from coins of the Shrewsbury moneyer Godwine in that type (*SCBI* 9, no. 1076; *SCBI* 11, Reading, no. 178; *SCBI* 20, 1327; *SCBI* 48, 1061).

¹⁹⁹ CR 1988, no. 201.

²⁰⁰ *NCirc* 92 (1984), 228, no. 5332; reported to read 'ARCIL ON ST', but not illustrated.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
B(r)unwine	×	×	×	×											
Diric			×												
Elfnwne				×											
Godelef									×						
Liofric	×		×	×											
Leofwine/Liofwine	×	×	1/2 mule and 2	×	×	×	×					×			
Manewine				×											
Wul(f)word	×			×			×		×	×	×				
Stamford or Steyning															
Hirman													×		×
Steyning															
Dermon/Drman	×		×		×	×	×								
Lifsi												×			
Th(u)rb(er)n									×		×	×	×	×	
Sudbury															
Folcwine	×		×												
Wulfric							×		×		×	×	×	×	×
Tamworth															
Bruni(n)c	×		×						×	×	×				
Col(e)i(n)c/Culinc	×		×						×	×	×				
Tamworth or Taunton															
Lifwine			×												
Taunton															
Æl(f)wine						×	×	×	7/8 mule and 8	×	×	×			
Brihtric	×		1/2 mule	×	×										
Thetford															
Ælfric	×					×				×	×	×			
Ælfwine	×								×		×				
Blagsun(e)			×	×											
Brihtoth														×	
Bundi										×	×			×	×
Burh(a)rd/Burhart											×		×		×
Cenric/Cinric/Cunwic		×	×	×	×	×		×							
Esbe(a)rn/Osb(e)arn/ Otbearn			×	×	×	×		×							
Folcærd/Folcard/Folcerd	×				×	×	×	×	7/8 mule and 8	×	×	×	×	×	
God(a)		×	×	×											
God(e)l(e)f	×								×	×					×

²⁰¹ Sharp 1999 refers to a William I type 3 penny reading 'MANEPINE ON STAN', suggesting that it may be a coin of Steyning.

²⁰² Blackburn and Bonser 1983; Mitchell 1995; Sharp 1999.

²⁰³ CR 1988, no. 204.

²⁰⁴ EMC 2008.0207; CR 2009, no. 388.

²⁰⁵ A William I type 2 penny with a mint signature reading TIIN might be attributed to either Tamworth or Taunton (*SCBI* 18, p. ix, no. 1346).

²⁰⁶ EMC 2003.0166; CR 2003, no. 236.

²⁰⁷ CR 1995, no. 192.

²⁰⁸ Patrick Finn list 1 (Spring 1994), no. 45.

²⁰⁹ EMC 2011.0159.

²¹⁰ EMC 2008.0426; CR 2009, no. 387.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
Godinc									×		×				
Godræd/Godred						×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
Godric	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×
Godwine	×	×	×	×				×	×						
Liofric	×				×										
Neigel										×					×
Stanheard		×													
Totnes															
Duni(n)c											×				
Etmær												×			
Twynham (Christchurch)															
Coleman								×							
Wallingford															
Æg(e)lwine									×						
Ælfw(i)ne										×	1/2 mule ²¹⁶ and 2				
Brand	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								
Brihtmær/Brihtmar	×	×	×	×											
Colb(e)rn/Colbran/ Colbren											×	×			
Edword													×		
Godwine														×	×
Swe(ar)t(l)inc/ Sweartline/Sweortnc/ Swertlic/Swetlind/ Swirti(n)c/Swirtlic	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×						
Wideman								×							
Wareham															
Æg(e)lric		×			×	×	×	×	×						
Bern/Bran/Burn	×					×			×						
Godwine						×	×	×	×	×					
Sideloc									×				×		
Sideman/Seoifman	×	×		×	×										
Warwick															
Ælric									×						
Goldinc										×	×	×			
Lifric/Lieric	×								×	×					
Lu(f)fi(n)c	×				×	×			×						
Spehfoc/Sperhafuc										×	×				×
Thidræd/Thidred										×	×				
Thiurcil/Th(u)rcil/ Thurkil	×	×	×	×	×	×			×						
Wulfwine	×		×			×									
Watchet															
Sigouff/Sigo(u)lf							×		×			×			

²¹¹ Baldwin's Auctions 40, 3 May 2005, lot 126.

²¹² CR 1994, no. 242.

²¹³ Lead striking: FM; gift of Lord Stewartby (CM.614–1998); Stewart 1978.

²¹⁴ Baldwin's Auctions 38, 4 Oct. 2004, lot 161.

²¹⁵ EMC 2009.0405; CR 2010, no. 253; Dix Noonan Webb, 10 Dec. 2009, lot 145.

²¹⁶ Baldwin's Auctions 18, 13 Oct. 1998, lot 1766.

²¹⁷ *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 238.

²¹⁸ FM; ex A.W. Young 1936 (CM.YG.134–R); ex Carlyon Britton lot 702; ex Lawrence I lot 52.

²¹⁹ BM card index: 'Shown [by] Spink 19.9.86 "Found in Yorkshire"'.
²²⁰ CR 1989, no. 87.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>														
	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5		
Wilton															
Ælfwine					×		×	×	×	×	×				
Godric		×	×	3/4 mule ²²¹ and 4											
Ow(w)i	×	×		×	×										
Ricard				×											
Safare/Sefar(e)/Sefaroi/ Sævara		×	×					×		×					
Sæwi(ne)/Sewi(ne)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				×
Winchcombe															
Goldwine	×			×	×		×	×							
Winchester															
Aldwine													×		
Ælfwin(e)	×	×	×	×		×							×		
Ægstan/Æ(s)tan/Æstæn						×	×	7/8 mule and 8	×	×					
And(e)rbod(a)/ Anderbode	×	×	×	×	×	×									
Brunic							×	×							
Edwine	×								×	×					
Godnoth		×	×												
Go(d)wi(n)e	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	1/2 mule and 2	×	×	×	×	×
(L)ifi(n)c/Livinc	×	×	×	×	×	×		×			×	×	×		
Leofwold/Liefwold/ Lifwo(l)d/Liffwold/ Liofwold/Liufwold	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	7/8 mule and 8	×		×	×	×		
Sewine	×								×						
Siw(e)ard/Siw(i)ord/ Siwword		×	×	×	×	×	×	×							
Spræcli(n)c/Sprac(e)linc	×							×	×	×		×	×		
Wimund								×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Worcester															
Ælfgærd/Ælf(e)ard/ Ælfgæt			×	×		×	×	×	×	×		×	×		
Bald(e)ric	×			×	×			×	×	×	×				
E(a)stmær/Eastmer	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×					
Edwine		×													
Gar(e)ulf	×		×	×	×										
Heathewulf				×											
Li(o)fric	×	×	×	×											
Ræfwine/Refwine			×	×	?										
Sewine								×		×					
Wicinc/Wiginc	×	×	×												

²²¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.825–2001); ex Baldwin 1992.

²²² FM; ex C.E. Blunt bequest (CM.1.769–1990).

²²³ *SCBI* 53, 215; Biddle 2012, no. 2147.

²²⁴ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Spink 1923 (CM 1923, 3–6, 3); FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.824–2001); ex Spink 1989.

²²⁵ Abergavenny area hoard.

²²⁶ *NCirc* 96 (1988), no. 1169.

²²⁷ Royal Mint Museum; Biddle 2012, no. 2133.

²²⁸ CR 1998, no. 149.

²²⁹ Symons 2003, 472, no. 36.3.

²³⁰ Symons 2003, 470, nos 34.3–34.b.

²³¹ *SCBI* 26, 368; Symons 2003, 473, no. 36.c.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	<i>1042–66</i>	<i>William I types</i>								<i>William II types</i>					<i>Henry I</i>
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	
York															
Ale(io)f/Aleigf	×		×		×	×	×		×	×	×	×			
Althur(olf)						×									
Awthb(e)rn/ Outhbeo(r)n/ Ow(i)tbern/Othtbe/ Othtebrn/Iuthbern/ Uwthbern	×		×		×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×		×
Autgrim/O(u)thgrim/ Oethgrim	×	×	×	×	×										
Autholf/O(u)tholf	×	×	×												
Arcetel	×		×												
Haroulf/(H)artholf/ (H)arthul(f)/Hrthoulf		×	×		×	×	×								
Læsing/Leigsing/ Le(i)s(i)nc/Lesis	×		×					×	×			×	×		×
Roscetel/Rozcetel	×	×	×												
Sweartcol	×		×												
Thor(r)/Thour/Thuri	×	×	×			×	×		×						
Ulfcetel/Ulfkecel	×	×	×												
Uncertain mint ('P')															
Swartbrand							×								

²³² EMC 2007.0219; CR 2008, no. 290.

²³³ BM; ex Corringham hoard (CM 1995, 4–2, 17).

HENRY I																		
<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Barnstaple			✕ ²³⁴											✕	✕			
Edword																		
Oter														✕				
Bath														✕	✕			
Winterlede																		
Bedford														✕				
Edric								✕ ²³⁵						✕				
G[----][f]?e													✕ ²³⁷	✕	✕			
Negelus/Neelus						✕ ²³⁶			✕ ²³⁸			✕						
[]ine																		
Bristol																		
Ailwald/Alwold												✕			✕			
Barcuit/Barcwit	✕		✕	✕														
Cendi/Sendi	✕		✕		✕ ²³⁹													
E(d)dric(us)					✕ ²⁴⁰							✕	✕	✕	✕			
Garewulf																		
Her(e)di(n)g/Herthig						✕					✕	✕ ²⁴¹		✕	✕			
Levig																		
Ric(c)ard														✕		✕		✕
Turchil																		
Bury St Edmunds																		
Gileberd/Gil(l)ebert										?						✕		✕
Godric(us)													✕	✕	✕			
Oddo													✕	✕	✕			
										✕ ²⁴³								

²³⁴ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 51, 1152; (2) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.945–2001); ex D. Miller 1986.

²³⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.993–2001); ex Baldwin 1996.

²³⁶ *SCBI* 53, 238.

²³⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1043–2001); earlier provenance unknown.

²³⁸ *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 281.

²³⁹ EMC 2009.0169; CR 2010, no. 274.

²⁴⁰ Two coins: (1) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.967–2001); ex *NCirc* 107 (1999), 186, no. 2832; (2) EMC 2011.0187.

²⁴¹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973 8–23–26).

²⁴² Andrew 1901, 391, reading *+GILEBERT : ON .N'; Eaglen 2006, 222.

²⁴³ Eaglen 2006, 79, 221, no 9; cut farthing found near Southwark Bridge, London, (?)1988.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Cambridge																		
Algar Fresa											× ²⁴⁵			× ²⁴⁴				
Du[-----]												× ²⁴⁶						
Fresa/Frise	×			×		×	×											
?							×											
Canterbury																		
Aghemund/Ahgemund	×	×	×									×			×			
Ailred															×			
Alfgar					×													
Algar																		
Alvric															×	×		×
Al[w?][]												×						
Edward(us)										×	×	×		×				
Edwine	×	×								×	×							
Godhese																×		×
Godwine																		
Gregarie/Gregori(e)																		
Rodberd/Rodbert																		
Warin/Werin																		
Wille(l)m(us)/Willelmu																		
Win(e)d(a)i/Winedei/	×	×	×			×	×	×										
Wineide																		

²⁴⁴ Two coins: (1) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1052–2001); ex Baldwin 1991; (2) FM; gift of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1807–2001); found Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire, 2001; CR 2001, no. 91 (CM.1807–2001); Allen 2006a, 244, nos 19–20.

²⁴⁵ FM; ex Pimprez hoard (CM.788–2004); Allen 2006a, 244, no. 18; Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 2.

²⁴⁶ FM; ex F.R. Künker Münzhandlung auction 137, 11 Mar. 2008, lot 3187 (CM.69–2008); ex Rauch (Vienna) auction 58 (1996), lot 748; Allen 2011, 258–9.

²⁴⁷ Blackburn 2005, 164–5; Allen 2006a, 244, no. 17; found River Thames, London, 1991.

²⁴⁸ Allen 2009, 76, 104, nos 54–5.

²⁴⁹ EMC 2009.0378; CR 2010, no. 275.

²⁵⁰ Walker 2005 identifies Alvric as a Canterbury moneyer of Henry I type 15 and reattributiones a coin of the moneyer Ailred in the type (Carlyon-Britton lot 1946) from Canterbury to Lincoln.

²⁵¹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 121); cut halfpenny reading **+ALP[?]** [NT];

²⁵² Stewart 1989; Stewart 1992, 124, no. 55.

²⁵³ Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 3).

²⁵⁴ ‘Beauvais’ hoard lot 14.

²⁵⁵ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 2).

²⁵⁶ Three coins: Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, nos 66–8).

²⁵⁷ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 272); reading **+GODPINEN[---]EANTV**; Another Henry I type 15 penny in the BM (CM 1951, 10–15, 1; ex BHHH, Stewart), reading **+[---]WIN**;

ONEANTV?; might be a coin of either Godwine or Wulfwine.

²⁵⁸ Andrew 1901, 136.

²⁵⁹ Allen 2009, 167, no. 969, reading **[]RINONE** [].

²⁶⁰ CR 1990, no. 211.

²⁶¹ EMC 2011.0173.

²⁶² Patrick Finn list 1 (Spring 1994), no. 68.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Wulfric/Wulvic		×	×	×	×		×	×								?		
Wulfwine					×		×											
Wulsi		×	×	×	×													
Cardiff																		
Walter(us)/Waltird					×						×	×			×			
?																		
Carlisle																		
Durant															×			
Erebald/Erembalt																×		×
Chester																		
Ailmar																×		×
Ai(l)ric										×					×			
Andreu															×			
Cristret												×			×			
Gillemor												×			×			
Levenoth/Lifnoth	×			×						?					×			
Owthin	×		×									×						
Ravenswart/Ravenswert																×		×
Thurbern																×		×
Ulf														×				
Waltier																×		×
Chichester																		
Brand(us)/Brant							×			×		×	×	×	×			
Colbrand					×													
Godwine/Godwinus	×							×	×		×	×	×	×	×			×

²⁶³ CR 1995, no. 193.

²⁶⁴ Two coins (1) BM; ex Dr T.O. Mabbott (CM 1931, 4–14, 1); (2) CNG mail bid sale 64, 24 Sept. 2003, lot 1625; ?ex 'Beauvais' hoard (not in sale).

²⁶⁵ *SCB* 11, Stockholm, 244.

²⁶⁶ Lockett lot 1055.

²⁶⁷ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 75); reading [*FFP*] *INE:ONE:EA* [].

²⁶⁸ BM; ex R.C. Lockett (CM 1958, 11–8, 27).

²⁶⁹ Andrew 1901, 132; Wheeler lot 167; ex Roth lot 107; ex Lawrence I, lot 102.

²⁷⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1024–2001); found Lincolnshire 1984.

²⁷¹ *SCB* 11, Stockholm, 278; coin reading [*ENOD:ON*], tentatively attributed to Chester.

²⁷² BM; ex Lockett lot 1047 (CM 1955, 7–8, 148); reading *+OPÐINON[E]ESTR*.

²⁷³ CR 1990, no. 215.

²⁷⁴ BM; gift of H.H. King (CM 1975, 11–26, 192); reading *+EOLBR ANDONCISI* (NE ligated).

²⁷⁵ CR 1989, no. 98.

²⁷⁶ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Mansfield Woodhouse hoard (CM 1992, 1–14, 1); (2) Dix Noonan Webb, 14 Mar. 2007, lot 479, and 26 Sept. 2007, lot 197.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I	88
Colchester																			
Ælfsi/Elsie	×	×								×		×		×					
Ælfward/Ailward				×						×		×		×					
Edword													×						
Goldhavec/Goldhavoc													×						
Heugh																			
Sewegn/Swegæn	×																		
Derby																			
Brun														×					
Dorchester																			
Os(e)bern										×									
Sween																			
Walter																			
?																			
Dover																			
Gowdwine	×	×																	
Manwine	×																		
Safuhem																			
?																			
Durham																			
Ordwi																			

ALLEN

²⁷⁷ CR 1993, no. 244. C.J. Martin (Coins) Ltd list XX.1 (Feb. 1993), no. H72, cut halfpenny reading '+AR.....COL' (not illustrated), might be another coin of this moneyer in Henry I type 4.

²⁷⁸ BM; ex Doubleday lot 673 (CM 1988, 6–8, 10); reading $\text{H}[-\text{IL}]\text{PARDI}[\text{O}]\text{[-H}]\text{OLE}$.

²⁷⁹ BM; ex Mansfield Woodhouse hoard (CM 1992, 1–14, 2); reading $\text{H}[\text{IL}]\text{PARDI}[\text{O}]\text{[-H}]\text{OLE}$.

²⁸⁰ Two coins from the same reverse die: (1) BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 136); (2) *SCBI* 30, 750; ex Lockett lot 1068.

²⁸¹ Dix Noonan Webb, 14 Mar. 2012, lot 386.

²⁸² *SCBI* 26, 1419; with the (probably incorrect) note 'possibly a contemporary plated forgery'.

²⁸³ *NCirc* 117 (2009), 175, no. HS3903.

²⁸⁴ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1053–2001); found London (Thames Exchange) 1989.

²⁸⁵ FM; ex J.S. Henderson bequest 1933 (CM.5.146–1933).

²⁸⁶ EMC 2005.0203; CR 2006, no. 256.

²⁸⁷ EMC 2004.0052; CR 2005, no. 213.

²⁸⁸ CNG mail bid sale 47, 16 Sept. 1998, lot 2415.

²⁸⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1025–2001); bought from finder 1991.

²⁹⁰ Two coins: (1) BM; ex H. Peneavel (CM 1921, 8–17, 1); (2) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1060–2001); found London (Vintry) 1989.

²⁹¹ *NCirc* 109 (2001), 142, no. HS0371; cut halfpenny reading $[\text{JON}]\text{DOVR}$.

<i>Mim/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Durham? S[---][c/e/l]										✕ ²⁹²								
Exeter Alwin(e) A[---] Brand Brhiedwi Dunninc/Duning/ Dunnig/ Grim Helhi Herdng Hlud Sewine []jal[] [---]awi										✕ ²⁹³	✕ ²⁹⁴			✕ ²⁹⁵		✕ ²⁹⁶		
															9 ²⁹⁷	✕		✕
										✕	✕	✕	✕			✕ ²⁹⁸		
														✕				
										✕						✕ ³⁰⁰		
	✕	✕									✕ ²⁹⁹							
Gloucester Alfwine Esgar Godwin/Gotwine Rodbert Sawine/Sewine Sawol(d)/Sewiold															✕			✕
	✕			✕			✕							✕				
	✕		✕													✕		
	✕	✕						✕ ³⁰¹				9/10 and 11/10 mules						
																✕		✕
Thur(i) Wiberd/Wibred Wuleric Wulfighet Wulfwi																✕		✕
															✕	✕		
															✕	✕		
															✕	✕		

²⁹² Jonsson 1986, 122, no. 766; Harris 1991, 8; coin in the Historical Museum of the University of Lund reading +S[---][E, E or L?ONE[V?][---]]. I am grateful to Dr Kenneth Jonsson for images of this coin.

²⁰³ Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 4).

²⁹⁴ *NCirc* 97 (1989), 197, no. 4058.

²⁹⁵ Allen 2009, 76, 110, nos 126-7.

²⁹⁶ Two coins in the Pimprez hoard from a reverse die reading +A[---]ON:EXCES (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, nos 97–8).

²⁹⁷ Allen 2009, 76, 110–11, nos 128–9.

²⁹⁸ Three coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 2); (2–3) ‘Beauvais’ hoard lots 41–2; Harris 1987, 346. ARN 2002, 70, 110–11, nos 120–2.

Pimpresz hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 6): reading $[\text{ʔ} \text{ʔ} \text{ʔ}] / + \text{---} [\text{EX}] \text{---} [\text{E}]$.

³⁰⁰ *BMC* 218.

301 *DMC 218.*
EMC 1201.0013.

[illegible]

³⁰² Two coins: (1) BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 40); (2) FM (CM 514–2010); found Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, 1988 (EMC 2003.0094).

³⁰³ *NCirc* 118 (2010), 85, no. HS4086; ex Dix Noonan Webb, 10 Dec. 2009, lot 146.

³⁰⁴ *NCirc* 104 (1996), 13, no. 142.

305 *NCirc* 116 (2008), 271, no. HS3585.

Three coins in BM card index: (1) 'Shown Baldwin 10/5/85' (2) 'Shown Dr W. Conte June 1987', 1.33 g; (3) 'Found near Royston Herts 1987 (Details from P. Finn Spink 25-11-1987)', 306

1.25 g.

³⁰⁷ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 38).

³⁰⁸ EMC 2005.0037; CR 2006, no. 262.

³⁰⁹ BM; found London (Thames Exchange) 1989 (CM 1989, 3–6, 1); Conte and Archibald 1990, 232, no. 2.
LHC 2003, 6037; CR 2006, no. 202.

³¹⁰ Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 7).

³¹¹ Knaresborough area hoard.

³¹² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1010–2001); bought from finder 1994.

³¹³ *NCirc* 103 (1995), 310, no. 5534.

³¹⁴ FM (CM.513–2010); found Bottisham, Cambridgeshire, 1993; Blackburn 1993a.

Two die-duplicates: (1) Dr R.J. Eaglen collection; ex Spink 1992; Eaglen 1999, 142, no. 316; (2) EMC 2012.0021.

³¹⁶ Two re-duplicates: (1) DI K.3; Lagio
EMC 2009.0154; CR 2010, no. 281.

LMC 2009.0134, CK 2010, II0, Z81.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Godric		?	317															
Sefinne			×															
Siwatoe	×		×	318														
Hythe																		
Edward																		
Ilchester																		
Alwi/Elwi												×	321					
Ipswich																		
Ædgar/Edgar																		
Ælfric/Alfric																		
Ailwi(ne)																		
Edmund																		
Germane																		
Leowine/Lfwine																		
Osbern																		
Rodland/Rolland/Rollant																		
[]jfre																		
?																		
Leicester																		
Chetel/Chitel(lus)/Shetel																		
Si[m?][--]																		

³¹⁷ Two coins: (1) CR 1998, no. 156; Eaglen 1999, 141, no. 313; (2) CR 2010, no. 281.

³¹⁸ Eaglen 1999, 141–2, no. 315.

³¹⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.956–2001); ex S. Mitchell 1995; Eaglen 2002, 17, no. 5.

³²⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1067–2001); ex M. Senior 1998; Allen 2009, 76, 114, no. 184.

³²¹ EMC 2010.0237; CR 2011, no. 122.

³²² J.C. Sadler collection; found Littleton, Hampshire, 1995.

³²³ Two coins: (1) Patrick Finn list 1 (Spring 1994), no. 51; (2) J.C. Sadler collection; found near Bury St Edmunds, CR 2004, no. 249, attributed to Ælfwine but not illustrated, may be another coin of Ælfric/Alfric in Henry I type 4.

³²⁴ EMC 2006.0333; CR 2007, no. 367.

³²⁵ Dix Noonan Webb, 31 May 2000, lot 158.

³²⁶ J.C. Sadler collection.

³²⁷ J.C. Sadler collection; found Thetford area 1997; large fragment reading 'JFREONGIPS'.

³²⁸ EMC 2008.0463; CR 2009, no. 394.

³²⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1015–2001); ex Spink 1993.

³³⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1044–2001); ex A. Gillis 1994.

³³¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.966–2001); ex A. Gillis 1994; cut halfpenny reading **†Sj[-----]EGRE**; found near Bedford (probably from the 'Bedford area' hoard).

³³² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1005–2001); found London (Vintry) 1989; reading **†Sj[-----]GRE**.

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Arntel	×	×	×															×
Ærnwi/Arnwi																×		×
Aslac/Aslae						×		×		×	×	×				×		×
Gamel(us)											×							
Gladwin(e)											×					×		
Godric(us)		×				×	×				×	×	×			×		
Gut(h)red											×	×	×					
Hæmund											×	×	×					
H[---]i																	×	
Lefric																		×
Ra[wulf?]																		×
Siward																		×
Ulf																		
Wuf(e)t/Wuforet												×		?	×			
London																		
Alard												×						
Alfred(us)/Alvred/Alvret												×						×
Alfric(us)												×						
Æ(lf)w(i)ne/Al(f)wine/												×						
Al(f)winus/Ailwine/												×						
Elfwine												×						
Elfwine Sultan/Sultan/												×						
Alwin Sul												×						
Ælgar/Al(f)gar	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×					×
Ailric																		

³⁴⁸ EMC 2008.0273.³⁴⁹ PAS: BH-D4AB87; found Northill, Bedfordshire, May 2010.³⁵⁰ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 47); (2) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1016–2001); ex Norweb lot 1284.³⁵¹ BM; ex Toddington hoard (CM 1996.4–4–1).³⁵² Dix Noonan Webb, 30 Sept. 2009, lot 3841.³⁵³ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.981–2001); ex A. Gillis 1994.³⁵⁴ Two coins: (1) Andrew 1901, 271; (2) Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 117).³⁵⁵ Dix Noonan Webb, 8 Sept. 1998, lot 461.³⁵⁶ EMC 2004.0102; CR 2005, no. 220.³⁵⁷ Knaresborough area hoard.³⁵⁸ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 147); reading H[---]LF[OE?][---][IN?][OL[---];³⁵⁹ EMC 2007.0135; CR 2008, no. 304.³⁶⁰ *NCirc* 100 (1992), 355, no. 7443.³⁶¹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 149).³⁶² *NCirc* 101 (1993), 15, no. 140.³⁶³ Lincoln hoard (three coins): (1–2) BM (CM 1973, 8–23, 55; CM 1973, 8–23, 60); (3) *SCBI* 27, 2032.³⁶⁴ Allen 2009, 77, 123, no. 320.³⁶⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.995–2001); ex Baldwin 1995.

<i>Mint/Moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
<i>Smaewine/Sm(e)wi(n)e</i>	×	×	×	×	×				×							×		×
<i>Smewin/Snewine</i>			×															
<i>Sperlig/Sperlinc/Spirli(n)g</i>	×	×	?					×	×					×				
<i>The(o)dric(us)</i>				×	×			×										
<i>Thoret(h)/Thured/Thuret</i>	×	×	×	×	×													
<i>Tomas</i>																		
<i>Tovi</i>																		×
<i>Ulfraven</i>																		
<i>Wul(f)gar/Wulgher</i>	×			×	×						×							
<i>Wulfnoth</i>	×																	
<i>Wulfwar(d)/Wulfword/</i>		×	×															
<i>W[ul]fvar/Ulpart</i>								×			×			×				
<i>Wulfwin(e)</i>	×	×	×			4/5 mule and 5												×
Maldon or Malmesbury?																		
<i>Huberd</i>																		
Northampton																		
<i>Geffrei/Gefre/Gosfrei</i>																		
<i>G(h)ahan</i>																		
<i>Paten/Pahan</i>																		
<i>Sewine</i>																		
<i>Siward</i>	×	×	×	×														×
<i>Stena</i>																		
<i>Stiefne(s)</i>																		
<i>Stori</i>																		
<i>Thoor/Thort</i>																		

³⁸⁰ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 51, no. 1153; (2) M. Faintich, *Norman Coins of England 1066–1153*, http://www.symbolicmessengers.com/Norman_Coins_of_England.htm.

³⁸¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.947–2001); ex Spink 1992; cut halfpenny reading **+SPIC[?]** **IIEN**.

³⁸² Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 282; (2) Spink Auction 190, 27 Sept. 2007, lot 533.

³⁸³ BM; gift of M.M. Archibald (CM.1997, 3–1, 1).

³⁸⁴ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.997–2001); ex Baldwin 1995.

³⁸⁵ *NCirc* 102 (1994), 313, no. 5653.

³⁸⁶ *NCirc* 115 (2007), 332, no. HS3216; ex Dix Noonan Webb, 19 Mar. 2003, lot 550.

³⁸⁷ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Toddington hoard (CM.1996, 4–4, 4); (2) Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 14).

³⁸⁸ Harris 1987, 345; *SCBI* 51, no. 1163.

³⁸⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.970–2001); ex Baldwin 1993; reading **+HVERDOMMA** (*MM* ligated).

³⁹⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.959–2001); ex M. Senior 1997.

³⁹¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.983–2001); ex Baldwin 1995.

³⁹² *BMC* 46. The moneyer's name tentatively is read as Dort by Andrew 1901, 409, and Brooke 1916, I, ccxxxvii, II, 280, but it is more likely to be Thort.

³⁹³ Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 15).

³⁹⁴ BM; ex Mansfield Woodhouse hoard (CM.1992, 1–14, 6).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Ulif									× ³⁹⁵			×				×		
Wlnoth																		
Norwich																		
Ailwi																×		×
Alverd/Alword																×		×
Baldewine																×		
Chetel/Chitel													× ³⁹⁶	×	×	×		×
Astan/Edstan/Etstan/ Etstanwa[---]			×	×	×			×		×	×	×	×			×		
Edwine																×		
Eustace																×		×
Freline																		
Godwin(e)			×											×		×		×
Hawarth/Howorth	×	×	×	×	×													
Ot(ter)	×		×					×										×
Raulf																		
Sh(i)tric															?			×
Stanhard/Stan(h)art										×	×	×	×	×	×	×		
Suneman																×		
Swetman																		
Thot/[T?]ort												×					×	×
Thured																		
Turstan																		
Ulfchitel/Ulfail																		

³⁹⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1011–2001); ex Baldwin 1998.

³⁹⁶ CNG mail bid sale 33, 15 Mar. 1995, lot 1758.

³⁹⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.998–2001); ex Baldwin 1994.

³⁹⁸ A Henry I type 15 penny in the Pimprez hoard reads **+ETSTAN A[---]NOR**: (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 280).

³⁹⁹ Harris 1987, 345; *SCBI* 51, no. 1164.

⁴⁰⁰ Knarborough area hoard.

⁴⁰¹ *NCirc* 112 (2004), 110, no. HSI591.

⁴⁰² Allen 2009, 77, 136, nos 575–7.

⁴⁰³ Spink Auction 111, 21 Nov. 1995, lot 68 (part, not illustrated).

⁴⁰⁴ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 75).

⁴⁰⁵ Two coins: (1) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1001–2001); found Felthorpe, Norfolk, 1988; CR 1988, no. 217, and 1989, no. 100; (2) CR 1990, no. 214.

⁴⁰⁶ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 172).

⁴⁰⁷ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 77); reading **[] [T?]ORT.ONNORP[]**.

⁴⁰⁸ FM (CM.45–1991); found Hempnall, Norfolk, 1989; Blackburn and Rogerson 1990; Conte and Archibald 1990, 232, no. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ CR 1997, no. 170.

⁴¹⁰ EMC 2009.0131; CR 2010, no. 289; reading **+TVRSTA[---]NO**.

⁴¹¹ Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 16).

⁴¹² BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 76).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Walter																×		×
Wicheman									×									
Nottingham																		
Aldena/(H)aldene/ Haudene/H[⁻]dine/Hlidin Swein			×	×				×				×		×				
Oxford																		
Ægnoth/A(i)not(h)		×						×	×	×	×	?		×			×	
Æglric			×		×													
Ra(w)ulf																×		×
Sagrim																×		
Sawi															×			
Tovi(us)												×						
Pembroke																		
Gillepatri(c)															×	×		×
Pevensey																		
Aldred								×				×			×			
Rochester																		
Ælstan		×																
Rodbert/Rodbert(us)										×	?	×			×			

⁴¹³ Harris 1987, 345; *SCBI* 51, no. 1154.

⁴¹⁴ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.960–2001); ex M. Senior 1997.

⁴¹⁵ EMC 2005.0156; CR 2006, no. 260.

⁴¹⁶ EMC 2007.0213; CR 2008, no. 300.

⁴¹⁷ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Wickelwood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 1); (2) *NCirc* 103 (1995), 270, no. 4818.

⁴¹⁸ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1013–2001); ex Baldwin 1983; Seaman 1984.

⁴¹⁹ Two specimens: (1) FM; ex A. Singer 2005 (CM.296–2005); ex Spink 2000; Blackburn 2005, 166–7 (lead striking); (2) Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 17).

⁴²⁰ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 12, 219, reading **†A[]ON[]I[]**; (2) Patrick Finn list 12 (1998), no. 79, reading **†AGH....OXI** (not illustrated).

⁴²¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.988–2001); found Winchester 1990; EMC 1999.0173.

⁴²² Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 42, 1902; (2) CR 1987, no. 180.

⁴²³ Three coins: (1) BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 90); (2) BM (CM 1982, 7–25, 1); (3) EMC 2012.0010. The Lincoln hoard coin was attributed to Stamford by F. Elmore Jones in a preliminary study of the hoard but comparison with the second BM coin (which is from the same dies) shows that the reverse die reads **†TOVIVSONOXINF**.

⁴²⁴ ‘Beauvais’ hoard lots 80–1.

⁴²⁵ Jeffrey North, MS note to North 1980, 161: ‘Alfred (seen A.H.B[aldwin] 15.11.88)’.

⁴²⁶ Two coins: (1) *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, no. 274; (2) EMC 2011.0271.

⁴²⁷ BM; ex Toddington hoard (CM 1996, 4–4, 9); reading **[]ER[]IT[]I[]R[]O[]ES[]I[]**.

⁴²⁸ Lincoln hoard (*Coin Hoards* 1 (1975), 90, Fig. 19.8).

⁴²⁹ Allen 2009, 77, 138, no. 609A.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Wulfwine ?	×	×				×												
Romney Chenestan Godricus										×								
S[a?][---][n?] Wulfred ?									×		×	×		×	×			
Rye Ailwacher											×		×					
Salisbury Aldwin(e) Ealla Esbern/Osbrn Godric Sæwulf	×	?	×		×							×	×	×	×			
Sandwich Adalbot/Adelbol Alfwine Godhese	×						×	×			×						×	

⁴³⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.979–2001); ex M. Senior; cut halfpenny reading $\text{†[]ONhROVE: N[h ligated]}$.

⁴³¹ *The Searcher* 315 (Nov. 2011), 67; EMC 2011.0222.

⁴³² BM; ex S. Harmer; found near Ashford, Kent (CM 1999, 6–11, 1); reading $\text{†S[A?][---][N?ONRVN]}$.

⁴³³ EMC 2005.0113; CR 2006, no. 259.

⁴³⁴ Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 18).

⁴³⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1048–2001); found Seasalter, Kent, 1987; CR 1989, no. 101 (attributed to Romney, moneyer Wulwacher).

⁴³⁶ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.971–2001); ex Spink; found 1993.

⁴³⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1056–2001); found Bishop's Sutton, Hampshire, 1994; CR 1994, no. 250.

⁴³⁸ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 164); reading $[]\text{A:ONS}\text{ALES}$ (double-struck).

⁴³⁹ EMC 2011.0110; reading $[]\text{BERNONS}[A?][]$.

⁴⁴⁰ Harris 1987, 345; *SCBI* 51, no. 1159.

⁴⁴¹ EMC 2008.0412; CR 2009, no. 392.

⁴⁴² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1018–2001); ex S. Mitchell.

⁴⁴³ CR 1999, no. 118.

⁴⁴⁴ A Henry I type 9 reverse die of Adel[] is only known at present from one of the two round halfpennies of this moneyer (see n.445).

⁴⁴⁵ Two coins: (1) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.992–2001); found London (Thames Exchange) 1989; Conte and Archibald 1990, 232, no. 5 (from a penny reverse die of Henry I type 9); (2)

CR 1992, no. 287 (from a halfpenny reverse die).

⁴⁴⁶ EMC 2008.0205.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Godric(us)												× ⁴⁴⁷	× ⁴⁴⁸		×			
Osbern															×			
Wulfic(us)			×											×	×			
Wulfward/Wulfwart/	×		×		×		×		×									
Wulfword																		
Wulstan										×								
[]gar										×								
Shaftesbury																		
Aldred										×					×			
Aldwine										×								
Ælfwi			×															
Osmund			×															
Sagrim															×			
Saric(us)					×										×			
Salisbury, Sandwich or Shaftesbury																		
Fauca										×								
Shrewsbury																		
Alfric(us)													×		×			
Hathebrand	×				×													
Thergil																		
Wulfic	×				×										×			
Southwark																		
Al(f)gar	×			×						×								
Dereman																		
Elfwine					×								×					
Godwine										×								

⁴⁴⁷ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 27), reading **†GODRI[–]N[–]S[–]AN[–]**; Eaglen 2006, 79–80, 222.

⁴⁴⁸ *N.Circ* 97 (1989), 126, no. 2535; Eaglen 2006, 223.

⁴⁴⁹ Patrick Finn list 1 (Spring 1994), no. 47.

⁴⁵⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.972–2001); ex Baldwin 1986.

⁴⁵¹ Jeffrey North, MS note to North 1980, 161: ‘(ÆLF?)GAR ON SAN’.

⁴⁵² Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 19).

⁴⁵³ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.950–2001); ex A. Cherry.

⁴⁵⁴ Patrick Finn list 10 (1997), no. 95; cut halfpenny reading **†S[–]A[–]JFTIS**.

⁴⁵⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1009–2001); found London (Vintry) 1989; mint signature **‘S[–]A[–]J’**.

⁴⁵⁶ CR 1987, no. 190.

⁴⁵⁷ Allen 2009, 77, 144, nos 673–4.

⁴⁵⁸ A Henry I type 3 reverse die of Algar was found in the spoil from the Thames Exchange site in London in 1990 (Archibald, Lang and Milne 1995, 185–7), but no coins of the moneyer in this type are known at present.

⁴⁵⁹ CR 1988, no. 211 (attributed to Sudbury).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I	100
Lefwin(e)/Lefwinus/ Lifwine	×	×	×	×	×		×		×		×	×	×	×	×				
Liword	×	×																	
Sprot	×	×	×																
Stafford												×		×					
Edricus																			
Raulfus														×					
Stamford																			
Ar(n)cil/Arch(it)el	×		×	×	×	×	×		×										
Asc(h)il							×												
Godric				×									×		×	×		×	
Lefsi																			
Leftein												×	×		×				
Mor(us)										×	×	×							
Thurstan																			
Stamford or Steyning																			ALLEN
He(i)rman	×	×		×						×					×				
Sudbury																			
Folwine												×							
Godimer																×		×	
Osbern										×									
Wulfric/Wulfrig	×	×	×	×		×								×	×				
Stamford or Sudbury?																			
[]ostanche																			×

⁴⁶⁰ EMC 2010.0362; CR 2011, no. 119.

⁴⁶¹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (1973 8–23–171).

⁴⁶² Patrick Finn list 17 (1999), no. 99.

⁴⁶³ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.978–2001); ex P. Finn 1994.

⁴⁶⁴ *SCBI* 27, 1512.

⁴⁶⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.984–2001); ex D. Miller; found London (Thames Exchange) 1989.

⁴⁶⁶ CR 1996, no. 283.

⁴⁶⁷ Sharp 1999, discusses a Henry I type 3 penny reading **HIRMAN ON STENI**, suggesting that the mint is Steyning.

⁴⁶⁸ Allen 2009, 77, 150, no. 760.

⁴⁶⁹ ‘Beauvais’ hoard lot 82; reading **+GOD[-]R:ON[-]IV?ID**.

⁴⁷⁰ BM card index: ‘Shown by M. Trenerry of Truro 26.11.1987’.

⁴⁷¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1105–2001); ex Spink Auction 90, 16 Mar. 1992, lot 319; reading []OSTANCHE:ONS[].

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Salisbury, Sandwich, Shafesbury, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Stafford, Stamford or Sudbury																		
Marlesween												× ⁴⁷²		× ⁴⁷³				
Salede																		
Tamworth																		
Heming									× ⁴⁷⁴									
Hermer															×			
Lefwine												× ⁴⁷⁵		×				
Taunton																		
Elfric															×			
Thetford																		
Acus										×	×	×	×		×			
Alfric															×			
Al(f)ward/Ailward/Alwart												×		×	×			
Ailnot																		
Ascil/Aschetil											×	×	×	×	×			
Brithoth										×								
Bunde/Bundi			×							×								
Burh(a)rd(e)/Bur(c)hart/ Burehart			×		×						×	11/10, 10		×	?	×		
Folcard/Folchart															×			
Godlef		×			×													
Godric		×	×	×	×													
Godwin(e)				×	×	×						×	×	×	×			

⁴⁷² EMC 2006.0234; CR 2007, no. 366; reading ~~†MARLESPEEN:ONS~~.

⁴⁷³ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (unaccessioned); fragment reading ~~†HSALEDE:ONS~~]. There is a moneyer with the similar name Salida at Wilton in Henry I type 7.

⁴⁷⁴ *SCBI* 51, 1158.

⁴⁷⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1038–2001); ex Mansfield Woodhouse hoard.

⁴⁷⁶ CR 1995, no. 198.

⁴⁷⁷ Allen 2009, 77, 153, nos 796–7.

⁴⁷⁸ EMC 2010.0335; CR 2011, no. 123.

⁴⁷⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1020–2001); ex S. Mitchell 1996.

⁴⁸⁰ EMC 2011.0126; PAS SF–698C95.

⁴⁸¹ CR 1993, no. 243.

⁴⁸² Spink Auction 90, 16 Mar. 1992, lot 315.

⁴⁸³ *NCirc* 110 (2002), 138, no. HS1077.

⁴⁸⁴ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 173); (2) Spink Auction 90, 16 Mar. 1992, lot 317.

Herd					X ⁴⁸⁵												
Leofric																	
Lword		X ⁴⁸⁷		X ⁴⁸⁶													
Neigel					X												
Norman(nus)	X						X	X ⁴⁸⁸									
Od(d)e												X			X		X
Rodberd															X ⁴⁸⁹		X
Rodbert A																X	
Stanhard/Stanart/Stenard		X ⁴⁹⁰				X ⁴⁹¹			X ⁴⁹²	X ⁴⁹³		X ⁴⁹⁴					
T(h)ur(s)tan/Tur[---]ine								X ⁴⁹⁷									
Wlsgie		X ⁴⁹⁸															

Totnes																	
Aldred									X ⁴⁹⁹			X ⁵⁰⁰					
Du(n)ni(n)c		X				X ⁵⁰²		X ⁵⁰¹									
?																	

Twynham (Christchurch)																	
Ældred																	
Henric		X								X							
Tovi															X		

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⁴⁸⁵ EMC 2008.0026; CR 2009, no. 391.
⁴⁸⁶ EMC 2006.0330; CR 2007, no. 363.
⁴⁸⁷ EMC 2007.0156, reading **†LPORD ON TIIIIID** or **PJ**. Danson 2008 attributes this coin to Tamworth.
⁴⁸⁸ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1014-2001); bought from finder 1999.
⁴⁸⁹ Three coins: (1) BM; ex Wickleswood hoard (CM 1990, 6-29, 5); (2) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1102-2001); ex Baldwin 1988; (3) Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 293).
⁴⁹⁰ CNG mail bid sale 47, 16 Sept. 1998, lot 2411.
⁴⁹¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.985-2001); found London (Thames Exchange) c.1989.
⁴⁹² *BMC* 51.
⁴⁹³ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8-23, 14).
⁴⁹⁴ CR 1994, no. 249.
⁴⁹⁵ CNG mail bid sale 47, 16 Sept. 1998, lot 2413.
⁴⁹⁶ EMC 2012.0172.
⁴⁹⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.999-2001); ex Baldwin 1995.
⁴⁹⁸ EMC 2011.0213.
⁴⁹⁹ EMC 2008.0139; CR 2009, no. 393 (tentatively attributed to Norwich).
⁵⁰⁰ BM (CM 1988, 4-18, 1); found Bournemouth area; CR 1988, no. 216; reading **†ÆLD[?][---]ONTOTENI**.
⁵⁰¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1000-2001); ex Baldwin 1995.
⁵⁰² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.986-2001); ex Spink 1991; found London (Thames Exchange) c.1989; cut halfpenny reading **†[]ONTOTNA**

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Wallingford																		
Briht(r)ic		×	×	×														
Godwine/Godwinus	×	×	×	×	×							×		×	×			
Osmund									×	×		×						
Osuef/Osulf			×									×	×	×			×	
Rodberd/Rodbert															×			
Wareham																		
Alfred												×						
Derlinc/Derlig					×									×	×			
Osmær				×										×				
T(h)urstan/Turstinus										×		×		×	×			
Warwick																		
Ailwine												×						
Edred(us)												×		×	×			×
Elfw[ine?]								×				×						
Essuwi															×			
Godwine										×		×		×	×			
Ricard														×				
Sperhavec/Sperhavoc	×	×					5/6 mule					×		×				
Watchet																		
Elwine															×			
Sivs[?]											×							

⁵⁰³ Two coins: (1) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.963–2001); bought from finder 1994; (2) Dix Noonan Webb, 7 Oct. 2004, lot 213.
⁵⁰⁴ CR 1994, no. 246.

⁵⁰⁵ CNG Triton XV sale, 4 Jan. 2012, lot 1878.

⁵⁰⁶ *SCBI* 51, 1157.

⁵⁰⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.989–2001); ex D. Miller 1990.

⁵⁰⁸ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 96).

⁵⁰⁹ *SCBI* 24, 1006.

⁵¹⁰ Lincoln hoard (two coins): (1) BM (CM 1973 8–23–18); (2) *SCBI* 27, no. 2008.

⁵¹¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1040–2001); ex Spink 1987.

⁵¹² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1059–2001); ex Spink 1994; found c.1990.

⁵¹³ Allen 2009, 78, 157, nos 844–7.

⁵¹⁴ BM; ex Mansfield Woodhouse hoard (CM 1992, 1–14, 11).

⁵¹⁵ EMC 2011.0175; cut halfpenny reading **HELFP** [-----] **AR[EP?]**.

⁵¹⁶ EMC 2010.0195; CR 2011, no. 121.

⁵¹⁷ Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 22).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Wilton																		
Ægelwold/Ægelwold/ Ailward/Ailwart				×	×	×						×	×		×		×	
Bruni(n)c					×	×	×											
Owi				×														
Ricard									×									
Salida										×								
Sewine																		
Ture[]	×		×								×							
Winchester																		
Alfric(us)																×		
Ailward															?	×		
Alfwine/Ailwine/Alvine						×	×				×	×					×	
Alwold																×		×
Chipping/Kippi(n)g																		
H(e)ngle(g)ram											×	×	×	×				
Godric(us)											×							
Godwin(e)/Godwina/ Gowine	×	×	×	×	×	×	×					×				×		
Lefwine/Leowine/ Lewinus/Lifwine/ Saiet(us)/Saied/Sa(i)het		×								?		×		×				
Sawulf								×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×		×
Shirwold		×																
St(i)efne/Stephanus																×		×
Stigant												×	×	×	×			
Tovi												×				×		

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⁵¹⁸ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.974-2001); ex A. Cherry 1996.

⁵¹⁹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8-23, 110).

⁵²⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.990-2001); ex Spink 1992.

⁵²¹ PAS; IOW-OBCF44; found Isle of Wight, Oct. 2010.

⁵²² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.952-2001); ex Spink 1994.

⁵²³ Pimpres hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 23).

⁵²⁴ Allen 2009, 160, no. 878.

⁵²⁵ EMC 2002.0013; CR 2002, no. 208.

⁵²⁶ BM; ex Toddington hoard (CM 1996, 4-4, 7).

⁵²⁷ FM (CM.36-1952); Conte and Archibald 1990, 232, no. 1; Biddle 2012, no. 2306.

⁵²⁸ EMC 2010.0320; CR 2011, no. 118.

⁵²⁹ *SCBI* 11, Stockholm, 276; moneyer's name reading [---]P[---]; tentatively attributed to Kippi(n)g in *SCBI* 11.

⁵³⁰ Lincoln hoard (two coins): (1) BM (CM 1973, 8-23, 104); (2) *SCBI* 27, 2074; Biddle 2012, nos 2205-6.

⁵³¹ Two coins: (1) Spink Auction 111, 21 Nov. 1995, lot 67 (part, not illustrated); (2) CNG Triton XV sale, 4 Jan. 2012, lot 1886.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Warmund																		
Wimund/Wimunt	×	×		3/4 mule ⁵³³ amd 4 ⁵³⁴	?	?		×	×	×					×		×	
[-]gulf											×							
Worcester																		
Aldret								×										
Awī																		
Godric																		
Turchil																		
Wulfric																		
Wufvne																		
?																		
York																		
Arnwi																		
Aschil																		
Beirhrth																		
Cnud																		
Coc/Toc																		
Fardein																		
Forn(a)/Foren																		

⁵³² Allen 2009, 76, 164, nos 934–5; Biddle 2012, no. 2253.

⁵³³ BM (CM 1990, 11–29, 1); Biddle 2012, no. 2169.

⁵³⁴ Dix Noonan Webb, 19 June 2008, lot 256.

⁵³⁵ BMC 36A; Biddle 2012, no. 2173; reading $\overline{\text{H}}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{N}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\text{P}\text{I}\text{N}\text{C}\text{E}$.

⁵³⁶ EMC 2008.0204.

⁵³⁷ Biddle 2012, no. 2182.

⁵³⁸ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.991–2001); found Pitt, Hampshire, 1987; EMC 1999.0174; Biddle 2012, no. 2307.

⁵³⁹ Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 25); reading $\overline{\text{H}}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{N}\text{T}\text{O}\text{N}\text{P}\text{I}\text{N}\text{C}\text{E}$.

⁵⁴⁰ CR 2003, no. 253.

⁵⁴¹ EMC 2000.0230; CR 2003, no. 263.

⁵⁴² Symons 2006, 575, 582–3; Allen 2009, 78, 165, no. 945.

⁵⁴³ Symons 2003, 490, no. 58.a; Symons 2006, 572–5.

⁵⁴⁴ CR 1998, no. 160.

⁵⁴⁵ Five coins: (1) BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 81); (2–3) Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, nos 346–7); (4–5) Knaresborough area hoard.

⁵⁴⁶ Carlyon-Britton lot 1909.

⁵⁴⁷ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.953–2001); ex Spink 1991.

⁵⁴⁸ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.987–2001); ex Baldwin 1995.

⁵⁴⁹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 187).

⁵⁵⁰ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 19).

⁵⁵¹ Lincoln hoard (three coins): (1) BM (CM 1973, 8–23, 106); (2–3) SCBI 27, 2079–80.

⁵⁵² Lincoln hoard (two coins): (1) BM (CM 1973, 8–23, 180); (2) SCBI 27, 2176.

⁵⁵³ EMC 2010.0223; CR 2011, no. 124.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	William II	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	8	7	11	10	12	13	14	15	Halfpenny	Stephen type I
Harthulf																		
Heming								X ⁵⁵⁴	X ⁵⁵⁵	X ⁵⁵⁶	X ⁵⁶¹	X ⁵⁵⁷		X ⁵⁵⁸	X	X ⁵⁵⁹		
Laising/Laising/Lesinc	X	X ⁵⁶³								X ⁵⁶⁰		X ⁵⁶²						
O(u)thbern	X		X ⁵⁶⁴					X				X		X	X		X ⁵⁶⁵	X
Swein																		
T(h)urstan																X ⁵⁶⁶	X	X
Ulf			X													X ⁵⁶⁷		X
Ulfecil				X ⁵⁶⁸														
[]il													X ⁵⁷⁰		X ⁵⁶⁹			
?																		

Uncertain mint

Oswald⁵⁷¹
 Thurf⁵⁷²rim
 [?]Thulgrimchil
 Willem
 []nd
 []re

2/7
 mule⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁵⁴ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1002–2001); ex S. Mitchell 1995.

⁵⁵⁵ Norweb lot 835.

⁵⁵⁶ Dix Noonan Webb, 13 Dec. 2006, lot 53. Lockett lot 3903, reading $\text{†}[\text{h}\text{A}]\text{---}[\text{ONEBO}]$, is attributed to Raulf in the auction catalogue, but an attribution to Harthulf would be much more consistent with the spacing of the letters. A Henry I type 1 penny in the British Museum attributed to a York moneyer named Raulf by F. Elmore Jones (CM 1953, 14–4, 3) seems to be a coin of a moneyer Lefwine of uncertain mint, reading $\text{†}[\text{L}\text{E}]\text{?}[\text{F}]\text{?}$].

⁵⁵⁷ Bird lot 290.

⁵⁵⁸ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 182).

⁵⁵⁹ Allen 2009, 78, 166, nos 950–1.

⁵⁶⁰ *SCBI* 21, 791 (moneyer's name read as Herman).

⁵⁶¹ BM; ex D. Miller (CM 1981, 5–21, 1); reading []MINGO / $\text{†}[\text{NEVERP}]$.

⁵⁶² BM; ex Mansfield Woodhouse hoard (CM 1992, 1–14, 12); reading $\text{†}[\text{H}\text{E}]\text{?}[\text{ONEVR}]$.

⁵⁶³ Two coins: (1) Baldwin's Auctions 40, 3 May 2005, lot 1053; (2) PAS: PUBLIC–AA94C0; EMC 2011.0177; fragment reading []SIN[]NE[]; found South Somercotes, Lincolnshire, Feb. 2010.

⁵⁶⁴ EMC 2009.0182; CR 2010, no. 182.

⁵⁶⁵ Found Aldworth parish, Berkshire, 1989; Conte and Archibald 1990, 232, no. 3.

⁵⁶⁶ Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, no. 348).

⁵⁶⁷ Four coins: (1–2) BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 270–1); (3–4) Pimprez hoard (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011, nos 350–1).

⁵⁶⁸ EMC 2009.0364; CR 2010, no. 276.

⁵⁶⁹ Allen 2009, 78, 167, no. 965.

⁵⁷⁰ Lockett lot 2925.

⁵⁷¹ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 114); reading $\text{†}[\text{OSP}\text{A}]\text{?}[\text{---}]\text{NE}$.

⁵⁷² Knarborough area hoard.

⁵⁷³ BM; ex Lincoln hoard (CM 1973, 8–23, 188); reading $\text{†}[\text{H}]\text{---}[\text{GRIMEHL:ON}]\text{?}$].

⁵⁷⁴ EMC 2004.0041; CR 2005, no. 215, reading []JILLE[]ONOF[] (N over P).

⁵⁷⁵ EMC 2011.0291, reading $\text{†}[\text{H}]\text{---}[\text{ND:O}]\text{---}[\text{JAR}]$:

⁵⁷⁶ Blackburn 2005, 165–7.

STEPHEN

Key

- Per. Pereric
 Er. Type 1 erased dies
 Ro. Type 1 roundels
 Irr. Type 1 irregular (in the name of Stephen)
 Mat. Matilda: (A) Imitating Stephen type 1; (B) Independent types
 Ind. Independent coinages
 Sc. David I of Scotland (D) and Henry of Northumbria (H)

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Bamburgh												
Wilelm								×	H			
Bath												
Alvred												×
Bedford												
Davit												×
Iohan											× ⁵⁷⁷	×
Tomas										×	×	×
Willem		×		×								
Bramber												
Orgar												×
Willem												×
Bristol												
Arefin/Arfeni						×	A	×				
Fardein/Faretein		×					A	×				
Gurdan/Iordan		×		×		×	A	×				
Rodberd/Rodbert							A	×				
Turchil/Turgil	×	×	×			×	A					
Buckingham												
Rodbert											×	×
Bury St Edmunds												
Ace(lin)		×								×	×	×
[A]lvric											×	
Gil(l)ebert	×	×			×							?
Henri		×										
Hunfrei		×				×				×	×	
Iun		?										
Willem												×

⁵⁷⁷ Mack 1966, 53, no. 78; CR 1994, no. 281.

⁵⁷⁸ *NCirc* 115 (2007), 33, no. HS2771.

⁵⁷⁹ Archibald 2001, 75, 84, nos 1–2.

⁵⁸⁰ Boon 1986, 73, no. 2.

⁵⁸¹ Archibald 2001, 75, 84–5, nos 3–17.

⁵⁸² Archibald 2001, 75–6, 85, nos 17–21.

⁵⁸³ Boon 1986, 73, no. 1.

⁵⁸⁴ CR 1993, no. 269 (attributed to Rochester); Blackburn 1993c; Allen 2006b, 245 n.41.

⁵⁸⁵ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1198–2001); bought from finder 1996; Allen 2006b, 267, no. 19.

⁵⁸⁶ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 107); reading [H][LVRIC:ONS:ED?]; Eaglen 2006, 237, no. 44.

⁵⁸⁷ Dr R.J. Eaglen collection; ex Buckland, Dix & Wood, 28 June 1995, lot 171; ex Portsdown Hill hoard; Eaglen 2006, 238, no. 47; Allen 2006b, 267, no. 24, reading H[----]RT:ONS:ED.

⁵⁸⁸ Found Saffron Walden, Essex, 1988; Eaglen 2006, 234, no. 38.

⁵⁸⁹ EMC 2010.0152; CR 2011, no. A.268.

⁵⁹⁰ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 43); Eaglen 2006, 236–7, no. 43; (2) CR 1994, no. 282.

⁵⁹¹ Mack 1966, 41; Eaglen 2006, 235.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Cambridge												
Herevey						×						
?												× ⁵⁹²
Canterbury												
Algar	×	×										
Edmond/[Edm]und										× ⁵⁹³		× ⁵⁹⁴
Ædward/Edward		×								×	× ⁵⁹⁵	×
Godhese	×	×										
Iun		×										
Ricard												× ⁵⁹⁶
Rodbert	×	×				×				×	×	
Rodbert M												× ⁵⁹⁷
Rog(i)er										×	×	×
Rog(i)er Bo(d)		×								× ⁵⁹⁸		
Sawine						× ⁵⁹⁹						
Wille(l)m	×	×	×									
Wulfric		×										
Wulfwine		×										
Cardiff												
Bricmer							A					
(H)elwine						× ⁶⁰⁰	B					
Ioli(e) de Brit							B					
Raul							B ⁶⁰¹					
Wil(l)e(l)m/Wilc		×				× ⁶⁰²	A, B	×				
Carlisle												
Ere(n)bald	×					×			D			
(H)udard						×						
Ricard									D, H ⁶⁰³			
Wilealme/Willem						×			H			
Castle Combe												
Durling										× ⁶⁰⁴		
Castle Rising												
(H)iun												×
Rodbe(r)t/Rodbret/Rodt										×	×	
Chester												
Ailmar/Almer	×	×										
Ravenswert	×	×										
Rodbert												× ⁶⁰⁵
Turber	×	×										
Walt(i)r	×	×										
Chichester												
Godwin(e)	×	×										

⁵⁹² EMC 2001.0038; CR 2001, no. 98; Allen 2006a, 244, no. 23; Allen 2006b, 267, no. 29.

⁵⁹³ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990 6–29–58); reading []VND:ON:EA[].

⁵⁹⁴ *NCirc* 96 (1988), 54, no. 1174; Allen 2006b, 267, no. 30.

⁵⁹⁵ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 66); reading †[A?][-----]EAN.

⁵⁹⁶ Patrick Finn list 18 (2000), no. 104; Allen 2006b, 268, no. 33.

⁵⁹⁷ Elmore Jones and Blunt 1967, 90, no. 24; Allen 2006b, 268, no. 34.

⁵⁹⁸ Two coins: (1) Carlyon-Britton lot 1463; (2) BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 93).

⁵⁹⁹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1160–2001); found Sevenoaks, Kent, 1989; CR 1987, no. 197.

⁶⁰⁰ Boon 1986, 74, no. 18.

⁶⁰¹ Boon 1986, 76, nos 65–6.

⁶⁰² Boon 1986, 73–4, nos 3–17.

⁶⁰³ EMC 2010.0082; CR 2011, no. 128.

⁶⁰⁴ Archibald 2001, 76, 85, nos 22–31.

⁶⁰⁵ EMC 2009.0330; CR 2010, no. 314.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7	
Cirencester													
Willem								×					
Colchester													
Alfwine		×									×	⁶⁰⁶	
Edward/Edword		×											
Godhese												×	⁶⁰⁷
Randulf										×	×	×	
Safare/[Sa?]vare		×								×			
Turs[t]an										×			
Corbridge													
Erebald/Arebald									H				
Cricklade													
Angie[r?]						×							
‘Delca’													
Willem		×											
Derby													
Walchelinus								×					
Dorchester													
S[--]and								×	⁶¹⁰				
Dover													
Adam										×		×	
Dunwich													
Hinri											×		
Paen										×	⁶¹¹		
Rogier										×	×		
Turstan/Turstein										×	×		
Walter											×		
Dunwich or Durham													
Nicol(e)												×	⁶¹²
R[ogier?]												×	⁶¹³
Durham													
Felipe												×	⁶¹⁴
Fobund						×	⁶¹⁵						
Henri		×											
Exeter													
Algar/Algier		×	⁶¹⁶										
A(i)lric		×											×

⁶⁰⁶ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 71); (2) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1188–2001); ex Wicklewood hoard; cut halfpenny reading **+AL[F?][-----]COL[-]**. Bispham 1984 publishes a Stephen type 6 penny of Colchester with the moneyer's name []NE.

⁶⁰⁷ Allen 2006b, 269, nos 48–9.

⁶⁰⁸ EMC 2002.0223; cut halfpenny (chipped) reading []VARE:ON[].

⁶⁰⁹ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 54); reading **+TVRS[-]AN:ON:EO:**.

⁶¹⁰ Brooke 1916, I, pl. LXII, no. 8; Mack 1966, 94, no. 264; *SCBI* 20, 1653.

⁶¹¹ CR 1997, no. 183.

⁶¹² Allen 2006b, 270, nos 56–9; Allen and Webb Ware 2007, 280.

⁶¹³ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–24, 115); reading **+R[-----]ON:DVN**; Allen 2006b, 270, no. 60; Allen and Webb Ware 2007, 280.

⁶¹⁴ Allen 2006b, 280, no. 216 (attributed to Pevensey); Allen and Webb Ware 2007, 279–80.

⁶¹⁵ Allen 1994, 397, nos 8–13; Allen 2003, 166–7, no. 8.

⁶¹⁶ Semier was formerly listed as a moneyer at Exeter in Stephen type 1 on the basis of a coin in the British Museum (ex Brettell lot 308) with the moneyer's name reading []IER, which is from the same dies as a coin reading **ALGIER** (CR 1988, no. 223).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Bri(h)twi(n)/Bridwi	×	×				?617						
Simun		×618										
[---]chi		×619										
Eye												
Dun[----]											×620	
Willelm						×621						
Gloucester												
Al(f)wi(ne)	×	×										
Gil(l)ebert/Gilleberd		×										
Radewulf/Ra(wu)lf		×						×				×
Robert								×				
Wibert	×	×										
Willem								×				×
Hastings												
Aldred		?622								×	×	
Rodbert	×	×								×		6/7 mule and 7
Sawine		×		×						×623		
Wenstan		×										
Hedon												
Gerard												×
Hereford												
Driu												×
Edricus	×	×										
Edwine	×	×624										
Saric								?625				×626
Sibern		×						×				
Willelm								×				
Wicric(e)/Witric		×						×				
[T?]ebalt												×627
Huntingdon												
Godmer												×
Walteir/Waltier								×628				×629
Ilchester												
?												×630
Ipswich												
Ædgar	×	×								×		
Alaien										×631		

⁶¹⁷ Mack 1966, 70, no. 185.

⁶¹⁸ Two coins: (1) BM; ex F.W. Hasluck bequest (CM 1920, 9–7, 810); (2) St James's Auctions 3, 3 Oct. 2005, lot 116; ex Brettell lot 309; ex Carlyon-Britton lot 1443; ex Murdoch lot 247.

⁶¹⁹ BM; ex South Kyme hoard (CM 1921, 5–19, 58); reading [H][---]CHI:ONE:EXELE[---]; Lawrence 1922, 71, no. 98.

⁶²⁰ Alliss and Seaby 1984; St James's Auctions 3, 3 Oct. 2005, lot 161; cut halfpenny reading +DV[N?][-----]EIE found in Suffolk.

⁶²¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1146–2001); ex Glendining auction, 3 Nov. 2000, lot 104.

⁶²² A Stephen type 1 penny in the Ashmolean Museum (*SCBI* 12, 253) reads +AL[]AS.

⁶²³ CR 2001, no. 96.

⁶²⁴ CR 1994, no. 263.

⁶²⁵ Mack 1966, 90, no. 249.

⁶²⁶ Allen 2006b, 271, nos 79–80.

⁶²⁷ EMC 2007.0090; CR 2008, no. 325.

⁶²⁸ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 60); Eaglen 1999, 143–4, no. 323.

⁶²⁹ Eaglen 1999, 144, no. 327; Allen 2006b, 272, nos 84–5.

⁶³⁰ Allen 2006b, 272, no. 87.

⁶³¹ Three coins: (1) BM; ex Lockett lot 1127 (CM 1955, 7–8, 155); (2) BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 32); (3) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1176–2001); ex Wicklewood hoard.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Alfric		×										
Davit												×
Edmund	×	×			×					×		
Gerard										×		
Gillebert										×		
Osberd/Os(e)bern	×	×			×					×	×	
Pagan(us)/Païen		×	×		×							
Rodbert												×
Ro(d)g(i)er		×			×					×		
Rogier R										×		
Launceston												
Willem ⁶³⁹		×										
Leicester												
Samar		×										
Simon/Simun		×						×				×
Lewes												
Ælmar										×		
Her(r)evi		×										
Hunfrei											×	×
Os(e)bern		×								×		
Rodbert		×		×								
Rogier											×	
Willem		×		×								
Lincoln												
Aldred	×	×										
Æil[red?]/Ail[red?]	×	×										
Ailredus								×				
Arnwi	×	×										
Glad(e)win(e)/Gladvin(e)/ Gledewin		×	×	×				×				×
Godwine								×				
Gurth												×
Hue												×
Lefricus	×					?						
Oslac	×	×										

⁶³² BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 31).

⁶³³ It has been suggested that a Stephen type 2 penny of a moneyer Gilebert with an illegible mint signature (Lawrence II, lot 361 (part)) might be attributed to either Bury St Edmunds or Sudbury (Eaglen 2006, 236), but this may be a coin of the Ipswich moneyer Gillebert who is already attested in type 2 (*BMC* 151).

⁶³⁴ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 79).

⁶³⁵ BM; ex Baldwin (CM 1977, 12–5, 1).

⁶³⁶ Allen 2006b, 272, nos 92–5.

⁶³⁷ Two coins: (1) Prestwich hoard; (2) Coin reading ‘+ROGIER:ON:GIP’ (information from J.C. Sadler).

⁶³⁸ J.C. Sadler collection; ex *NCirc* 100 (1992), no. 5966; found Suffolk 1978; reading +ROGI[-]R[-]N:GIP.

⁶³⁹ Harris, *SCMB* 797 (Jan./Feb. 1985), 17, lists Launceston as a mint in Henry I type 15 on the basis of a coin in the Carlyon-Britton collection (lot 1429, part) reading ‘+PIL]LELM: - - - - PÆ’, but this is probably a coin of the Canterbury moneyer Willelm with a mint signature reading [LÆN]PÆ.

⁶⁴⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1203–2001); ex Baldwin 1996; Allen 2006b, 273, no. 97.

⁶⁴¹ EMC 2008.0284; CR 2009, no. 408.

⁶⁴² Seaby 1986, 102–3, attributes two die-duplicate Stephen type 1 pennies from an erased obverse die and a reverse die reading +ROD[-]ERT:ON[-]AVE to Steyning, but a more probable attribution is to Lewes, with the mint signature reconstructed as LAVE.

⁶⁴³ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 80).

⁶⁴⁴ St James’s Auctions 3, 3 Oct. 2005, lot 137.

⁶⁴⁵ *SCBI* 48, 1216–17; ex Prestwich hoard.

⁶⁴⁷ The visible part of the moneyer’s name on two Lincoln coins of a local variant of Stephen type 1 from the same pair of dies is AILR[], which has been tentatively expanded to AILR[IEVS] (Mack 1966, 67, no. 169), but another Lincoln coin of this variety from different dies reads []LREDVS (*SCBI* 30, 787).

⁶⁴⁷ *BMC* type 4 (Mack 1966, 52, no. 73).

⁶⁴⁸ Allen 2006b, 273, nos 101–3.

⁶⁴⁹ Mack 1966, 74, no. 203; *SCBI* 17, 838 (mint signature tentatively read as LIHC).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Pagan/Paen								× ⁶⁵⁰				×
R(aw)ulf	×	×	×									
Rein(n)ald/Reinold/ Renaut		×	×									
Roger								×				
Si(g)ward/Sigvard/Sigverd []rt	×	×	×					× ⁶⁵¹				
London												
Adam										×		×
Adelard		×										
Alfred/Alv(e)red	×	×	×			× ⁶⁵²						
Algar	×	×										
Alisander/Alisandre		×							× ⁶⁵³		×	×
Alwine		×										
Baldewin(e)	×	×										
Bri(c)mar(r)/Britmar	×	×										
Der(r)eman	×	×										×
Edward										×		
Estmund	×	×										
Gef(f)rei										×	× ⁶⁵⁴	×
Godard										×	×	
Godric(us)		×	×									
G[--]sebi												× ⁶⁵⁵
Hamund										×		
Iohan									× ⁶⁵⁶			
L(i)efred	×	×										
Raulf/Rawul											×	×
Ricard												×
Ricard R												× ⁶⁵⁷
Ricard S												× ⁶⁵⁸
Ro(d)bert		×								×		×
Rog(i)er	×	×								×		×
Smæwin/Smeawin(e)/ Smewine	×	×										
T(i)erri (D)										×	×	×
Tovi	×	×										
Wul(f)win(e)	×	× ⁶⁵⁹								× ⁶⁶⁰	×	×
Maldon or Malmesbury?												
Here[m?[-]]		× ⁶⁶¹										
Malmesbury?												
[G or I?]ordanus								× ⁶⁶²				
Walteris								?	× ⁶⁶³			

⁶⁵⁰ BMC type 4 (Mack 1966, 52, no. 72).

⁶⁵¹ BM; ex C.J. Martin (1982 7–26–1); Stephen BMC type 4 penny reading []RT:O[-]LINE[].

⁶⁵² Archibald 1991b, 13 n.15, argues that coins of this moneyer formerly attributed to the coinage of Matilda (Mack 1966, 88, no. 238; Stewart 1976) are from irregular dies of Stephen.

⁶⁵³ EMC 2010.0327; CR 2011, no. 125.

⁶⁵⁴ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 81); (2) Wicklewold hoard lot 101. Lockett lot 1137, reading +[GE?][FREI[], may be another coin of this moneyer in Stephen type 6.

⁶⁵⁵ Allen 2006b, 275, no. 127.

⁶⁵⁶ BM; ex Galata Coins (CM 1989, 9–23, 1).

⁶⁵⁷ Allen 2006b, 275, no. 139.

⁶⁵⁸ Lord Stewartby; ex Buckland, Dix & Wood, 28 June 1995, lot 177; ex Portsdown Hill hoard; Allen 2006b, 275, no. 140.

⁶⁵⁹ SCBI 20, 1592.

⁶⁶⁰ Five coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 38); (2) FM (CM.1862–1911); (3) *NCirc* 92 (1984), 228. no. 5341; (4) EMC 2001.0606; (5) EMC 2011.0226.

⁶⁶¹ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 13); reading +HERE[M?][----]ME.

⁶⁶² EMC 1201.0002, as Stephen type 1 but reading [][H?][E[N?][]+ on the obverse and []ORDANVSO[-][EL[M?][] on the reverse.

⁶⁶³ Mack 1966, 92, no. 259.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Marlborough												
R[---]								× ⁶⁶⁴				
Newark												
?								?				
Newcastle												
Ailf								×				
Ioce								×				
Willem/Wileln		×						×				
Northampton												
Pa(i)en	×	×						×			×	×
Willem(i)								×				
Norwich												
Adam		×		×								
Albert						?						
Alfric(h)/Alvric/Elfric						×				×	×	×
Al(f)ward	×	×		×						×		
Ailwi	×	×								×		
Davi												×
Ædstan/Edstan/Etstan	×	×		×						×	×	
Etreice		×										
Eustace	×	×		×								
Godwin(e)	×	×		?							×	
Her(e)mer		×								×		
Hild(e)bran											×	×
(H)jun		×		×								
Iocelin												×
Iordan											×	
Oter(che)	×	×		×								
Ra(nd)ulf/Raul(us)/Rawul										×	×	×
Rogier										×		×
Sih(t)ric	×	×										×
Stanchil/Stencil/Staneril						?				×		
Suneman	×	×				?						
Swedman	×	×										
Thor(r)										×	×	×
Walt(i)er	×	×		×						×		
Wille(l)m/Willme		×									×	×
Willem G												×
Nottingham												
Svein/Swein/Sween		×		×								×
?								×				

⁶⁶⁴ Archibald 2001, 76, 85, no. 32.

⁶⁶⁵ Mack 1966, 69, no. 177.

⁶⁶⁶ BMC type 3 (Mack 1966, 51, no. 67).

⁶⁶⁷ BMC type 3 (Mack 1966, 51, nos 68–9).

⁶⁶⁸ Blackburn 1993b.

⁶⁶⁹ Two coins with pelleted crown: (1) BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 15); (2) FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM. 1165–2001); found Norwich area, Feb. 1989; Harris 1991, 8.

⁶⁷⁰ 'Beauvais' hoard lots 106–7: two die-duplicates with reverse readings reported as 'GODPIN:O[N:CICE:]' and 'GODPIN [:ON:CICE:]', 'obv. with bar across lower face and roundel on elbow'.

⁶⁷¹ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 92); reading +GO[-----]N:NOR.

⁶⁷² Allen 2006b, 278, no. 178.

⁶⁷³ Two coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 94); (2) Wicklewold hoard lot 116.

⁶⁷⁴ Three coins: (1) BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 98); (2) EMC 2002.0249; CR 2002, no. 223; (3) EMC 2010.0281; CR 2011, no. A.277.

⁶⁷⁵ Allen 2006b, 278, nos 182–3.

⁶⁷⁶ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 17); pelleted crown; reading +S[ThC?][-----]R:.

⁶⁷⁷ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 16); pelleted crown; reading +S[-----][N?]:ON:NO:

⁶⁷⁸ Allen 2006b, 279, nos 202–4.

⁶⁷⁹ BMC type 4 (Mack 1966, 52, no. 75).

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Nottingham?												
Rainald								× ⁶⁸⁰				
Oxford												
Adam								×				
Gahan/Gihan		×								×		
Osbern		×						? ⁶⁸¹				
Ra(w)ulf	×	×										
Rogier								× ⁶⁸²				
Simon												× ⁶⁸³
Swetig		×					A					
[]od[]		× ⁶⁸⁴										
Pembroke												
Gillepatric	×	×										
Pevensey												
A[--]		× ⁶⁸⁵										
Al(f)wine		×								×		×
Hervei		×										
Richmond												
Bertold		× ⁶⁸⁶										
Rye												
Ra(w)ul(f)		×								1/2 mule and 2	×	×
Salisbury												
Edmund												× ⁶⁸⁷
Lefwine								× ⁶⁸⁸				
Stanghun/Stan(h)ung		×						×				×
Vin(e)man												×
Wilheld								× ⁶⁸⁹				
Sandwich												
Osbern												×
Wulfric										×	× ⁶⁹⁰	×
Shaftesbury												
Colbern												×
Lorence												× ⁶⁹¹
Ricard		×										
Sagrim		×										
Sherborne												
?								? ⁶⁹²				

⁶⁸⁰ BMC 246; Mack 1966, 69, no. 179, reading +RÆINÆLD'ONST[O?].

⁶⁸¹ Mack 1966, 68, no. 176.

⁶⁸² BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 20); rosette type (cf. Mack 1966, 70, no. 181); reading +ROGIER:ON:O[--].

⁶⁸³ Allen 2006b, 280, nos 206–7.

⁶⁸⁴ Lockett lot 1106, speculatively attributed to an otherwise unrecorded moneyer Hargod in the auction catalogue.

⁶⁸⁵ EMC 1201.0019, reading +Æ[--]:O[---]VENS.

⁶⁸⁶ The coins of Bertold at RI or R were attributed to Castle Rising until the discovery of a lead striking from his dies on the river bank below Richmond Castle in 1987 (Archibald 1991a, 331, 345, no. 55; Blackburn 1994, 161 n.31).

⁶⁸⁷ CR 1992, no. 294; Allen 2006b, 281, no. 224.

⁶⁸⁸ Archibald 2001, 77, 85, no. 33.

⁶⁸⁹ Archibald 2001, 77, 85, nos 34–6.

⁶⁹⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1193–2001); ex Spink 1993.

⁶⁹¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1208–2001); ex M. Senior 1999; Allen 2006b, 282, no. 247.

⁶⁹² Mack 1966, 92, no. 256.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Shrewsbury												
Ravensart		×				× ⁶⁹³						
Rodbert		×										
Simound												× ⁶⁹⁴
Salisbury, Sandwich, Shaftesbury or Shrewsbury												
[]ad												× ⁶⁹⁵
Southampton												
Sanson(e)/Sansun/Sansi									×			
W[-----]									× ⁶⁹⁶			
Southwark												
Al(f)wine		×										
Sigar		×										
Turchil		×										
Wulfwold		×										
Southwark or Sudbury												
Ghe[r?][---]		× ⁶⁹⁷										
Stafford												
Godric		×										
Stamford												
Dod									× ⁶⁹⁸			
Gefri											× ⁶⁹⁹	
Lefsi	×	×	×	×								
Siward/Sudward		×										
Stamford or Steyning												
Aschi[l]												×
[Rodb?]ert ⁷⁰⁰												×
Sudbury												
Aleme											× ⁷⁰¹	
Edward						×						×
Gileberd/Gilebert												×
Go(d)imer	×	×										
Salisbury, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, Southwark, Stafford or Sudbury												
Godefroi		× ⁷⁰²										
Swansea												
Henr(i)						× ⁷⁰³			×			

⁶⁹³ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1137–2001); ex Baldwin 1992; ex E.J. Harris.

⁶⁹⁴ Dr A.J.P. Campbell; ex Buckland, Dix & Wood, 28 June 1995, lot 186; ex Portsdown Hill hoard; Allen 2006b, 282, no. 248.

⁶⁹⁵ Elmore Jones and Blunt 1967, 92, no. 38; Allen 2006b, 282, no. 249, reading []AD:ON:SA[].

⁶⁹⁶ Mack 1966, 75, no. 213a; *SCBI* 20, 1627.

⁶⁹⁷ BM; ex F. Elmore Jones (CM 1985, 7–82, 88); ex Rashleigh lot 565; ex Watford hoard; reading +GHE[R?][-----]VD:.

⁶⁹⁸ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1166–2001); ex Spink 1989; cf. Mack 1966, 73, no. 197 (different dies).

⁶⁹⁹ BM; ex Wicklewold hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 100).

⁷⁰⁰ See n.642 for the suggested attribution of two Stephen type 1 pence of a moneyer Rodbert to Steyning.

⁷⁰¹ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1192–2001); found Lewes, Sussex, 1964.

⁷⁰² Two coins in the ‘Beauvais’ hoard sale (lot 131) are from a reverse die reading +GODEFREI:ON:S.

⁷⁰³ Boon 1986, 74, nos 19, 21–3.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Tamworth												
Ælfred/Alfred/Alvred		× ⁷⁰⁴						?	⁷⁰⁵			×
Taunton												
?												× ⁷⁰⁶
Thetford												
Ailwi										×		
Bald(e)wi(ne)		×		×	×	⁷⁰⁷		×		×		
Davit										×	×	
Gef(f)rei		×									×	×
Hacun/Hatun		×	⁷⁰⁹							×	×	×
Od(d)e	×	×										
Rodbert	×			×	⁷¹⁰					×		
Rodbert A	×	×										
Trowbridge												
Salide								×	⁷¹¹			
Wareham												
Raul(f)							A					
Rogier		×						×				
[--]r[-]kil		×	⁷¹²									
?								×	⁷¹³			
Warwick												
Edred	×	×										
Everard		×										×
Gilebert											×	⁷¹⁴
Lefric		×										
Simund												×
Watchet												
Henri												×
‘Wiht’												
[M?][---]				×	⁷¹⁷	×	⁷¹⁸					
Wilton												
Eller												×
Falche		×										
Tomas/Tumas		×										
Willem												×
[]eshman								×	⁷¹⁹			

⁷⁰⁴ A Stephen type 1 penny of a moneyer Al[fr]ed with a mint signature reading **TAN** has been attributed to Taunton (*BMC* 105; Mack 1966, 44, no. 36), but this may be a coin of the Tamworth moneyer of that name.

⁷⁰⁵ Mack 1966, 97, no. 274.

⁷⁰⁶ *BMC* 213; Allen 2006b, 283, no. 262.

⁷⁰⁷ BM; ex Prestwich hoard (1974 2–12–118).

⁷⁰⁸ Dr J. Bispham collection.

⁷⁰⁹ CR 1993, no. 257.

⁷¹⁰ FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1150–2001); ex Sheldon hoard.

⁷¹¹ Archibald 2001, 77, 85–6, nos 37–9.

⁷¹² FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM.1142–2001); ex Norweb lot 839; reading **†[--]R[-]KIL:ON:WE**.

⁷¹³ Archibald 2001, 81, 86, no. 56.

⁷¹⁴ BM; ex Wicklowood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 105); reading **†GILEBERT:ON:PA**.

⁷¹⁵ Two coins: (1) FM; gift of T. Webb Ware (CM.493–2006); ex J. Noble sale 70, 9 July 2002, lot 1580; ex Dr W.J. Conte; (2) Private collection; Allen and Webb Ware 2007, 280–1.

⁷¹⁶ Allen 2006b, 284, nos 271–2.

⁷¹⁷ A penny from irregular dies of Stephen type 1 with a bar across sceptre on the obverse: FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte (CM. 1157–2001); ex Sotheby, 16 Nov. 1979, lot 544. Seaby 1986, 103 (Fig. 2d), 106–7, suggests that the mint signature **WIHT** might refer to the Isle of Wight.

⁷¹⁸ See n.717.

⁷¹⁹ A coin of Patrick, earl of Salisbury, found near Salisbury in 1991 (FM; ex Dr W.J. Conte; CM.1231–2001) reads **[]ESHMAN: O[-]WI[]**.

<i>Mint/moneyer</i>	Henry I	1	Per.	Er.	Ro.	Irr	Mat.	Ind.	Sc	2	6	7
Winchester												
Alwold	×	×										
Chippig/Kippig/Kiping	×	×										
Gef(f)rei		×	×									
Hue												×
Rogi(e)r(us)		×										
Saet	×	×										
Siward		×										
Sti(e)fne/Steipne	×	×										
Wivelscombe?												
Adam								×	⁷²⁰			
Worcester												
Adam												×
Aelem												×
Alfred		×										
Godric		×										
Wulfric	?	×										
Yarmouth												
Hacro											×	⁷²¹
York												
Asch(et)il	×	×										
Autgrim		×										
Gefrei												×
Laisig	×	×										
Martin		×		×								×
Otburn		×										
Stanchil		×										
T(h)urstan	×	×										
Thomas filius Ulf								×				
Uht(d)red		×										
Ulf	×	×										
?						×		×				
Uncertain mint												
Chenepa		×	⁷²³									
Dagun						×	⁷²⁴					
Hubert								×	⁷²⁵			
Len[]												×
Ricard										?	⁷²⁷	
[St?]einard										×	⁷²⁸	
Vilam										1/2		
										mule ⁷²⁹		
Wig[---]											×	⁷³⁰
[]ldnol												×

⁷²⁰ BMC 282.⁷²¹ Mack 1966, 55, no. 99; Seaby 1984.⁷²² Allen 2006b, 286, nos 294–7.⁷²³ BM; ex Prestwich hoard (CM 1974, 2–12, 101); reading +ChENEPA[-----].⁷²⁴ Mack 1966, 72, no. 194; SCBI 53, no. 300.⁷²⁵ Mack 1966, 70, no. 182 (rosette type); Archibald 2001, 81, 86, nos 40, 57 (Lion coinage of Earls Robert and William of Gloucester).⁷²⁶ EMC 2012.0111, reading +LEN[-----][D or P];⁷²⁷ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 55); reading +RICARD[----][A?]. There is a moneyer named Ricard at Canterbury and at London in Stephen type 7.⁷²⁸ EMC 2010.0124; CR 2011, no. 126; reading []EINARD:ON[]. There is a moneyer named Stanhard, Stan(h)art or Stenard at Norwich in Henry I types 7 and 10–15, and at Thetford in Henry I types 1, 6–8 and 10.⁷²⁹ Mack 1966, 48, no. 51 (a); reading +VILAM:ON[---] (from a possibly unofficial reverse die).⁷³⁰ BM; ex Wicklewood hoard (CM 1990, 6–29, 108); reading +PIG[---]ON[---]N; London mint?⁷³¹ EMC 2008.0002; CR 2009, no. 427.

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UTTERING ANGELS AND MINTING METAPHORS: SOME NUMISMATIC TROPES IN EARLY MODERN BRITISH POETRY

ALEX WONG

I

THE English coin known as the angel offered early modern writers a golden opportunity for punning.¹ There are well-known examples in *Measure for Measure*, in which the character Angelo provides a third point of metaphorical reference; saying of himself, for example:

Let there be some more test made of my mettle
Before so noble and so great a figure
Be stamp'd upon it. (I. 1. 48–50).²

Other coins, notably the crown, also encouraged wordplay; we have further examples not very much later in *Measure for Measure*, when dollars are elided with dolours, and a 'French crown' puns on the 'French disease', syphilis, of which a bald crown was one symptom (I. 2. 39–41). Furthermore the slangy metonymic habit of calling coins 'crosses', owing to the fact that crosses appeared on the reverses of many medieval coins and persisted in low-value pieces, and behind the coat of arms of most silver coins, under the Tudors, presented another locus for punning on an ambiguity – like that of the angel – between money and the sacred. But the angel occupied a privileged tropological place in early modern English literature; that is, it took an important place in the metaphorical artillery.

It provided, in the first place, a neat way of commenting ironically on the vice of avarice – the sin that venerates gold as 'angelic' – while the 'angelic' aspect of lucre is subverted by the pun's inherent irony. Some writers spell it out. In a poem of around 1632 entitled, 'Come wordling see what paines I here do take, | To gather gold while here on earth I rake',³ the miserly speaker at first rakes in his angels:

Come to me and flye
Gold Angels I cry,
And Ile gather you all with my Rake.

But by the end of the poem, the angels have turned to devils: 'The Divell and all he will Rake'. And indeed, the accompanying woodcut depicts a small black demon under the man's rake, amidst piles of coin.

The angel pun also allowed more subtle writers to exploit a tension between the material and the metaphysical, often ostensibly stressing the heavenly meaning, while the baser, bathetic side of the ambiguity would be sure to get the upper hand in reading, wielding as it does the ironic force. Shakespeare's Richard II declares that

For every man that Bullingbrook hath pressed
To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown
God for His Richard hath in heavenly pay
A glorious angel. (III. 2. 58–61).⁴

¹ The fullest recent study of numismatic and economic language in English renaissance literature (though it deals only with selected dramatic texts) is Fischer 1985, but her discussion of the angel is brief (p. 41). Misleadingly, she records only the original 'Per Crucem' legend, which does not appear on angels of the period about which she writes. Baker 1959 is an older consideration of the angel, with a few comments on English poetry, while Allen and Dunstan 1941 provided a sound consideration of monetary and numismatic references and vocabulary in the renaissance dramatists, citing many passages of interest.

² Text from Shakespeare 1997.

³ N. P. [Martin Parker?] 1638. Two poems on one sheet; Pollard and Redgrave 1986–91, cat. no. 19076.

⁴ Text from Shakespeare 1984.

Andrew Gurr, in his Cambridge edition of the play, notes that ‘The contrast of steel with gold leads Richard on to gold as money, in “pay” and “angel”’.⁵ To this may be added that there were indeed gold crowns and half-crowns in circulation in Shakespeare’s time: the first were uttered in 1526 as part of Henry VIII’s ‘Wolsey’ coinage. Gurr also observes that ‘Richard’s contrast between Bullingbrook’s conscripts and God’s paid angels has a touch of materialism which serves to intensify its impracticality’.⁶ True, in some measure; but the materialism does not simply show up a naïveté in the king’s thinking. Perhaps Richard, the eloquent commentator and spin-doctor of his own demise, is deliberately extending the material financial associations, which he attaches to Bullingbrook, into a divine set of associations, attached to himself, necessarily using the metallic and numismatic terms and images (whence the sense of materialism emanates) as a rhetorical hinge.

It was not only in poetry that the angel was able to bear sacred significance. The angel, despite fluctuations in fineness, was minted at the higher, medieval gold standard, never in the lower quality ‘crown gold’ issued by Elizabeth and James; and this both betokened and buttressed its particular prestige.⁷ As Donald C. Baker wrote, the angel was ‘almost a national symbol’, ‘recognized abroad as the characteristic coin of England’;⁸ hence, as he points out, ‘it would be a very likely guess that, owing to the coin’s significance as a symbol of their own power and its proverbial integrity among the people, successive administrations were hesitant to tamper with its integrity, preferring to reduce its size’.⁹ The angel had a very special aura. From at least the reign of Henry VII, it had been the standard coin bestowed upon sufferers from ‘the King’s Evil’ during touching ceremonies in which it was used as a touchpiece, or ‘healing piece’.¹⁰ There is a reference to such ceremonies in *Macbeth*, IV.3, in which mention is made of a ‘golden stamp’. The type image of the angel – St Michael triumphing over a dragon¹¹ – and its original legend, ‘PER CRUCEM TVAM SALVA NOS CHRISTE REDEMPTOR’,¹² as well as its standard legend from Mary’s reign through James’s, ‘A DOMINO FACTVM EST ISTVD (ET EST MIRABILE)’ (Fig. 1 a),¹³ were well suited to this purpose, leading some scholars to believe that it was originally introduced by Edward IV specifically for touching, though the suggestion is no longer seriously entertained.¹⁴ At the other end of its history, Charles I seems to have minted only small numbers of them, ‘substantially produced as “touch-pieces”’ (Fig. 1 b).¹⁵ It continued to be the standard coin for such use until replaced by a non-circulating medal in 1664 by order of Charles II.¹⁶ Plainly, the angel bore a sacred significance in these ceremonies, but even such rituals were not without material aspects: an angel was a very significant monetary gift. And indeed, the gift of gold angels was preceded by less emblematic gifts of silver pennies (in the time of Edward I, at least).

⁵ Shakespeare 1984, 117.

⁶ Shakespeare 1984, 117.

⁷ Value: initially 6s.8d.; raised to 7s.4d., then 7s.6d. under Henry VIII’s second coinage (1526–44), and again to 8s. in 1542 (continuing so under his third coinage from 1544). In 1551 it reached a value of 10s. which it maintained from the coinage of Edward VI onwards, excepting a period from 1612 to 1619 under the second coinage of James I, when it rose to 11s. It also seems to have been briefly worth 7s.4d. in early 1526, and 9s.8d. in 1549–52; and, on the evidence of a doubtful and still baffling proclamation existing in manuscript, it has sometimes been supposed that from 1562 (purportedly till 1572) Elizabeth ‘called down’ the value of all currency, during which putative hiatus the angel resumed its original value of 6s.8d.: Kenyon 1884, 121, 128, and Brooke 1932/50, 193, both accepted the hypothesis, and are still sometimes followed; Oman 1932 took pains to refute it, and Craig 1953, 122 dismisses it as a ‘canard’. See also Challis 1978, 127–8.

⁸ Baker 1959, 87.

⁹ Baker 1959, 91.

¹⁰ On ‘touching’, see Crawford 1911, Farquhar 1916 and 1917, and Woolf 1979.

¹¹ On the reverse, a sea-borne ship, with a shield amidships displaying the royal arms.

¹² ‘Through your cross, save us, Christ our Saviour’.

¹³ ‘This is the work of the Lord and it is marvelous [in our eyes]’. Mary and Elizabeth used the longer inscription from 1553–1603; James omitted the ‘ET EST MIRABILE’.

¹⁴ E.g. Farquhar 1916, 70. NB. Some of Henry VII’s angels were inscribed ‘IESVS AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORVM IBAT’ (‘But Jesus passed through the midst of them’); Charles I’s, ‘AMOR POPVLI PRAESIDIUM REGIS’ (‘The love of the people is the protection of the king’).

¹⁵ Sutherland 1973, 164; cf. Farquhar 1916, 114.

¹⁶ Farquhar 1916, *passim*.



Fig. 1. a) Angel of James I. b) Angel of Charles I, with the AMOR POPULI legend. Both coins are pierced for suspension. Images © Fitzwilliam Museum.

In connection with this ceremonial and talismanic role of the angel, a well-known poem, 'The Pilgrimage' by George Herbert (1593–1633), offers another literary example.

Here I was robb'd of all my gold,
Save one good Angell, which a friend had ti'd
Close to my side. (ll. 16–18).¹⁷

The angel here is clearly a coin, but metaphorically figured as a guardian angel. The materiality of the image does not seem problematic, partly because the pilgrim shows no symptoms of worldly greed, and partly because the angel acts as a kind of amulet. It is *tied* to the speaker, suggesting that it has been pierced for the purpose, like a touchpiece. In this case the type of the angel is given real symbolic significance. After the (rose-)noble, which was said to have been worn as a good luck charm on account of its legend, 'IESUS AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORVM IBAT',¹⁸ the angel was the most likely coin to be worn in such a way. From at least the time of Queen Mary, it appears common for angels used in the King's Evil ceremony to have been pierced and worn as a pendant by the sufferers: a Venetian ambassador records such a ceremony in a letter of 1556.¹⁹

Numismatic 'angel' tropes also appear in Latin literature of the period. Consider this, from the Scottish courtier-poet John Dunbar's *Epigrammaton* (1616):

De Angelis Iacobi Regis

Pauci Iovae Angelum petunt tutiorum:
Iacobi at angelos petunt quamplurimi. (III. LXXIII).

[On the Angels of King James. Few seek the guardian angel of God, but how many seek the angels of James.]

A conventional antithesis between heavenly and worldly angels is combined with implied praise of the monarch (and the quality of his coinage). At the same time, James is associated with the worldly side of the divide, which *might* seem somewhat depreciatory; but (as we shall see again in Barnfield) the division is not as morally sharp as in (for instance) the more sermonising 'rake' poem. Compare this, by the celebrated Welsh epigrammatist John Owen (c.1564–1622):²⁰

Da mihi Angelum & ego Dabo tibi spiritum, —

Spiritus huic sanctus promittitur; Angelus illi
Michael; hic *Munus* polluit, ille *Manus*.

[Give me an Angel, and I will give thee the Spirit.

The Spirit here, and Angel, *Michael*
Is promis'd there; here Gifts, there Hands excell.]²¹

¹⁷ Herbert 1941, 141–2. See also Baker 1959, 92, on this poem; and 93 for his remarks on Herbert's 'To All Angels and Saints'.

¹⁸ See Evelyn 1697, 86, where some such superstition is alluded to; and Farquhar 1916, 49, who claims that they were often taken into battle as an amulet.

¹⁹ See Farquhar 1916, 94, and Crawford 1911, 67.

²⁰ Owen 1612, I. 32, i.e. VIII. 32 according to the later numbering.

²¹ Trans. Thomas Harvey, from Owen 1677.

Here the distinction between the heavenly and the material is made into a sharp moral contrast: Owen alludes to corruption in ecclesiastical preferments. Note that St Michael is explicitly mentioned.

But in Neo-Latin literature, another important punning possibility emerges, along the lines of the old quip, attributed to Gregory the Great, '*Non Angli, sed Angeli*'. Thus, in an epigram by John Owen entitled '*L'argent faict tout*':²²

Protexit generosa tuum te Francia (a) *Scutum*;
(b) *Angelus*, est *custos*, Anglia tuta, tuus.
(a) *L'escu*. (b) *L'angelot*.

[The (a) Shield, O generous *France*, advanc'd thy Van:
(b) An Angel, *England*, was thy Guardian.
(a) *L'escu*. (b) *L'Angelot*.]

The French *scutum* is the *écu*, named after the shield that appeared upon it, and known to the English, with whom it was one of the most commonly circulated of foreign coins, as the French 'crown'.²³ It was thus a rival to the coinage of English monarchs. Owen takes advantage of the military implication of '*scutum*', but he is also pitching the prestigious Angel against a French coin of long-standing prestige and familiarity. And his readers may well have remarked that the Angel had nearly twice the value of the *écu*, which had been set at 6s.4d. until shortly prior to its demonetization in 1560,²⁴ and was thus closer to the English crown, or indeed the half-angel (both 5s.). Because 'Anglus' and 'Angelus' are much closer than 'English' and 'Angel', poets in Latin could make more explicit verbal links between the angel (as synecdoche for the national coinage) and national identity: a theme we shall encounter, *without* the Latin pun, in the English verse of Richard Barnfield.

II

Richard Barnfield's long stanzaic poem *Lady Pecunia* (1598, revised in 1605) is a curious specimen of extra-canonical English verse. 'Lady Pecunia'²⁵ is a personification not simply of wealth, but money, more materially understood: a 'Goddess of Gold' (stanza 2).²⁶ Now, it is almost certainly true that *all* British numismatic treatises of the early modern period point out the derivation of *pecunia* ('money') from *pecus* ('cattle'), usually suggesting, both that cattle formed a pre-monetary basis of exchange, and that early coins were called *pecunia* because stamped with the image of a cow.²⁷ Given that this seems to have been a well-known idea amongst the educated, the word *pecunia* would be likely to suggest the physicality of coinage.

Lady Pecunia is full of numismatic tropes, and especially puns. The Lady 'may be kist; but she may not be clipt' (stanza 53). And it is in the nature of such puns to cause ambiguities of register and tone. Clipping, a widespread and widely condemned crime, is figured as a sexual misdemeanour, while the kissing of 'Lady Pecunia', a fetishization of money imagined in physical terms, is, in keeping with the rest of the poem, sanctioned – though in a way which imbues it with a touch of erotic audacity. Or again, his puns on 'Sovereign' (see stanzas 16 and 33) confuse the monarch with her money. But this is precisely the point; the coinage issued in her name, stamped with her image (as most coins, including the sovereign but excluding the angel, were), are seen as a kind of emblematic offspring of the Queen, indexes to authority, imbued with value by her impress, so that the monarch controls, and is vicariously present in financial transactions.

²² Trans. Thomas Harvey, from Owen 1677, II. 16, i.e. IX. 16.

²³ On the circulation of foreign gold in England, see Deng 2009 and Kelleher 2007.

²⁴ See Challis 1978, 218; Kelleher 2007, 216.

²⁵ Barnfield 1605 (first published 1598).

²⁶ References to this poem are to stanza numbers in the 1605 edition.

²⁷ E.g. Camden 1614, 196; Leigh 1680, 43 (who cites a possible derivation from the skin of cattle 'out of which mony was Coynded'); and Evelyn 1697, 4.

In Barnfield's *Epistle Dedicatory to Elizabeth* (still printed in revised versions after Elizabeth's death), he writes of 'Lady Pecunia':

She is a Lady, she must be respected:
She is a Queene, she may not be neglected.
This is the shadow, you the substance haue,
Which substance now this shadow seems to craue.

'Lady Pecunia' is explicitly identified with the 'Queene'. In the couplet, 'This', the 'shadow' of the Queen, may be the poem, and its allegorical Lady; or (and here is the underlying trope) it may mean the coin which the Lady represents, and which in turn represents Elizabeth. Indeed, the talk of shadow and substance fumbles around the essential difficulties of the concept of money – the alliance of intrinsic value and representative value, and the disconnection between the two. The coin stamped with an impression of the Queen may be called the 'shadow', or representation, of the 'substance' or original. In which case, Barnfield ascribes monetary value to the crown – to royal decree, and thus to the semiotic face value – while the gold and silver is merely a 'shadow'. This is implicit. Explicitly, Barnfield is talking of his poetic endeavour, which 'craves' Elizabeth – invokes her, strives to do her justice, and sues for her good grace. A tropical implication of this is the notion of eloquence and writing as (respectively) treasury and coining, and of printing and publication as minting and 'uttering', or circulating. More wittily, combining the two interpretations, the poem and the poet might really seem to be craving the 'substance' of financial assistance.

It is in this vein that Barnfield reaches almost at once for an angel pun: 'You golden Angels helpe me to indite'. So he beseeches his monetary muse in the second stanza. And thus the conventional invocation *topos* turns into, not merely a pun for a pun's sake, but a joke about patronage. He continues:

You, you alone, can make my Muse to speake;
And tell a golden tale, with siluer tongue:
You onely can my pleasing silence breake;
And adde some Musique, to a merry Songue. (3).

Three things are happening here. One is the use of bland clichés, 'golden tale', 'silver tongue' to extend the monetary joke. Another is the continuation of the patronage theme: only the *theme* of money can make his 'Muse to speake', he seems to say. But what the lines jokingly imply is that only the *provision* of actual money can allow him – or cause him against his will – to break his 'pleasing silence'. This is in keeping with another poem by Barnfield, published in the same volume, *The complaint of Poetry, for the death of Liberality*, which complains about the indigence of poor poets, and the paucity of patrons. The third notable aspect of the passage is its musical theme. The angels 'adde . . . Musique' to Barnfield's 'Songue'. This invokes traditional iconography of choiring, trumpeting angels; but also the idea of the musical coin, the pleasing ring of precious metals – one means of testing purity.

With this in mind, the 'golden song' and 'silver tongue' clichés begin to seem marginally less bland. And indeed, because it reflects upon his own poetic activity, Barnfield returns to this musical vein at other points in the poem. He talks of the enchantment of 'a golden Songue' (23), and says that coinage 'charmés the eare, with heauenlie harmony' (45), where the 'harmony' of the coin suggests its purity. So, in Dekker's 1607 play *The Whore of Babylon*,²⁸ the order 'head all the speares | With gold of Angell-prooffe' (V. 3. 16–17) refers to the superior quality of angel gold (though both Elizabeth and James minted 'crown' gold, angels were always minted in 'fine' gold – and James's only in small numbers).

Then, in the following stanza, Barnfield writes:

Like to another Orpheus can she plaie
Vpon her treble Harpe, whose siluer sound
Inchants the eare, and steales the hart awaie,
That hardlie the deceit thereof is found.

²⁸ Dekker 1953–61, vol. II, 491–586.

Although such Musicke, some a shilling cost,
Yet it is worth but Nine-pence, at the most. (46).

‘Treble’ refers to the high pitch of the ring of gold and silver coins; but why a harp? In 1605, the image of the harp reminds us that, with James’s coinage, the Irish harp now appeared for the first time on English coins, and indeed the previous stanza celebrates Union explicitly:

Stand forth who can and tell, and truelie saie
When England, Scotland, Ireland and France,
He ever saw Pecunia to displaie
Before these daies; O wondrous happie chance. (45).

But the ‘Orpheus’ stanza (46) is present in almost exactly the same form in the first edition of 1598, without this context, and before the Union. It is all the more perplexing forasmuch as that stanza’s almost satirical concern with ‘deceit’ comes out of the blue in the 1598 text, amidst paeans of praise for ‘Pecunia’. But, upon inspection, it does indeed seem to be a kind of ironic aside, adverting to the debased coinage: what else could be meant by the ‘deceit’ which allows an ambiguity of value between a shilling and ninepence? And, sure enough, there is good reason to suspect that even in 1598 the image of the harp is a loaded one, and the poet is, just for a moment, glancing at Ireland, where the harp featured prominently on coin reverses: in fact, the Irish shilling was colloquially known as a ‘harp’. It was Elizabeth’s second Irish coinage (1561) that first introduced fine silver to the Irish currency (her third coinage reverted to base silver); but the Irish shilling was worth only ninepence in England, being struck at a lighter weight than its English counterparts (Fig. 2).²⁹ The cryptic allusion then makes sense: the music is deceitful, because, the purity being as high as the English standard, the silver rings true, and one might expect the value to be standard too.



Fig. 2. Fine-silver Irish shilling of Elizabeth I. © Fitzwilliam Museum.

In the 1605 text, the allusion is still apposite, for James had issued a fine silver coinage for Ireland in 1603, accompanied by a proclamation valuing the new shilling at twelve pence sterling, engendering a muddle that had to be solved by another proclamation explaining that twelve Irish pence were equivalent to nine English.³⁰ Barnfield’s 1605 text is less equivocal and more specific, adding a further stanza to elaborate the reference and draw out the adversion to Ireland:

But Ireland alone, this Musicks sound
Being clad in Siluer, challenge for their coine,
What though amongst vs much thereof be found,
Authoritie, no subiect dooth inioyne
Aboue his worth to countenance the same,
Then men, not coin, are worthy of that blame. (47).

In other words, only in Ireland does the quality of silver coin need to be queried, because only the Irish coinage suffers from the proliferation of base silver amongst its fine silver. And although remnants of earlier debased coinage, and indeed the current Irish shillings, also cir-

²⁹ Simon 1749, 37 and Colgan 2003, 96.

³⁰ Colgan 2003, 104.

culate within England, it isn't a problem, since the crown doesn't enforce the face value of base coin, and the worth of the fine Irish shilling in the kingdom of England is officially set at its true silver value of ninepence.

I conclude my consideration of pecuniary 'music' by suggesting that a sensitivity to the theme may reveal interesting and unexpected possibilities. For example, Herbert's 'The Church-Porch', stanzas 64–5:

Man is Gods image; but a poore man is
Christs stamp to boot: both images regard.
God reckons for him, counts the favour his:
...

Restore to God his due in tithe and time:
A tithe purloin'd cankers the whole estate.
Sundaies observe: think when the bells do chime,
'Tis angels music; therefore come not late.³¹

The discussion is of *alms*, *tithes* and time: money is a central concern, as seen in the language of 'counting' and 'reckoning'. 'Stamp' could then be understood numismatically, the two 'images' relating to the two sides of a coin. In light of these associations, 'angels music' might suggest the 'music' of gold. This gives the lines an ironic undertone: if you are the kind of person who might be tempted to 'purloin' a tithe, you should tell yourself that the church bells are like the ring of cash – and then you won't be late.

Returning to Barnfield, consider his other 'angelic' tropes. In the revised version of *Lady Pecunia*, he talks of the death of Elizabeth.

But now more Angels then on Earth yet weare
Her golden Impresse; haue to Heauen attended
Hir Virgin-soule ...
Life, she hath changde for life (oh countlesse gaine)
An earthlie rule, for an eternall Raigne. (37).

The stanza draws a conventional value-distinction between life and eternal life, but Elizabeth's earthly angels (still circulating after James's accession) are still spoken of with some reverence, as relics, so to speak, of the late queen. He continues, a little later, to speak of 'Bounty', which when Elizabeth 'left the earth',

... had almost died;
Hoping with her, in heauen to haue been sainted,
And mongst the rest an Angels place supplied. (39).

By this time, the pun is rather tired and gratuitous; but the conceit of 'Bounty' in danger of expiring with Elizabeth, only to be revived by James – a conventional piece of ingratiating flattery if ever there was one – calls up the well-worn trope; and, like *Lady Pecunia*, the allegorical Bounty is given material associations with coinage: she would be a heavenly angel, just as she had been manifested on earth in earthly angels.

In all of this, what might give us pause for thought is the question of irony; not only because the materiality of coin tropes may seem to cast a shadow of base or lowly associations over Barnfield's praise of his sovereigns (as, indeed, it undermines the high-flown spirituality of the 'angelic' tropes); but also because we are principally dealing with puns, and puns are jokes. Numismatic-heavenly angel tropes, considered logically, are very apt to figure the monarch's temporal power *and* divine right. But they remain, at bottom, flimsy wordplay, jokes. Of James, Barnfield says:

A thousand of his Angels garde him sleeping,
And all the hoast of heauen protect him waking. (41).

I can excavate no pointed significance from these lines, unless it be that James's wealth and economic authority (symbolized by his name and image on the coinage of the realm) is a

³¹ Herbert 1941, 21–2.

protection to him; but why 'sleeping', in particular? It seems that the numismatic associations of 'Angels' is, though in the context unavoidable, redundant and intrusive here – rendering the antithesis pointless.

And so we might wonder about all of Barnfield's eulogizing of Elizabeth and James, whether we *ought* to find the materialism problematic. Barnfield seems to think not. The surface irony of his poem (which does, as expected, moralise about greed, corruption and counterfeiting) does not, apparently, reach very deep; this '*encomion*' of money's rather anodyne moral proves nothing more than this:

Even so Pecunia, is, as she is vsed:
Good of her selfe, but bad if once abused. (54).

Furthermore, materiality – the *matter* of coinage – is a point of great politico-symbolic and economic importance:

Siluer and Golde, and nothing else is currant,
In England, in faire Englands happy Land,
All baser sortes of Mettals, haue no Warrant,
Yet secretlie they Slip, from hand to hand. (29).

In an age when only gold and silver money was coined in England, the relation of the material weight and purity, whence comes each coin's commodity value, and the inscribed value, set by the monarch's authority, was a central problem.³² Inflation was a continual process in early modern England, and the dramatic debasement of gold and silver coinage which occurred under Henry VIII and continued under Edward caused considerable consternation. With the rapid burgeoning of a global economy, the birth of a modern money market, and growth in the exchange of commodities at home and abroad, the English high renaissance must have been rather disorientating. Questions of value, anxieties about money, are easily found in the literature of the age. The literary obsession with counterfeiting, for instance, is at bottom an obsession with the slippery relationship between face value and intrinsic value: in a society using only precious metals for coinage, it is not simply a question of real or false money, but of the amount, and the purity, of metal in any given coin, *complicated* by the stated denomination or decreed currency value, subject to fluctuations and geographical variations. Valerie Forman has considered such concerns, taking as a case study *The Roaring Girl* by Middleton and Dekker.³³

And even beyond strictly economic considerations, the public imagination appears to have been much exercised by the mere notion of purity, for its own sake, in the precious metals of the coinage. Hence, perhaps, the quasi-moralistic register of Barnfield's deprecation of the 'baser' metal coinage (tokens and foreign coin). Royal proclamations regularly warned the population about – and either banned or set values for – foreign denominations, and forgeries of English coins, in debased metals. Stephen Deng has discussed literary depictions of foreign coins in terms of the imagery of venereal disease, calling particular attention to Donne's mockery of imported coins (as opposed to his pure angels) in the Elegy, 'The Bracelet'.³⁴ At any rate, Donne, in that poem, which I will discuss shortly, was not unusual in his praise – witty though it may be – of the intrinsic material virtues of gold,³⁵ and hence of the famously fine gold of the angel which, through decades of inflation and frequent debasements of the currency, had never yet fallen from its lofty integrity.

Barnfield is thus celebrating the purity of English coinage, which had to compete with imported coin. It was a symbolic point of national and royal prestige.

The time was once, when faire Pecunia, here,
Did basely goe attyred all in Leather:
But in Elizaes raigne, it did appeare,
Most richly clad; in Golde, or Siluer either. (34).

³² For a discussion of this problem in literary and linguistic terms, see Fabel 1997, 237–46.

³³ Forman 2001.

³⁴ Deng 2009.

³⁵ Cf., for instance, Hawkes 2001, 152–3.

The implication that leather money was circulating at some time in recent history – so as to be a barbarism over which Elizabeth triumphed – is pure nonsense, although a tradition (not since verified) is mentioned in Camden's *Remaines* according to which, 'in the confused state of the Barons warre, the like [leather money] was vsed in England, yet', Camden admits, 'I neuer sawe any of them'.³⁶ Leather money was sometime used in siege situations on the Continent; it is possible that the same happened in England. But, contrary to Barnfield's implication, Elizabeth's predecessors had only ever uttered gold and silver coinage for general circulation (and Elizabeth herself had introduced copper coin to the Kingdom of Ireland). He goes on:

And as the Coine shee did repurifie,
From baser substance, to the purest Mettels:
Religion so, did shee refine beside. (35).

– although, in the next stanza, he concedes that 'No garden can be cleans'd of every Weede'. The economic achievement of Elizabeth's coinage was great. Its triumph was not so much the continued issue of good coin, which had indeed been begun by her brother and sister, but rather the recalling, countermarking, reminting and eventual demonetization of the extant debased coin – no small feat; though, to be fair, Mary had set in motion this process too. After the debased coinages of Henry and Edward, it was Mary who raised the standard of fineness across the board. Where Henry and Edward had minted, for the first time, gold of only 22 and even 20 carat, Mary minted only gold at 23ct. 3½gr. fineness; and while the quality of silver coinage had reached an all-time low under Edward (dipping to 3oz. fine in 1551, restored to 11oz. 3dwt. later that year), Mary succeeded in maintaining a fineness of 11oz. (.916), i.e. almost sterling, although she did continue to utter a small quantity of silver coins at only 3oz. fine. It was Mary who began tentatively to recall the debased coin, of which some was shipped to Ireland to serve currency requirements there.³⁷ Elizabeth effectively completed the eradication of debased coin in the English currency, although still shipping old base pieces, and, like Mary, newly struck base pieces, to Ireland. In England she kept up the higher standard of silver, increasing it to sterling (11oz. 2dwt./925) from 1582; but she reintroduced (and James maintained) 'crown' gold (22ct.) alongside the 'fine' gold (23ct. 3½gr.).³⁸ The angel, of course, was unaffected.

III

One of the most sustained and dynamic metaphorical treatments of the golden angel is Donne's Elegy, 'The Bracelet'.³⁹ He has lost his mistress's golden chain, and is obliged to repay her in angels, which are to be melted down to make a new chain. Donne declares that he mourns the loss of the chain, not as a *memento*, or emblem of their love, 'Nor for the luck sake; but the bitter cost' (l. 8). The coins are:

... twelve righteous angels, which as yet
No leaven of vile solder did admit,
Nor yet by any way have strayed or gone
From the first state of their creation,
Angels, which heaven commanded to provide
All things to me, and be my faithful guide ... (ll. 9–14).

The angels are guardian angels, and their purity is figured in terms of the pristine heavenly nature of unfallen angels (ll. 9–12). The notion of fallen angels returns later:

Thou say'st (alas) the gold doth still remain,
Though it be changed, and put into a chain.
So in the first fall'n angels resteth still

³⁶ Camden 1614, 198.

³⁷ See Challis 1978, 115–18, Simon 1749, 34–42, and Josset 1971, 91 and 97–9.

³⁸ See for instance Challis 1978, 227–8, and Sutherland 1973, 152.

³⁹ Donne, 1990, 9–12. The reader may compare the reading of this poem given in Hawkes 2001, 162–4.

Wisdom and knowledge, but 'tis turned to ill;
 As these should do good works, and should provide
 Necessities, but now must nurse thy pride.
 And they are still bad angels; mine are none,
 For form gives being, and their form is gone. (ll. 69–76).

The melting of the coins would be, in the simile, analogous to the fall of Lucifer's rebel angels, and the gold, as jewellery, would then serve only vanity, whereas now (Donne daringly implies, invoking inter-denominational theology and equating Christian Charity with the buying power of authorized money) the coins do 'good works'. They can buy him things *better* than bracelets, more useful than the gold they contain. And yet the gold itself, in its angelical monetary form, is ironically fetishized. Donne is skirting around the notion of idolatry, and pushing at the notion of what Marx would much later call the fetish-worship of metal money.⁴⁰ He alludes to the Aristotelian conception of form, resolving, through mock argumentation and with mock solemnity, that the re-formed gold would no longer be 'angels' at all. They would lose their semiotic significance and worth. For they would not only lose the impress of St Michael; they would lose their inscribed monetary value, and be reduced to their – more essential, perhaps, but less secure – commodity value: twelve angels' worth of gold in weight, but no longer, it may be, in cash value. Donne's wit keeps fingering the obscure gap between bullion and coin, between commodity value and representative monetary value, never forgetting, all the while, the semiotic import of the coin and its angel. In this, he brushes up against the most fundamental uncertainties of the economy of his age, and of ours.

Yet the most basic achievement of Donne's use of the angel trope lies in his sophisticated playing-out of the tensions between the material and the metaphysical. For Donne extends the earthly/heavenly coupling, or polarity, of the basic angel pun into the mastering tension of his poem. Conflating the secular and religious, he figures his doomed angels as martyrs:

Shall these twelve innocents, by thy severe
 Sentence (dread judge) my sins' great burden bear?
 Shall they be damned, and in the furnace thrown,
 And punished for offences not their own?
 They save not me ... (ll. 17–21).

But the notion of their bearing the sins of others introduces a Christological element, buttressed by the verb 'save'. In a later section, Donne addresses the mistress using the words of the Lord's Prayer – 'But thou art resolute; thy will be done' – and proceeds with an image that, in this context, recalls the Virgin Mary and the burial of Christ:

Yet with such anguish as her only son
 The mother in the hungry grave doth lay,
 Unto the fire these martyrs I betray. (ll. 80–2).

Biblical allusion is further compounded by a glance at Judas in the speaker's curse of the 'finder' of the chain, whom he wishes shall be 'with foreign gold bribed to betray | Thy country, and fail both of that and thy pay' (ll. 97–8); gold, in keeping with the poem's theme, substituted for silver talents. In Donne we find the pun on 'angel' really at home in its tropical environment, working in the service of a poem that treats of ostensibly superficial and material concerns in a suave, witty manner, whilst recurrently invoking the divine. The 'Metaphysical' poet contemplating his angels is really contemplating the 'metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties' of value, as Marx famously put it.⁴¹

Coda: the afterlife of angels

After 1642 no more angels were ever to be minted. The Commonwealth introduced a new coinage, with new denominations, new designs, and (for the first time) only English inscrip-

⁴⁰ See Marx and Engels 1975, 312.

⁴¹ Marx 1867, vol. 1, I, §4, ¶1.

tions. But the old angels were still circulating. Before the introduction of his own purpose-made touchpieces in 1664, Charles II had bought up old angels for use in touching ceremonies.⁴² These ceremonies, and their central ritual object, the angel, were highly symbolically charged in the Restoration. And although angels were becoming scarce, the pun persisted, particularly with poets of a royalist bent. Witness William Austin's *Joyous Welcome to Queen Catharin*.⁴³ This showy, recondite paean, probably recited during the first reception of the queen in London, invites its audience to ascend to heaven with the ecstasy of the occasion, while golden angels, symbols of the divine right presumably used as part of the royal celebration – perhaps scattered in largesse, or distributed as part of a touching ceremony⁴⁴ – symbolise their quasi-angelic sojourn in the empyrean:

With thunder of her praise then all consent
To make our voices cleave the firmament:
Then enter in, while Earth's gold Angels here
Remain to figure our blest beings there. (p.[8], A4v).

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⁴² Farquhar 1916, 81, 110, 134 and Farquhar 1917, 97. Keay 2008, 70–1, 112–19, a recent consideration of Charles II's touchings, seems unacquainted with the numismatic evidence, supposing purpose-made 'medals' in use before the 1660s (p. 71).

⁴³ Austin 1662.

⁴⁴ John Tatham offers no clues in *Aqua Triumphalis* (1662), but neither does he mention Austin's poem. Evelyn and Pepys record nothing relevant to this question. A numismatic explanation of Austin's 'gold Angels' remains most likely.

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THE PRESTBURY CIVIL WAR HOARD

KEITH SUGDEN AND IAN JONES

Introduction

A hoard of silver coins dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, together with one gold coin, was found on 15 June 2004 by Jason Scott while digging footings for a barn conversion at Prestbury, Cheshire. Hoards of this period from the North West of England are unusual (none was listed by Besly),¹ especially those including gold coinage, and the overwhelming majority of reported finds are from the more prosperous Midlands and Yorkshire. The latest coins in the present hoard have the initial mark Triangle-in-Circle (in use 1641–43), and it is likely that the turbulent events of the Civil War of 1642–49 led to the hoard's deposition. The majority of the coins have since been sold at auction by the finder (Dix Noonan Webb sale 68, 12 December 2005, lots 1–153), after being declared Treasure at a coroner's inquest on 19 October 2004 and returned to him. A brief summary of the hoard (2004 T349) was included in *Treasure Annual Report 2004*.²

Historical background

The Royalist High Sheriff of Cheshire, Thomas Legh, is known to have owned the land on which the hoard was found; he lived at Adlington Hall, Cheshire, some 3 km north of Prestbury and 20 km south of Manchester. In September 1642, the Earl of Derby laid siege to Manchester on behalf of the king, and it is possible the hoard is associated with these events; the people of Manchester and the surrounding towns were generally Parliamentary supporters, and between 23 and 26 September 1642 'country people from the surrounding areas flooded into the town [Manchester] to defend it.'³ The assault was unsuccessful.

It is often difficult, and frequently unwise, to tie depositions of hoards to specific events, and the Prestbury hoard is no exception to this rule. Nonetheless, although personal circumstances of which we can know nothing, may well have caused the owner of the significant sum of some £54 to bury his money, it is likely from the initial mark of the latest coins that they were deposited at a time of considerable upheaval in the locality. Despite this, there were no hoards closing with initial mark Triangle-in-Circle (that is, from the early part of the Civil War) and originating in the North West of England known to Besly,⁴ and only one terminating with an earlier initial mark (Congleton, 1956: closing mark Star; £18, all gold), as compared with eight hoards from this period recorded by him from Yorkshire.

The hoard

The hoard consisted of one gold coin, a laurel of James I (third coinage, fourth bust, initial mark Trefoil), and 1,359 silver coins (together with six forgeries), contained within a cylindrical earthenware jar, found in six fragments and thought to be of local manufacture in the North West Purple tradition (see Appendix 2). Gold coins occur in about one-third (10/32) of

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¹ Besly 1987.

² *Treasure Annual Report 2004*, 191–2, no. 477.

³ Pendlebury 1983.

⁴ Besly 1987.

hoards ending in initial mark Triangle-in-Circle noted by Besly, usually as a small number of coins, although occasionally they form the bulk of the hoard (e.g. Reading 1934, Painswick 1941).⁵ Of the silver coins, the largest denomination was the halfcrown, of which there was one of James I and 44 of Charles I, together with one Scottish 30 shillings (which circulated as a halfcrown in England); there were no European ‘dollars’. The majority of the coins were Elizabethan sixpences (528) and shillings (219), with smaller contributions of Stuart sixpences and shillings, and some pieces dating from the mid-sixteenth century (see Appendix 1). Tudor coins were slightly heavier than their Stuart counterparts (by 3.3 per cent),⁶ a gain that was largely negated by the degree of wear and clipping on the coins in the hoard. Only one provincial coin was found – a sixpence of Aberystwyth – and no ‘milled’ pieces, either by Mestrell or Briot (excluding Scottish coins); however, Royalist mints were only just starting production at this period. As usual, there were a few Scots and Irish coins, the Scottish circulating at 12s. Scots = 1s. English (leaving the Scottish merk of 13s. 4d. Scots to be worth 13½d. English), and the Irish coins circulating at 1s. Irish = 9d. English. There were 35 Scottish coins (2.5 per cent of the total by number) and 26 Irish (1.9 per cent). Six of the coins were sufficiently interesting to merit illustrating: a shilling of James I with initial mark Mullet over Key on obverse, omitting the intervening Bell mark (933; **Pl. 3, 1**); a sixpence of James I of 1615, with initial mark Tun over Cinquefoil on obverse (1011; **Pl. 3, 2**); a sixpence of James I of 1616 (over 1615), the date 1616 being previously unrecorded (1012; **Pl. 3, 3**); two very rare shillings of Charles I, initial mark Harp, with plume above the shield on the reverse (1085–6; **Pl. 3, 4–5**); and a shilling of Charles I from an obverse of Briot’s hammered coinage muled with an ordinary Tower reverse (1238; **Pl. 3, 6**).

The size of the hoard is noteworthy. The median number of coins in hoards ending in Triangle-in-Circle noted by Besly that had sufficient detail for analysis (23) was 170, and the median value was £8 5s. 0d., whereas the Prestbury hoard contained 1,366 coins with a face value of £53 17s. 9½d.⁷ Clearly this represents a substantial sum of money, at a time when the total estate of the Vicar of Bolton (who died shortly after the Bolton Massacre of 1644) was recorded for probate as £176 17s. 10d.,⁸ and a day’s pay offered to a cavalryman was 2s. 6d.⁹

Percentages of clipped coins

The proportions of clipped coins are worthy of note. In discussing the state of the currency, Besly observed that ‘virtually all of Elizabeth’s silver coins had been clipped and many of James I. Only in the North are Charles’ coins clipped in any quantity, perhaps because of the area’s remoteness and poor enforcement of the law.’¹⁰ He rightly pointed out the difficulty of identifying clipped, as opposed to poorly struck, coins, but to an experienced observer a high proportion of the coins from the Prestbury hoard have been clipped, though by no means all of Elizabeth’s pieces and none of the earlier coins of Edward VI, Mary or Philip and Mary. Perhaps these earlier pieces were becoming unfamiliar and were subject to greater scrutiny.

TABLE 1. Percentages of clipped coins in the Prestbury hoard

	2s. 6d.	1s.	6d.
Elizabeth I	—	28.6	30.9
James I	(one coin)	29.4	23.4
Charles I	4.6	15.9	15.5

⁵ Besly 1987, 80–6.

⁶ Challis 1978, 321–5.

⁷ Besly 1987, 116.

⁸ Pendlebury 1983, 3.

⁹ Besly 1987, 55.

¹⁰ Besly 1987, 65.

TABLE 2. Percentages of clipped coins in the Breckenbrough Hoard¹¹

	2s. 6d.	1s.
James I	—	37.9
Charles I	19.8	27.7

Weights

Two summaries of the weights of the silver coins have been prepared (see Appendix 1). The first (A) shows the weights of the coins as an overall average (1), the numbers of the coins found (2), and the average weights as a percentage of the standard at which they were *issued* (3). As expected, this table shows a steady drop in the percentage of the weight standard as the coin gets older, though the average weight of the Elizabethan shillings and sixpences is slightly greater than those of James, and this is emphasised by summary (B), which shows the average weights as a percentage of the standard *pertaining in 1640*. Thus the weight of the silver of Elizabeth is still largely comparable with that of the Stuart coinage, and this no doubt accounts for its continued presence in currency sixty or more years later.

The same does not apply to the groats of Mary, which are considerably worn, as a similar summary (Table 3) for them shows. Thus the early groats are seen to have lost about one-third of their weight, though they are not obviously clipped; whether they circulated at face value at this period is unknown.

TABLE 3. Weights of Mary groats

<i>Mean wt.</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Mean wt. as percentage of standard</i>	<i>Mean wt. as percentage of standard in 1640</i>
1.37 g	30	68.3	66.4

The average weight of all undamaged (that is, not pierced or broken) coins in Table 4 is similar to the average weights of coins in hoards ending in initial mark Triangle-in-Circle noted by Cook.¹²

TABLE 4. Mean weights of undamaged coins

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Sixpence Elizabeth I</i>	<i>James I</i>	<i>Charles I</i>	<i>Shilling Elizabeth I</i>	<i>James I</i>	<i>Charles I</i>	<i>Halfcrown Charles I</i>
Revesby	2.70	2.74	3.04	5.57	5.27	5.84	
Wortwell	2.39	2.68	2.93	5.69	5.64	5.89	14.88
Dersingham				5.66	5.69	5.90	
Ryhall	2.69	2.77	2.94	5.38	5.70	6.01	14.98
Wroughton	2.71	2.85	2.98	5.55	5.73	6.01	14.91
Tidenham	2.58	2.59	2.82	5.25	5.42	5.83	14.61
Prestbury	2.68	2.77	2.97	5.57	5.61	5.87	14.87

Conclusions

The Prestbury Hoard represents a large deposit of coinage from the early phase of the English Civil War, and confirms Besly's comment that clipping of the coinage was more prevalent in the north of the country, perhaps because of its remoteness.

¹¹ Besly 1987, 65.

¹² Cook 1999, 171–2; Cook 2002, 100–3.

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APPENDIX 1

Catalogue

<i>* = clearly clipped</i>	<i># = other damage or accretion</i>		
<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
Edward VI			
1	Shilling	Y (1)	6.12
2–3		Tun (2)	5.69, 5.04#
4	Sixpence	Y (1)	2.61
5		Tun (1)	2.84
Mary			
6–35	Groat	(30)	1.33, 1.42, 1.28, 1.58, 1.39, 1.43, 1.32, 1.19, 1.19, 1.25, 1.28, 1.37, 1.42, 1.18, 1.68, 1.51, 1.46, 1.40, 1.27, 1.16, 1.54, 1.31, 1.35, 1.44, 1.25, 1.53, 1.41, 1.41, 1.51, 1.36
Philip and Mary			
36–7	Shilling	Undated (2)	5.38, 5.38
38–41		1555 (4)	4.62, 5.35, 5.05, 5.52
42–3	Sixpence	1554 Spanish titles (2)	2.64, 2.47
44		1557 Lis, English titles (1)	2.75
45–8	Groat	(4)	1.42, 1.31, 1.16, 1.42
Elizabeth I			
49–52	Shilling	Lis (4)	5.49, 5.72, 5.13, 5.24
53–92		Martlet (40)	5.57, 5.27*, 4.76*, 5.38, 5.27, 5.42, 4.48*, 4.90*, 5.70, 5.61, 5.02*, 5.84, 4.87*, 6.01, 5.05*, 5.54, 5.51, 5.87, 5.98, 5.81, 5.24*, 5.96, 4.87*, 5.43, 5.46, 4.79*, 5.71, 4.78*, 5.68, 5.53, 5.46, 5.26, 5.89, 5.54, 4.89*, 5.89, 5.68, 5.54, 5.83, 4.95*
93–130		Cross Crosslet (38)	5.31*, 5.77, 5.48, 5.10, 4.53*, 5.74, 5.66, 4.67*, 5.91, 4.85*, 5.91#, 5.37, 4.32*, 5.92, 5.24, 5.69, 5.90, 5.60, 5.90, 5.74, 5.49, 4.64*, 5.98, 4.92#, 4.74*, 4.28*, 5.93, 5.59, 5.47*, 5.35*, 5.42*, 5.33*, 5.53, 5.46*, 5.77, 5.96, 5.54, 4.72*
131–8		Bell (8)	4.77*, 5.84, 5.56*, 5.60*, 5.76, 5.57, 5.66, 5.80
139–53		A (15)	5.99, 5.08*, 5.62, 5.85, 5.52, 4.90*, 6.06, 6.14, 5.59, 5.91, 5.32, 5.36*, 5.94, 5.72, 5.04*
154–60		Escallop (7)	5.81, 5.76, 5.73, 6.04, 5.04*, 5.58, 5.00*
161–9		Crescent (9)	6.26, 5.33*, 6.11, 5.96, 6.34, 5.56, 5.73, 5.55, 5.68
170–83		Hand (14)	5.71, 5.30*, 6.49, 4.75*, 5.96, 5.84*, 5.87, 5.89, 5.78, 5.57, 5.80, 4.81*, 5.66, 4.78*

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
184–218		Tun (35)	5.84, 5.58*, 5.62*, 5.51, 6.12, 5.94, 5.18*, 6.12, 5.93, 5.79, 5.62*, 5.62, 5.89, 5.57*, 5.69, 5.33*, 5.74, 5.92, 5.80, 5.83, 5.51*, 5.76, 5.93, 5.83, 6.30, 5.97, 5.87, 5.67, 4.85*, 5.49, 5.96, 5.84, 5.80, 5.98, 5.07*
219–45		Woolpack (27)	5.97, 5.95, 6.12, 5.87, 5.37*, 5.88, 5.74, 5.69, 6.26, 5.49, 6.06, 6.03, 5.17*, 4.96*, 5.62, 5.97, 5.90, 5.58, 5.07*, 5.09*, 5.30#, 6.12, 5.83, 5.06*, 5.61, 5.77, 6.10
246–50		Key (5)	5.83, 6.00, 5.94, 6.19, 5.43*
251		0 (1)	6.11
252–9		1 (8)	5.86, 5.73, 5.81, 5.61, 5.71, 5.17*, 4.90*, 5.57
260–5		2 (6)	5.58*, 5.41*, 5.50, 5.76, 5.86, 5.92
266–7		Uncertain (2)	5.78, 6.30
268–97	Sixpence	1561 Pheon (30)	2.31, 2.35*, 2.57#, 2.47, 2.57, 2.60#, 2.12*, 2.39*, 2.92, 2.78, 2.11*, 2.43*, 2.78, 2.51, 2.76, 2.53, 2.63, 2.70, 2.79, 2.67, 2.56*, 2.59, 2.54, 2.61, 2.75, 2.71, 2.63, 2.25, 2.34*, 2.71
298–307		1562 Pheon (10)	2.50, 2.68, 2.53, 2.25*, 2.42*, 2.84, 2.67, 2.80, 2.50, 2.45
308–11		1563 Pheon (4)	2.66, 2.91, 2.71, 2.45*
312–23		1564 Pheon (12)	2.86, 2.72, 2.72, 2.31*, 2.62, 2.75, 2.55*, 2.76, 2.66, 2.58, 2.80, 2.89
324–8		1565 Pheon (5)	2.74, 2.52, 2.78, 2.67*, 2.69
329–41		Uncertain date Pheon (13)	2.72, 2.46, 2.50, 2.43, 2.65, 2.42, 2.81, 2.64, 2.66, 2.52, 2.40*, 2.33*, 2.21*
342–9		1565 Rose (8)	2.48, 2.80, 2.80, 2.64*, 2.75, 2.70, 2.77, 2.71
350–66		1566 Portcullis (17)	2.51, 2.65, 2.76, 2.71, 2.73, 2.62*, 2.80, 2.59, 2.58, 2.77#, 2.44*, 2.46*, 2.72, 2.77, 2.74, 2.66*, 2.67*
367–72		1566 Lion (6)	2.53, 2.75, 2.68, 2.64, 2.67, 2.65
373–6		1567 Lion (4)	2.23*, 2.80, 2.65, 2.71
377–95		1567 Coronet (19)	2.25*, 2.64, 2.84, 2.68, 2.52*, 2.71, 2.61, 2.75, 2.78*, 2.57, 2.81, 2.66, 2.41*, 2.16*, 2.69, 2.80, 2.29*, 2.30*, 2.73*
396–413		1568 Coronet (18)	2.59, 2.42*, 2.70, 2.23*, 2.65, 2.74*, 2.84, 2.29*, 2.66, 2.83, 2.59*, 2.69, 2.80, 2.59, 2.81, 2.55*, 2.63, 2.15*
414–34		1569 Coronet (21)	2.70, 2.23*, 2.83, 2.40*, 2.52, 2.63, 2.41*, 2.75, 2.58, 2.40*, 2.69, 2.70, 2.67, 2.66, 2.76, 2.63, 2.69, 2.83, 2.94, 2.61, 2.67
435–41		1570 Coronet (7)	2.83#, 2.37*, 2.62*, 2.43*, 2.87, 2.65, 2.84*
442–3		Uncertain date Coronet (2)	2.69, 2.56
444–8		1570 Castle (5)	2.42, 2.39*, 2.79, 2.75, 2.28*
449–62		1571 Castle (14)	2.59, 2.63, 2.74, 2.72*, 2.22*, 2.81, 2.91, 2.59*, 2.84, 2.87, 2.12*, 2.57, 2.74, 2.87
463–93		1572 Ermine (31)	2.69, 2.62, 2.93, 2.61, 2.76*, 2.88, 2.69, 2.86, 2.62*, 2.24*, 2.72, 2.89, 2.86, 2.48*, 2.66, 2.72, 2.61*, 2.59, 2.67#, 2.69, 2.55, 2.66, 2.76, 2.58*, 3.03, 3.08, 2.63, 2.75#, 2.83, 2.60, 2.69*

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
494–506		1573 Ermine (13)	2.81, 2.76, 2.72, 2.60, 2.65, 2.53, 2.50#, 2.79, 2.83, 2.69*, 2.70, 2.73, 2.73
507–15		1573 Acorn (9)	2.54, 2.63, 2.76*, 2.71, 2.35*, 2.85, 2.79, 2.64, 2.82
516		1574 Acorn (1)	2.70*
517–18		Uncertain date Acorn (2)	2.65, 2.73*
519–20		1573 Eglantine (2)	2.77*, 2.77
521–43		1574 Eglantine (23)	2.70, 2.71, 2.60*, 2.69, 2.80, 2.54*, 2.87, 2.39*, 2.42*, 2.43*, 2.75, 2.84#, 2.63*, 2.68, 2.76*, 2.68*, 2.87, 2.83, 2.63*, 2.75, 2.19, 2.82, 2.75
544–69		1575 Eglantine (26)	2.55#, 2.62#, 2.85, 2.78*, 2.79, 2.70*, 2.45*, 2.78, 2.75, 2.70, 2.70*, 2.79, 2.21*, 2.70, 2.65*, 2.86, 2.66*, 2.81, 2.67*, 2.51*, 2.83, 2.34*, 2.53*, 2.91, 2.89, 2.16*
570–3		1576 Eglantine (4)	2.42#, 2.37, 2.62, 2.77
574		1577 Eglantine (1)	2.77
575–7		Uncertain date Eglantine (3)	2.77, 2.63, 2.90
578–604		1578 Greek Cross (27)	2.47*, 2.86, 2.67, 2.95, 2.86, 2.90, 2.66*, 2.57, 2.78, 2.69, 2.50*, 2.56, 2.91, 2.42#, 2.88, 2.44*, 2.63*, 2.90, 2.87*, 2.61*, 2.45*, 2.42*, 2.74, 2.79, 3.25, 2.38*, 2.68*
605–12		1579 Greek Cross (8)	2.73, 2.81, 2.63*, 2.91, 2.42*, 2.70, 2.94, 2.83
613–14		Uncertain date Greek Cross (2)	2.63*, 2.74
615–36		1580 Latin Cross (22)	2.63*, 2.99, 2.65*, 2.86, 2.96, 2.82, 2.34*, 2.06#, 2.70, 2.58, 2.66#, 2.34*, 2.37, 2.89, 2.36*, 2.60, 2.77*, 2.59, 2.86*, 2.92, 2.79*, 2.43
637–46		1581 Latin Cross (10)	3.04, 2.88*, 2.90, 2.74#, 2.89, 2.74*, 2.93, 2.30*, 2.83, 2.54*
647		Uncertain date Latin Cross (1)	2.92
648–61		1582 Sword (14)	2.60, 2.75, 2.93, 2.79, 2.52, 2.85, 2.43*, 2.76, 2.79, 3.03, 2.91, 2.85, 2.83, 2.68*
662–70		1582 Bell (9)	2.77, 2.42*, 2.78*, 2.62*, 2.77, 2.82, 2.84, 2.18*, 2.90
671–81		1583 Bell (11)	2.84, 2.80, 2.82, 2.76, 2.56#, 2.81, 2.73*, 2.85, 2.78*, 2.56*, 2.41*
682		Uncertain date Bell (1)	2.77
683–5		1583 A (3)	2.77, 2.79, 2.68*
686–92		1584 A (7)	2.50*, 2.79, 2.90*, 2.91, 2.73, 2.69*, 2.67*
693		Uncertain date A (1)	2.53
694–6		1585 Escallop (3)	2.83, 2.76*, 2.48#
697		1586 Escallop (1)	2.59*
698–9		1587 Crescent (2)	2.86, 2.59*
700–2		1589 Crescent (3)	2.82, 2.79, 2.88
703–9		1590 Hand (7)	2.82, 2.94, 2.61*, 2.87, 2.76, 2.87#, 2.31*
710–21		1591 Hand (12)	2.18*, 2.87, 2.77, 2.87, 2.92, 2.84, 2.78, 2.89, 2.85, 2.26*, 3.01, 2.96
722		1592 Hand (1)	2.77
723–34		1592 Tun (12)	2.89*, 2.81, 2.91, 2.61*, 2.84, 2.89, 2.87, 2.42*, 2.82*, 2.83, 2.95, 2.82
735–49		1593 Tun (15)	2.74*, 2.94, 2.81, 2.94, 2.44*, 2.76, 2.86*, 2.48*, 2.70*, 2.78, 2.94*, 2.82, 3.05, 2.96, 2.89

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
750–1		1594 Tun (2)	2.45*, 2.97
752		Uncertain date Tun (1)	2.89
753–5		1594 Woolpack (3)	2.88, 2.83, 2.71
756–60		1595 Woolpack (5)	2.72, 2.82, 2.74*, 2.56*, 2.71
761–3		1595 Key (3)	2.79, 2.84, 2.55*
764–9		1596 Key (6)	2.83*, 2.44*, 2.84, 2.87*, 2.84, 2.52*
770		1598 Key (1)	2.72*
771–2		1599 Anchor (2)	2.58, 2.48*
773		1600 0 (1)	2.97
774–9		1601 1 (6)	2.86, 2.80, 2.95, 2.89, 2.78, 2.58#
780–7		1602 2 (8)	2.79, 2.77, 2.64*, 2.62*, 2.78*, 2.76*, 2.93, 3.06
788–95		Uncertain date and mark (8)	2.57, 2.76, 2.45*, 2.30*, 2.78, 2.48*, 2.35*, 2.85
796	Groat	Lis (1)	1.18
797–801		Cross Crosslet (5)	1.36, 1.32, 1.45, 1.28, 1.73
802		Martlet (1)	1.40#
803–9		Uncertain mark (7)	1.59, 1.23, 1.32, 1.58, 1.22*, 1.41, 1.40
810	Threepence	1568 Coronet (1)	1.20
811		1571 Castle (1)	1.11
812		1572 Ermine (1)	1.10*
813		1575 Eglantine (1)	1.35
814		1579 Greek Cross (1)	1.18
815		Uncertain date and mark (1)	0.93
James I			
816	Laurel	Third coinage, fourth bust, Trefoil (1)	9.11
817	Halfcrown Shilling	Third issue, no plumes, Lis (1)	14.85
818–22		First issue, first bust, Thistle (5)	4.76*, 5.55, 5.80, 5.81, 5.77
823–36		First issue, second bust, Thistle (14)	6.05, 6.13, 5.22*, 5.78, 5.51, 5.69, 5.66, 4.69*, 4.90*, 5.44, 5.66, 5.70*, 4.89*, 4.90*
837–65		Second issue, third bust, Lis (29)	5.78, 5.90, 5.52, 5.72, 5.53*, 5.99, 5.07*, 5.63, 5.88*, 5.32*, 5.78, 5.97, 5.87*, 5.62, 5.35, 5.48*, 5.73, 5.97, 4.96*, 4.93*, 5.68*, 5.99, 5.80, 5.69, 5.84, 5.63, 5.88, 5.23*, 5.53*
866–76		Second issue, third bust, Rose (11)	5.88, 5.88, 3.89*, 5.90, 5.91, 5.06#, 5.76, 5.69, 5.80, 5.79, 4.57*
877–99		Second issue, fourth bust, Rose (23)	5.19*, 4.98*, 5.74, 5.61, 6.14, 5.79, 5.99, 5.86, 5.69, 5.82, 5.70, 4.98*, 5.86, 5.72*, 5.99, 5.76, 5.89, 5.88, 4.91*, 5.74, 5.02*, 5.69, 5.67
900–12		Second issue, fourth bust, Escallop (13)	5.73, 5.68, 5.64, 5.74, 5.05*, 5.94, 5.60, 5.64*, 5.79, 5.85, 5.56, 5.82, 5.77
913–19		Second issue, fourth bust, Grapes (7)	5.59*, 5.76*, 5.61, 5.32*, 5.53, 5.23#, 5.16*
920–4		Second issue, fourth bust, Coronet (5)	5.55*, 5.57*, 5.94, 5.63*, 5.79
925		Second issue, fourth bust, bust uncertain (1)	5.61
926–7		Second issue, fifth bust, Coronet (2)	5.65, 6.06
928		Second issue, fifth bust, Key (1)	5.56*
929–30		Second issue, fifth bust, Bell (2)	5.50, 5.89

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
931–2	Sixpence	Second issue, fifth bust, Mullet (2)	5.74, 5.79
933		Second issue, fifth bust, Mullet over Key (1)	5.95
934–5		Second issue, fifth bust, Tun (2)	5.90, 5.69
936		Third issue, sixth bust, Rose (1)	5.94
937		Third issue, sixth bust, Thistle (1)	5.88
938–42		Third issue, sixth bust, Lis (5)	5.96, 6.19, 5.93, 5.89, 6.08
943–8		Third issue, sixth bust, Trefoil (6)	5.81, 5.40*, 5.97, 5.78, 4.75*, 5.78
949		Uncertain issue, Thistle (1)	4.57
950–2		Uncertain issue, Lis (3)	5.63*, 5.50, 3.68#
953		Uncertain issue and mark (1)	5.10*
954–6		1603 first issue, first bust, Thistle (3)	2.70, 2.72, 2.82
957–61		1603 first issue, second bust, Thistle (5)	2.88*, 2.33*, 2.31*, 2.94, 2.85
962–3		1604 first issue, second bust, Thistle (2)	2.86, 2.77
964–72		1604 first issue, second bust, Lis (9)	2.64, 2.63#, 2.87, 2.90, 2.95, 2.66*, 2.92, 2.86, 2.78
973–81		1604 second issue, third bust, Lis (9)	2.79, 2.64*, 2.92, 2.94, 2.75#, 2.79, 2.93, 2.71, 2.85
982–3		1605 second issue, third bust, Lis (2)	2.85, 3.03
984–5		1605 second issue, third bust, Rose (2)	2.92, 2.82
986–91		1605 second issue, fourth bust, Rose (6)	2.90, 2.71, 2.93, 2.42*, 2.74, 2.63*
992–5		1606 second issue, fourth bust, Rose (4)	3.09, 2.97, 2.71*, 2.88
996–1001		1606 second issue, fourth bust, Escallop (6)	2.30*, 2.76*, 2.77, 2.83, 2.68, 2.86*
1002–3		1607 second issue, fourth bust, Escallop (2)	2.52*, 2.77*
1004		1607 second issue, fourth bust, Grapes (1)	2.65
1005–6		1607 second issue, fourth bust, Coronet (2)	2.47, 2.83
1007–9		1608 second issue, fourth bust, Coronet (3)	2.79, 2.60, 2.46*
1010		1609 second issue, fourth bust, Key (1)	2.80
1011		1615 second issue, fourth bust, Tun [obv over cinquefoil] (1)	2.75
1012		1616 second issue, fourth bust, Tun (1)	2.31*
1013		1622 third issue, sixth bust, Thistle (1)	2.92
1014		1623 third issue, sixth bust, Thistle (1)	2.86#
1015–16		1624 third issue, sixth bust, Trefoil (2)	2.94, 2.98
1017		1624 third issue, sixth bust, uncertain mark (1)	2.83
Charles I 1018–19 1020–1	Halfcrown	Group I Lis (1625) N2201 (2) Group II Plume (1630–31) N2205 (2)	14.91, 14.85 14.89, 14.52

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
1022		Group II Rose (1631–32) N2205 (1)	15.14
1023–6		Group II Harp (1632–33) N2207 (4)	14.79, 14.93, 14.93, 14.63
1027–31		Group II Portcullis (1633–34) N2207 (5)	14.87, 14.66, 15.14, 14.84, 14.91
1032–3		Group III Bell (1634–35) N2209 (2)	15.20, 15.09
1034–41		Group III Crown (1635–36) N2209 [1035 over Bell on obv] (8)	14.91, 14.78, 14.82, 15.03, 14.93, 14.90, 14.88, 14.87
1042		Group III crown N2210 (1)	14.96
1043–50		Group III Tun (1636–38) N2209 (8)	15.40, 14.30, 14.89, 15.08, 14.81, 15.11, 14.37*, 15.12
1051		Group III Tun N2210 [obv over crown] (1)	14.73
1052–3		Group III Tun N2211 (2)	14.82, 14.77
1054–6		Group III Anchor (1638–39) N2211 (3)	14.64, 15.00, 15.19
1057		Group III Triangle (1639–40) N2211 (1)	15.20
1058–61		Group III Triangle N2212 (4)	14.61, 14.94, 14.94, 13.82*
1062–5	Shilling	Group A Lis (1625) N2216 (4)	5.89, 5.88, 4.75*, 6.02
1066		Group A Cross (1625–26) N2216 [obv. over Lis (1)]	6.01
1067–8		Group B Cross N2218 (2)	5.93, 6.04
1069–70		Group B Cross lightweight issue N2218 [1069 dies as <i>Brooker</i> 402] (2)	5.24, 5.28
1071–3		Group C Plume (1630–31) N2221 (3)	5.85, 5.12*, 5.77
1074–5		Group C Rose (1631–32) N2221 (2)	5.89, 6.09
1076–84		Group D Harp (1632–33) N2223 (9)	5.90, 5.89, 5.94, 4.97*, 6.04, 5.97, 5.86, 6.05, 5.89
1085–6		Group D Harp N2224 [rev plume over shield; dies as <i>Brooker</i> 470] (2)	5.51*, 6.04
1087–93		Group D Portcullis (1633–34) N2223 (7)	6.06, 5.10*, 5.45*, 5.27*, 5.90, 6.08, 5.17*
1094		Group D Harp or Portcullis N2223 (1)	6.00
1095–1104		Group D Bell (1634–35) N2225 (10)	5.82, 6.04, 6.08, 6.03, 5.88, 6.11, 6.01, 5.17*, 5.96, 5.75*
1105–31		Group D Crown (1635–36) N2225 (27)	5.70, 6.15, 5.49, 5.86, 5.92, 6.00, 6.09, 5.90, 5.89, 6.02, 6.01, 5.65*, 5.84, 6.02, 6.07, 6.01, 5.99, 5.97, 4.77*, 5.81*, 6.10, 5.90, 5.91*, 5.66*, 5.13*, 5.80, 6.04
1132–57		Group D Tun (1636–38) N2225 (26)	6.08, 5.79, 5.43, 6.03, 6.11, 5.21*, 5.92, 5.69, 6.19, 6.26, 5.76, 6.10, 6.04, 6.20, 6.05, 5.75, 5.28*, 5.54, 5.87, 5.64, 5.81, 5.85, 6.05, 6.33, 6.06, 6.02
1158		Group D Tun N2226 [rev plume over shield; <i>Brooker</i> 508] (1)	5.89
1159		Group D uncertain mark (1)	6.35#
1160–4		Group E Tun N2228 (5)	5.90, 5.93, 5.57, 5.92, 6.03
1165–71		Group E Tun N2229 (7)	6.09, 5.78, 6.06, 5.98, 5.93, 5.84*, 6.13
1172–83		Group E Anchor (1638–39) N2229 (12)	6.00, 5.99, 5.89, 5.96, 6.02, 5.89, 5.90, 6.14, 5.81, 5.33*, 6.01, 5.18*

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
1184–95		Group E Anchor N2230 (12)	6.08, 5.99, 5.91, 6.03, 5.76, 6.18, 6.02, 6.10, 4.67*, 6.06, 6.14, 5.95
1196–1201		Group E Triangle (1639–40) N2230 (6)	5.91, 5.80, 5.99, 6.09, 5.92, 6.04
1202–20		Group F Triangle N2231 (19)	5.47*, 6.03, 5.77, 5.88, 6.13, 5.77, 5.97, 6.01, 5.98, 5.94, 6.15, 6.06, 5.94, 5.99, 6.01, 6.07, 6.04, 6.07, 6.02
1221–34		Group F Star (1640–41) N2231 (13)	5.74*, 6.09, 6.12, 5.85, 5.94, 6.03, 5.98*, 5.76*, 6.14, 5.92, 5.93, 5.94, 6.10
1235–7		Group F Triangle in Circle (1641–43) N2231 (3)	5.91*, 5.90*, 5.82
1238		Mule: Briot's hammered obv with Tower rev. [as <i>Brooker</i> 739–40] (1)	6.03
1239–40	Sixpence	Group A 1625 Lis N2235 (2)	2.90, 2.89
1241		Group B 1626 Cross N2236 [first 6 over 2, and 2 over 6] (1)	2.97
1242–3		Group C Plumes (1630–31) N2238 (2)	2.91, 2.91
1244		Group C Rose (1631–32) N2238 (1)	2.99
1245–7		Group D Harp (1632–33) N2240 (3)	2.65*, 2.99, 3.01
1248		Group D Portcullis (1633–34) N2240 (1)	2.91
1249–51		Group D Bell (1634–35) N2241 (3)	2.85*, 2.87*, 2.97
1252–63		Group D Crown (1635–36) N2241 (12)	2.97*, 3.01, 2.98, 3.01, 3.05, 2.99, 2.97, 3.01, 2.93*, 2.81, 3.01, 2.95*
1264–76		Group D Tun (1636–38) N2241 (13)	3.00, 2.84, 2.98, 2.95, 3.15, 2.97, 2.96, 2.85*, 2.96, 3.05, 2.90, 2.98, 3.02
1277		Group D uncertain mark N2241 (1)	2.80
1278		Group E Tun N2242 (1)	2.98
1279–86		Group E Tun N2243 (8)	2.99, 2.71, 3.02, 3.00, 2.92*, 2.99, 3.34, 2.92
1287–93		Group E Anchor (1638–39) N2244 (7)	3.16, 3.20, 2.92, 3.32, 3.01, 3.02, 2.93
1294–5		Group E Triangle (1639–40) N2244 (2)	2.85, 2.85*
1296		Group E Triangle N2245 (1)	2.99
1297		Group E uncertain mark (1)	2.98
1298–1303		Group F Triangle N2246 (6)	3.13, 3.05, 2.86*, 3.04, 3.03, 2.60*
1304–8		Group F Star N2246 (5) <i>Aberystwyth</i>	3.03, 3.08, 3.11, 2.95, 3.05
1309		Book (1638–42) (1)	2.99
<i>Forgeries of Charles I</i>			
1310	Shilling	Group C Plume [dies as <i>Brooker</i> 1194] (1)	4.60
1311		Group D Tun N2225 [same hand as 1315] (1)	4.35
1312		Group E Anchor [dies as <i>Brooker</i> 1202] (1)	4.59
1313		Group E Triangle N2230 [dies as <i>Brooker</i> 1205] (1)	5.59
1314	Sixpence	Group E Triangle (1)	5.35#
1315		Group E Tun N2243 [same hand as 1311] (1)	2.60

SCOTTISH

<i>Reign/coin no.</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Weight (g)</i>
James VI			
1316	30 shillings	Second issue (1)	14.53
1317–19	Thistle merk	1601 (3)	6.51, 6.23, 5.14*
1320–34		1602 (15)	5.73, 6.30, 6.18, 6.21, 6.50, 6.32, 5.24*, 6.17, 6.09, 6.17, 6.15, 6.45, 6.28, 6.51, 6.39
1335		1604 (1)	6.13
1336–7		Uncertain date (2)	5.74*, 6.31
1338		12 shillings (1)	First issue 4.90
Charles I			
1339	12 shillings	Fourth issue (1)	5.13
1340		Fifth issue (1)	5.99

IRISH

James I			
1341–52	Shilling	Bell (12)	4.17, 3.50, 4.22, 3.94, 4.00, 3.89, 4.08, 4.24, 4.17, 4.40, 3.94, 3.92
1353–7		Martlet (5)	3.73, 3.97, 4.02, 4.09, 4.13
1358–64		Rose (7)	4.35, 4.09, 4.35, 3.91, 3.82, 3.80, 4.07
1365–6		Escallop (2)	4.22, 4.02

SUMMARY A

Total unclipped/undamaged

	<i>Sixpence</i>			<i>Shilling</i>			<i>Halfcrown</i>		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Elizabeth I									
1561	—	—	—	5.64 g	53	90.7%			
1561–82	2.72 g	265	87.5%						
1583–1600	2.84 g	69	91.2%						
1562–1600				5.85 g	89	94.1%			
1601–02	2.87 g	9	95.3%	5.73 g	10	95.2%			
James I	2.83 g	46	94.0%	5.78 g	93	95.9%			
Charles I	2.99 g	60	99.5%	5.95 g	147	98.9%	14.90 g	42	99.0%

Total excluding damaged

	<i>Sixpence</i>			<i>Shilling</i>			<i>Halfcrown</i>		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Elizabeth I									
1561	—	—	—						
1561–82	2.65 g	379	85.2%	5.40 g	80	86.8%			
1583–1600	2.75 g	109	88.5%						
1562–1600				5.69 g	120	91.5%			
1601–02	2.82 g	13	93.6%	5.60 g	14	93.0%			
James I	2.77 g	61	91.9%	5.61 g	133	93.3%			
Charles I	2.97 g	71	98.7%	5.87 g	175	97.5%	14.87 g	44	98.8%

SUMMARY B

Total unclipped/undamaged

	<i>Sixpence</i>			<i>Shilling</i>			<i>Halfcrown</i>		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Elizabeth I									
1561	—	—	—	5.64 g	53	93.6%			
1561–83	2.72 g	265	90.4%						
1583–1603	2.84 g	78	94.3%	5.84 g	99	97.0%			
Whole reign	2.75 g	343	91.3%	5.77 g	152	95.8%			
James I	2.83 g	46	94.0%	5.78 g	93	95.9%			
Charles I	2.99 g	60	99.5%	5.95 g	147	98.9%	14.90 g	42	99.0%

Total excluding damaged

	<i>Sixpence</i>			<i>Shilling</i>			<i>Halfcrown</i>		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Elizabeth I									
1561	—	—	—						
1561–83	2.65 g	379	88.1%	5.40 g	80	89.6%			
1583–1603	2.76 g	122	91.6%	5.68 g	134	94.3%			
Whole reign	2.68 g	501	88.9%	5.57 g	214	92.6%			
James I	2.77 g	61	91.9%	5.61 g	133	93.3%			
Charles I	2.97 g	71	98.7%	5.87 g	175	97.5%	14.87 g	44	98.8%

APPENDIX 2

Prestbury Coin Hoard Pot

PETER CONNELLY

THE vessel which contained the Prestbury coin hoard (Fig. 1) would appear to be a typical large cylindrical storage jar of the mid- to late seventeenth century. The storage vessel, in six fragments, measures 16 cm deep and 15.5 cm in diameter; the wall of the vessel is almost vertical, although it tapers slightly towards the rim. The rim is simple in form, with only a slight lip and a shallow internal lid seating. The base of the vessel is slightly concave in shape, but, judging from the obvious cracking apparent in the base, the concave shape is unintentional, and may have happened before the vessel dried. The fabric is a relatively homogenous, almost vitrified, oxidized, dark purplish red colour, although the exterior of the vessel is more of a lightish yellowish red colour than the interior. The fabric appears to contain frequent rounded quartz inclusions up to c.5 mm in diameter and very occasional sub-rounded grog(?) inclusions up to 6 mm in diameter.

The exterior of the vessel is unglazed with only traces of splash and smeared lead glaze adhering to the external base of the vessel; these patches of glazing would appear to be accidental. The interior base of the vessel has been completely glazed in a dark brown lead glaze. The glaze upon the base has lipped c.10 mm up the wall of the vessel, and has also splashed the interior wall in places. The interior glazing of the vessel may have been carried out to seal the cracks that had appeared in its base as it sagged whilst still soft, thus sealing and ensuring the watertight integrity of the vessel.

Examples of this pottery form were excavated from the period 7 (Civil War) deposits at Beeston Castle.¹³ Although these vessels are described as 'Midland Purple' in the Beeston Castle 1968–85 excavation report, the Prestbury coin hoard pot is more than likely to have been locally manufactured, and may be more closely related to the Northwest Purple tradition, which is believed to have evolved out of the Midland Purple tradition.

¹³ Ellis 1993, 203 and Fig. 134.



Fig. 1. Prestbury coin hoard pot (by kind permission of Dix Noonan Webb).

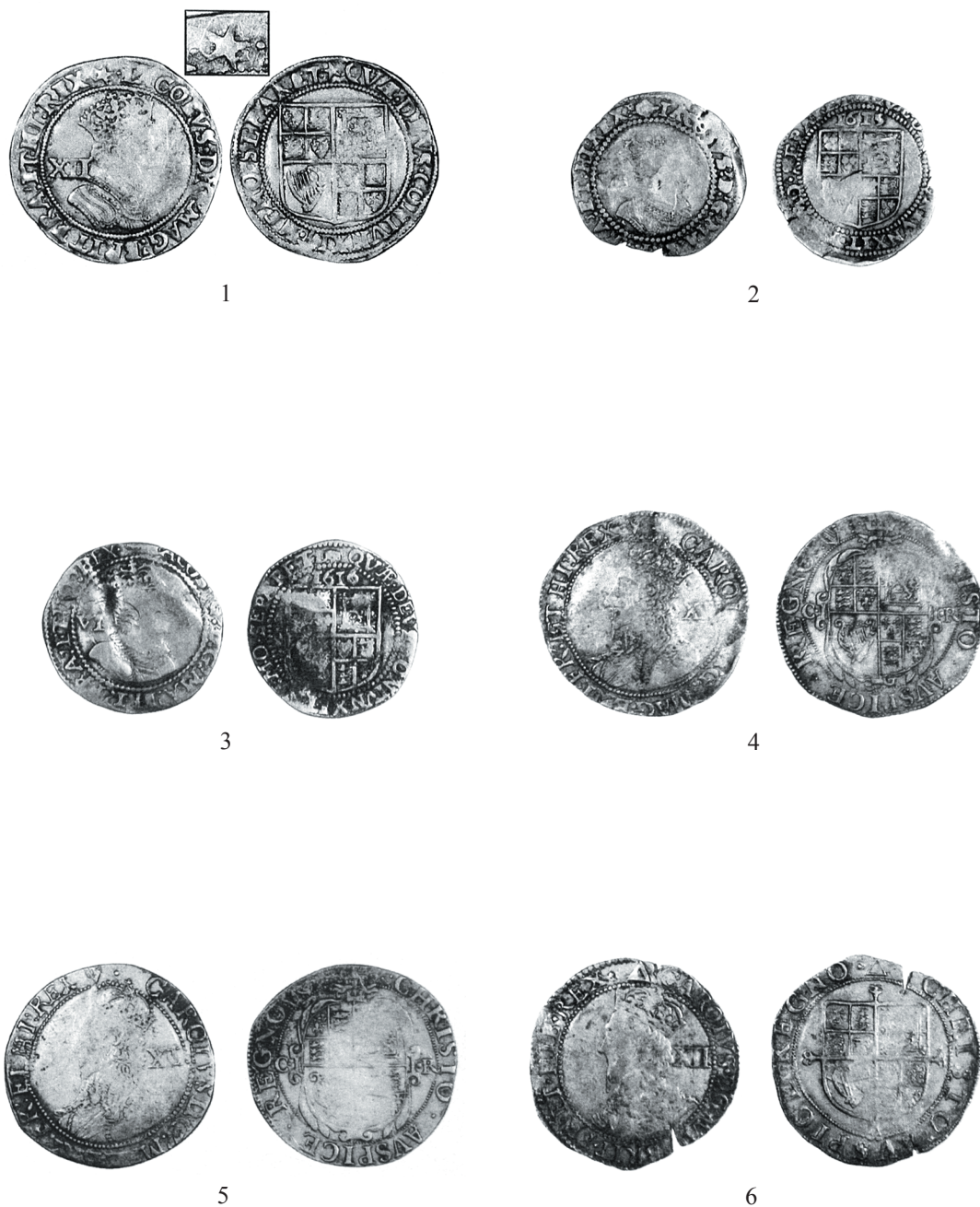
The dark staining on the exterior of the base of the vessel may be remnant evidence for sooting, which may suggest that this vessel may have also been used as a cooking pot, although it is more likely to be staining through the pot resting on soil surfaces.

In all, the *terminus* date range of 1642–43 within the coin assemblage would perfectly fit with a mid-seventeenth-century production date for the storage vessel.

REFERENCE

Ellis, P., 1993. *Beeston Castle, Cheshire. Excavations by Laurence Keen & Peter Hough, 1968–85*, English Heritage Archaeological Report 23 (London).

PLATE 3



SUGDEN AND JONES: PRESTBURY CIVIL WAR HOARD

MAURICE JOHNSON: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NUMISMATIST

ADAM DAUBNEY

In general the antiquities of the great mitred priory of Spalding, and of this part of Lincolnshire, are forever obliged to the care and diligence of Maurice Johnson, who has rescued them from oblivion.

William Stukeley on Maurice Johnson, 1755¹

WILLIAM Stukeley's tribute to the Spalding antiquary and barrister Maurice Johnson (1688–1755) amply alludes to Johnson's activities in recording local discoveries of antiquities. Nevertheless, despite these activities, his key roles in the establishment of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society in 1710 and the re-founding of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1717, and his reputation as a keen numismatist with a 'good cabinet of medals', Johnson has traditionally been overshadowed by contemporary antiquaries and numismatists such as William Stukeley and Martin Folkes.

Undoubtedly contributing to Johnson's obscurity is the fact that his major work on the coins of Carausius and Allectus was never published, whereas Stukeley's *Medallic History of Marcus Aurelius Carausius* (1757–59), which relied extensively on Johnson's work, was. Likewise the many hundreds of letters sent to Johnson and the Spalding Gentlemen's Society (SGS) during the first half of the eighteenth century and now in the collections of the SGS have only just been indexed and published.² Michael and Diana Honeybone's *The Correspondence of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society* has begun to realign Johnson as a key antiquary and numismatist, and their publication highlights the importance of the Society's literary archive.

The archive comprises four main sources: the Society's minute book: the *Acts and Observances of the SGS*, which under Johnson ran from 1712 to 1755; a number of dissertations penned by Johnson on a variety of themes; the correspondence of the Society; and finally Johnson's unpublished notebook on the coins of Carausius and Allectus.³ Though the majority of the relevant letters in the SGS correspondence archive are in reply to Johnson they indicate the themes and concerns discussed by him. In addition, there is a small number of draft letters by Johnson. Drafting letters was common practice in the eighteenth century, particularly for those letters that were to be circulated among colleagues and read out at meetings.

The minute books and correspondence depict Johnson as a tireless antiquary who was equally generous with both his time and his knowledge. Described by Stukeley as a 'most polite and universal scholar' and again as a 'fluent orator and of eminence in his profession', Johnson was widely respected among his colleagues. Stukeley goes on to describe him as a 'lover of gardening, who had a fine collection of plants and an excellent cabinet of medals'.⁴

Though Johnson's cabinet was dispersed soon after his death, much of the literary archive of the SGS concerns numismatics and provides us with a useful insight into his collection and the influences behind its formation. We read of Johnson's attempt to assemble a cabinet of English coins, his research into the coins of the mint at Lincoln, and his numerous discussions of the coins of Carausius and Allectus and whether the former was of British origin. In the

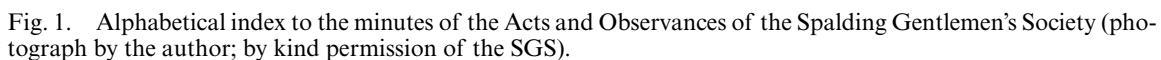
Acknowledgements. I am most grateful to the following people who have helped with this paper: Dr Roger Bland, Dr Sam Moorhead, Mark Bennet, Dr Michael Honeybone, Dr Diana Honeybone, Michael Snowdon, and the two referees who commented on an earlier draft. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to the Spalding Gentlemen's Society for making their archive accessible to me and for their support and encouragement given during this research.

¹ Gough and Nichols 1812, 23.

² Honeybone and Honeybone 2010.

³ The notebook is currently being translated from Latin and is being examined by Graham Barker.

⁴ Gough and Nichols 1812, 23.



The minute books reveal, unsurprisingly, that Roman coins were discussed far more frequently than coins of any other period. In the second place were broadly contemporary coins, the majority continental, in particular the silver and gold coins of Spain, especially those of

Ferdinand III.⁵ Other topics concerning foreign coins include a silver coin of the Venetian Republic and coins of the American plantations.⁶ Closer reading of the minute books and correspondence reveals lengthy discussions of Martin Folkes's forthcoming work on English coinage, *A Table of English Silver Coins from the Norman Period to the Present Time* (1745) and of William Stukeley's *Schemed Order of Collection for British History in a Chronological Series*, highlighting the widespread interest in British history at the time.⁷ In addition to the discussion of various numismatic themes, the correspondence also highlights the frequency with which casts of coins were requested and exchanged across the network of corresponding numismatists.

Maurice Johnson and the Society at Spalding

The major intellectual societies of early eighteenth-century England were, of course, based in London but gradually stimulated a growth of similar local organizations in the provinces. Mostly this occurred through 'middle-ranking' individuals such as Maurice Johnson, who as part of their work or during their 'tours' spent time with fellow antiquarians in London. Johnson was born in Spalding in 1688 and attended his local grammar school before transferring to Eton. He pursued a career in law, studying at the Inner Temple in preparation for his career as a barrister, after which he returned to Spalding to establish his career.⁸ As a barrister Johnson naturally spent time working in London and it was during these visits that he came into contact with fellow antiquaries, many of whom were to become life-long friends and correspondents. The discussions that occurred during the meetings of these early antiquaries – which initially mostly took place in coffee houses across London⁹ – inspired Johnson to found the SGS in 1710. Johnson intentionally modelled the SGS on the London Learned Societies, and described it as being for the 'improvement in Literature and the passing our lives with more comfort'.¹⁰ In this act of promoting science amongst the 'Fenn Men' Johnson was encouraged by his corresponding colleagues in London to enrich the Society with the leading academic publications of the time.¹¹ This he did, along with setting up a vast network of antiquaries with whom the Society regularly corresponded, particularly after 1724.¹² The Society's early years however were not so much concerned with antiquities, but rather between 1710 and 1724 members met to read the London periodicals – the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, and to discuss literary topics over a pot of coffee and some best tobacco.¹³ The early years saw members meeting at a coffee house in Spalding. In Johnson's account of the origin of the Society he wrote that between 1709 and 1712 the Society 'twas onely a meeting at a coffeehouse upon tryal how such an designe might succeed, to the time when it was fixed upon rules signed or subscribed in 1712'.¹⁴

A set of rules were drawn up in 1712, and modified in 1714 as follows:

The Society must assemble at four.

When the season requires there must be a table, two candles, a pair of snuffers and a good fire during the society.

There must be a pot of coffee of an ounce to eight dishes, or in proportion.

There must be a pot of bohea tea of half an ounce to twelve dishes.

There must be twelve clean pipes, and an ounce of the best tobacco.

There must be a chamber-pot.

There must be a Latin Dictionary a Greek Lexicon.

⁵ SGS Minute Book, 2.90, 3.21, 3.153, 3.28.

⁶ SGS Minute Book, 3.19, 3.152, 4.1.

⁷ SGS Minute Book, 2.58; 3.80.

⁸ Honeybone and Honeybone, x.

⁹ Evans 1956, 34–60.

¹⁰ Draft letter from Maurice Johnson to Dr Edward Green, 17 Nov. 1712, SGS Minute Book, letter 2, p. 3.

¹¹ Johnson was encouraged to subscribe to, among others, the *Journal des Scavans Mercure Gallant, the belles lettres, monthly mercury, Fabritius – Bibliotheca Graeca & Latin* (letter from Edward Green to Maurice Johnson, 12 Dec. 1712, SGS Minute Book, letter 3, p. 4).

¹² Honeybone and Honeybone, xiii; Owen 1981, vii.

¹³ Piggott 1985, 34; Owen 1981, x.

¹⁴ Owen 1981, ix.

All the printed papers order'd by the Society and not read publicly, and this book of Injunctions. The coffee and tea must be ready at exactly five and taken away at six, which done, the papers must be read by some member, then tankard of ale holding one quart and no more must be set upon the table. The President must always sit on the right side of the chimney and take care of the fire.¹⁵

Subject matter for display and discussion in the Society's early years was often sparse however, and letters by Johnson illustrate just how much the success of the Society at Spalding depended on him:

wee had so little brought in by any member save myself, who constantly attended, and whether in London at Terme time, or on the Midland Circuit or attending the Isle of Ely assize, there or at Wisbeach, took care to communicate something literary every meeting, that I could not much more out that I myself could produce.¹⁶

Despite the Society being formed in 1710 it did not assume its distinctive character until 1724 at the earliest, at which point the formal minute books begin.¹⁷ The minute books show a revival in the Society both in terms of membership and the quantity of artefacts brought to the meetings. In a letter to the SGS dated 29 October 1728 the antiquarian William Bogdani wrote of his pleasure on hearing of the 'success and progress of the Spalding Society'.¹⁸ Indeed, the links formed by Johnson between the SGS and the London Learned Societies during the early 1720s led to the Society of Antiquaries referring to the SGS as their 'Cell at Spalding'.¹⁹ The varied interests of the SGS mirrored those of the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society, London, such as attending philosophical lectures, buying mathematical instruments and reading London scientific periodicals,²⁰ while the minute books and correspondence reveal a thriving network of antiquarians sharing information. 'We deal' says Mr Johnson to Mr Neve in 1745/6, 'in all arts and sciences, and exclude nothing from our conversation but politics, which would throw us all into confusion and disorder'.²¹ This act of emulation held agency for the formation and expression of individual and group identity. 'To Provincial eyes, Enlightenment values offered a leg-up from rusticity, associated with barbarity and riot, towards metropolitan – indeed cosmopolitan urbanity'.²²

By early 1727 the Society had moved into two rooms in Abbey Yard, Spalding and it was here that the first Society museum was born:

On 5 January 1726/7 the Reverend the president and Mr. Day having viewed Mr. Sparke's two rooms with the garden and offices made their report to the society that is in their opinion a very proper place to remove into and that the roomes are commodious, being one for a museum wainscotted and pressed around, the other a withdrawing room fitt for our servants to attend in.²³

The objects on display reflect the group's broad interests in science, history and the natural world. A letter from Captain John Topham to Maurice Johnson lists a number of specimens donated to the SGS:

A Tygers Head
Hogg Fish
Piece of a Rhinoceros Skin
Three Claws of a Tyger
Snout of a fish
Gentoo Girls Love Letter in a Bottle
Severall little Scorpions
D^o Centumpes
Sucking Fish
A large Insect which I caught Flying.²⁴

¹⁵ Owen 1981, x.

¹⁶ Owen 1981, ix.

¹⁷ Owen 1981, vii.

¹⁸ Letter from William Bogdani to Maurice Johnson. 29 Oct. 1728 (Owen 1981, 41, no. 93).

¹⁹ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, xv.

²⁰ Owen 1981; Honeybone and Honeybone 2010; Jankovic, 2000, 79; Reed 1995.

²¹ Gough and Nichols 1812, 7.

²² Porter 1980, 27.

²³ Owen 1981, xii.

²⁴ Letter from Captain John Topham to Maurice Johnson, 7 Oct. 1732, in Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 71, no. 170.

Five plans for the Society's museum dated around 1725 exist in the SGS archives. These plans indicate that the museum would have been a 'museum in the eighteenth-century sense of a laboratory and workroom in which their collections could be studied'.²⁵ However, documentary evidence tells us that the collections were exhibited in a systematic way. The 'Rules and Orders' of the Society (1745) states that 'MSS, charts, maps, plans, drawings, prints, coins, casts, carvings, and other curiosities in nature or art [are] ... to be kept in its classes in its museum under the rules and direction of this society'.²⁶ The museum collection was eventually relocated to its current building in Broad Street, Spalding in 1911.²⁷ The present-day museum still reflects the broad interests of the Society and includes collections of scientific instruments, ethnography, archaeology and numismatics. The Society also boasts an impressive library of antiquarian books and, perhaps most importantly, a vast collection of letters and minute books relating to the activities of the Society in the eighteenth century. It is clear however from the correspondence and minute books that a central interest of the Society in the eighteenth century was that of its founder: numismatics.²⁸

Maurice Johnson, numismatist

Maurice Johnson was a keen collector of coins and regularly exchanged originals, casts and information with fellow collectors. While the archive would indicate that Johnson was part of an established numismatic culture, there were, in fact, relatively few collectors or English translations of numismatic books in comparison to the continent.²⁹ Indeed, even some forty years after Johnson's death in 1755, the numismatist Joseph Eckhel was able to name only three great books on coins published in Britain since the Renaissance – Haym's engravings of coins in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke (1726), Francis Wise's catalogue of coins in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (1750), and Charles Combe's catalogue of a selection of coins in William Hunter's collection (1782).³⁰ It is important to recognise the significance of the contemporary literary evidence for Johnson's approach to numismatics, some 113 years before dedicated numismatic societies were founded: the Numismatic Society of London in 1836, the American Numismatic Society in 1858, and the Boston [US] Numismatic Society in 1860. The SGS's archive of letters and minute books has the potential to inform us about numismatics and ways of seeing coins in a period of history when similar societies simply did not exist. In particular, the correspondence of the SGS provides an insight into how coins were sought and acquired in the early eighteenth century. Through the network of numismatists with whom Johnson corresponded he was able to build up his own personal collection of coins. In a letter from Samuel Addenbrooke to Maurice Johnson's father, also called Maurice, dated 9 February 1715 (i.e. 1716) we read of Mr Addenbrooke seeking out Saxon coins for Maurice Johnson junior (founder of the SGS).³¹

S^r

I received the enclosed Scrip [not now enclosed, but relating to a legal matter] yesterday and my Father an other of the same. We desire your care of this matter. I have not forgot my promise to Mr Johnson your son, and have done what I can get [*sic*] him some coins; I have some in my hands but of what worth I can't say; however when I have got two Silver Saxon peices which I have partly the promise of, I will send then by Berton of Peterburgh. I have by an unlucky fall been kept in my Chamber this two months or else had sent them before this. Mr Johnson promised me some directions in this matter If he please to send them me I shall be glad of the opertunity to shew that I am his & your

most humble Serv^t
S Addenbrooke

Chesterton Feb: 9 1715

²⁵ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 28.

²⁶ Gough and Nichols 1812, 33.

²⁷ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 73.

²⁸ Owen 1981; Honeybone and Honeybone 2010.

²⁹ Burnett 2004, 126.

³⁰ Burnett 2004, 126.

³¹ Letter from the Rev. Samuel Addenbrooke to Maurice Johnson, 9 Feb. 1715/16, in Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 11, no. 17; transcribed here courtesy of Michael and Diana Honeybone.

Johnson's reply to Addenbrooke provides us with a detailed insight into his collecting methodology.³²

[Maurice Johnson junior's draft reply]

Rev^d S^r

My Father was gone to London when your Letter came to our hands which my brother sent him the contents of by the first post after and you need not doubt but hee'll take all imaginable care ab[ou]t your concernes there & you was pleased to take notice in yours how mindfull you are of me & that matter which we discoursed ab[ou]t when I had the happiness of your Company at Holbech. I though [sic] I could not doe less than acknowledge your favours by letter which honour I intended my self (as I proposed at Holbech) the time & place being then neither proper for the purpose I am heartily sorry for the unfortunate fall which you mencion & hope you have suffered no more by it than being detained so long in yr Chamber. as you are pleased to require my directions in the business of old medals & Coines I may well hope you'll excuse which I offer to yr consideration upon That Topick being a Study somewhat out of the way tho' I assure my Self that I am able to observe very little to you which you knew not of as well before. But first in regard to Roman Coines Give me leave to lay my own scheme before you by which I collect. Viz^t of the money made by the Romans the Medulists [coin collectors] divide them into 3 classes of different sizes the first ab[ou]t the Size of an halfpenny but as thick again generally speaking called the larger brasse being either in that [p. 2] Metall or Copper, these if pretty fine are one with another worth six pence apiece. The 2nd size called the middle brass are of the same with farthings but as Substantiall again also & of the same metal with the former if very fair worth 3d each. The 3rd sort is of silver for the most part Impure which the French antiquaries call Billion these are seldom if ever the size of a Teston [a shilling] & if fairly legible that is the constant purchase of them. These we call Sextaries. Give me leave Good S^r to note to you that if the generality of Roman peices found in England are since & upon the decline of that Empire in [the] West are [sic] not so thick as what we term the middle brass & seldom so broad these are worth little or nothing unless they prove exceeding fair of a short reigning Emperor.

Yet S^r these Generall rules like all others admit of sundry qualifications for Instance these Emperours following in the larger copper or Grand Bronzo as the Italians term it are of much better value than the Common rate of Sixpence; viz^t All the 1st 13 from Julius Cæsar to Nerva Inclusive are worth 1 s[hilling] each. Of which number, Otho & Vitellius can hardly be procured for any money by me. And these following Divus Pertinax (pius pater), Didius Julianus, Petronius Niger, Clodius Albuinus, Septimus Geta, M. Opelius Macrinus, M. Opelius Ant / Diadumenianus / Heliogabalus / C. Julius Verus Maximus / M. Ant Gordianus Afr, D. Cælius Balbinus / M. Julius Philippus / C. Messius Decius Trajanus / Q. Hor: Etr: / Mess: Decius Cæs / C. Vib. Trebonianus Gallus / Vibius Volusianus / Cæs. Emilius Emilianys / Valerian / Publius Licinius Gallienus / M. Cat. Lat. Posthumus these are each of them worth 1s. a peice whatever the Emperours time. Posthumus are found of a larger size than our farthings as 2 which you mentioned to me I would give 2 shilling apiece for willingly. Now for the 2nd sort or size by the Italians Mezzo Bronzo or middle brass as we say these are seldom purchased for collections at more than 3d. each and if you meet with any very fair especially of the above named Emperours I would double that price out of Curiosity & for those since the 30 Tyrants 1d. esp. Gallienus or Posthumus age[?] inclusive except for Constantine the 3rd of them which are never worth more than 3d. being the most plentifull of any coines here except the Antonini. I omitted S^r to mention Brittish peices which wee now dissalow of as some only term them annulets they are commonly of Gold & worth 3s. [?] their weight whatever Roman coines can be met with of Gold are worth as much & look prettily in a Collection otherwise seldom so good work or instructive as the Copper. But Gold & Silver make a fine show & set off such odd things as our Collections appear to the beaus & Ladys when they accidentally veiw them. As to the Saxon Coine it is by farr more Intelligible than any ever went Currant in this Realme at this Day. And the late AB [Archbishop] of Yorke [Archbishop John Sharp (1644/5?–1714)] was the only Antiquary we had who ever made any thing out like a Series of them.³³ As yet I own to you I am not Master of one single peice between the time of Honorius who gave up this Island when the Roman Eagle could no longer shelter [us] under her wings to the Conquest of W^m the Norm Bastard when the Norman Tyranny tooke place but shall be more [p. 3] obliged to y^r Industry in this part than any other & will willingly give a shilling apiece or more for any every Saxon or Danish peice in that age.

There are some very few in Copper or brass rather of that age & they [sic] worth 6d. a peice but the generality of such as goe for copper Saxon are nothing but Ave Maries stampt in Greater Abbies in England, & Normandy Since Duke Wm Accession & they are not worth above a halfpenny each which is ab^t. their weight. But above all what I most covet & what my poor Collection is likely to be most compleat in I entreat you my friend to procure for me whatever peices of any sort fall in your way of our English Coines or Medals from the Conquest down to Q. Elizabeth exclusive of her. The Silver ones to Edward the 1st exclusive are worth in my judgem^t 2s. 6d. each & all the Golden ones I beg you'll use your own discretion in & purchase them as cheap as you can not byeing even gold it self too dear. All Scottish ones Coine before the accession of James the 6th or James the 1st are worth

³² Letter from Maurice Johnson to the Revd Samuel Addenbrooke, 18 February 1715/16, in Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 11, no. 18.

³³ Archbishop John Sharp was born in Bradford and educated at Christ's College Cambridge. Sharp was the author of 'Observations on the Coinage of England', which was later printed in Nichols 1790. See also Pagan 1987, 178–9.

for me double their weight either in Gold or Silver & so are all the medalls or Coines of the present Illustrious family on the throne of Great Brittain.

Having frequently used the terme, Fair, give me leave to add that when I call the coine or Medall a fair one I mean where the face & reverse are decernable & the legends round the rim or circular Inscriptions are legible & this is an unerring rule that in all worke of this nature the higher releife or bossage of the worke the more valuable the peices. I can't but imagine that great part of this is & must needs be impertinent. But as you S^r was so friendly to require my thoughts I could not doe less than give them as fully as I could to so kind a friend & so really willing to assist my undertaking. If I can serve you in any thing I shall be proud to be commanded by you & am

Rev^d S^r with much affection yo^r assured

Friend & Serv^t

Maur. Johnson

Spalding 18 Febry 1715/6

To the Rever^d Mr Sam^l Addenbrooke
at his Fathers house in Chesterton near
Peterburgh

As well as the lengthy discussion on the relative values of Roman coins, Johnson appreciated the information that coins could provide as chronological and historical indicators. In William Moore's *The Gentlemen's Society at Spalding: Its Origin and Progress*, published in 1851, Moore gives us insight into Johnson's approach to numismatics, both as collector and as story-teller: 'And when other subjects failed, – "on a pinch," as he says, "and to enliven our chat," he brought out in chronological order his own ample collection of coins, exhibiting them "with some discourse"''.³⁴

Johnson's main concern, which mirrored that of his fellows at the Society of Antiquaries, was the formation of a collection that represented the history of Britain. Johnson's methodology emulated a larger project started by the Society. At a meeting of the Society on 1 April 1723, the group 'resumed the consideration of collecting all the Legends and accounts of Coins that relate to Britain, from the earliest ages to the present, in order to describe an exact Metallographia Britannica'.³⁵ In order to fulfil this task the Society divided itself into committees, each of which was to focus on a particular class of coin. Members of each committee were charged to 'communicate what comes in his way of any class',³⁶ and the SGS was among the institutions that provided information and, in turn, was offered it. Moore provides greater detail on how Johnson arranged his collection:

It appears that Mr Johnson entertained the cell with a numismatic history of the Kings of Britain from Julius Caesar to the end of the Western Empire: a plan for disposing coins to answer his design of illustrating the British History, reduced to 15 charts.

1. From Cassivelan to Boadicea.
2. From Boadicea to Adrian.
3. From Adrian to Severus.
4. From Severus to Carausius.
5. From Carausius to Constantius.
6. From Constantius to Maximus.
7. From Maximus to Vortigern.
8. From Vortigern to Egbert.
9. From Egbert to William the Conqueror.
10. From William the Conqueror to Henry VIII.
11. From Henry VIII to Elizabeth.
12. From Elizabeth to the Commonwealth.
13. From the Commonwealth to the Revolution.
14. From the Revolution to Queen Anne.
15. From Queen Anne to the accession of the House of Hanover.³⁷

³⁴ Moore 1851, 8.

³⁵ Gough and Nichols 1812, 157.

³⁶ Gough and Nichols 1812, 157.

³⁷ Gough and Nichols 1812, 19.

There are few discussions recorded in the archive regarding Iron Age coins, though Moore's comments indicate that Johnson nonetheless saw pre-Roman tribal rulers as important to Britain's numismatic history. Not all of Johnson's colleagues shared this view however, particularly Beaupré Bell,³⁸ who was still struggling to understand what use non-classical coins were to understanding history:

I have not Tast to admire such rude performances as most of our English coins, especially the most Ancient, are; which give Light to no History, & are only standing proofs of the Ignorance and Inartifice of our Ancestors.³⁹
Letter from Beaupré Bell to Maurice Johnson, 3 September 1733

Correspondence reveals discussions on two coins of the late Iron Age. In 1716 an exchange of letters occurred between Stukeley and Johnson regarding a supposed coin of Boudicca in Johnson's collection.⁴⁰ Secondly, in 1740 an exchange occurred between William Bogdani⁴¹ and Maurice Johnson regarding the linguistic origin of the word 'TASCIO' on a British coin.⁴² Johnson used both of these coins as illustrations to his talks in an historical discourse. Johnson's dissertation on the *Learning and Politnesness of ye Antient Brittaines* (17 August 1749) details at length the character and skills of the 'Brittaines', and approximately half way through he discusses the design and 'skille' of coins of the British kings Cassibelan and Cunobelin. At this point Johnson describes how he used coins from his collection to illustrate his points: 'The coines Capitated, whose horse and epeda on 4, of Cassibelan who commanded against and drove the Dictator back to his ships with them, of Cunobelin his son and others here produced by Me in the course of my Readings to Yee on the History'.⁴³ It would appear from Johnson's dissertation that he regarded the Roman expansion into Britain as an occupying force: a force from which the 'brave Britons' attempted to free themselves.

Johnson was not alone in his views on the Romans. To quote Dr Lucilla Burn, 'A slight ambiguity towards the Romans was common to many scholars of the period. William Cole went so far as deliberately to ignore everything to do with Roman Britain. Others, while admiring the military achievements, and the superior literary and artistic talents of the Romans, and having been drilled from an early age in Latin to the extent that many were fluent writers of that language, still disliked having to admit that Britain had benefited from occupation by a foreign power'.⁴⁴ Johnson alludes to this way of thinking in his writings. In discussing a coin of Carausius inscribed 'VIRTUS AVG' (Bravery/manliness of the Augustus) he comments:

I take to have been only VIRTUS AVG a frequent compliment to this great and very brave prince well deserving it from the Britains [*sic*] when he delivered and preserved by his coinage and conduct from the insolent Tyranny of Diocletian and avaritious [*sic*] cruelty of Maximian.⁴⁵
Extract from Johnson's unpublished manuscript *Decennium Caraussi & Allecti*

Johnson's distaste for the 'monstrous' emperors of Rome was not limited to Diocletian or Maximian. Regarding the revolt of Boudicca in AD 60/61 Johnson draws inspiration from a coin and writes:

As to my Boadicea of which you was pleased to require an Account in a Letter which came to me to London, which I wrote You I had not by me there, but It was in my Boxes placed, upon your Judgement joyn'd with that of the Keeper of the Laudean Collection of Medalls at Oxon (who compared it with two others there & very obligingly gave mine the preference,) As that Heroines chronologically in my Box of the 1st Imperial, & whenever

³⁸ Beaupré Bell (1704–41) was second cousin to Maurice Johnson through his mother Margaret Oldfield. Bell was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge and had a particular interest in Roman coins.

³⁹ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 78, no. 187.

⁴⁰ Draft of letter from Maurice Johnson to William Stukeley, 6 Oct. 1716, in Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 16, nos. 22–23.

⁴¹ William Bogdani (1699/1700–1771) was one of the Clerks to the Ordnance, and Lord of the Manor of Hitchin (Herts.). His wife Penelope (Bowell) is said to be a relation of Johnson (Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 224).

⁴² Letter from William Bogdani to Maurice Johnson, 29 Dec. 1739, in Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 125, no. 346.

⁴³ Maurice Johnson, 'A discourse on the Learning and Politnesness of ye Antient Brittaines', unpublished dissertation read to the SGS, 17 Aug. 1749, SGS archive.

⁴⁴ Burn 2011.

⁴⁵ Maurice Johnson, *Decennium Carausii et Allecti Imp. Britan Ex Fastis Inscriptionibus Statuis Signis Sigillis aliisque Sculptis Monumentis Necnon Historicis Illustratum a Mauritio Johnson*, Item IV, Tracts Volume, SGS.

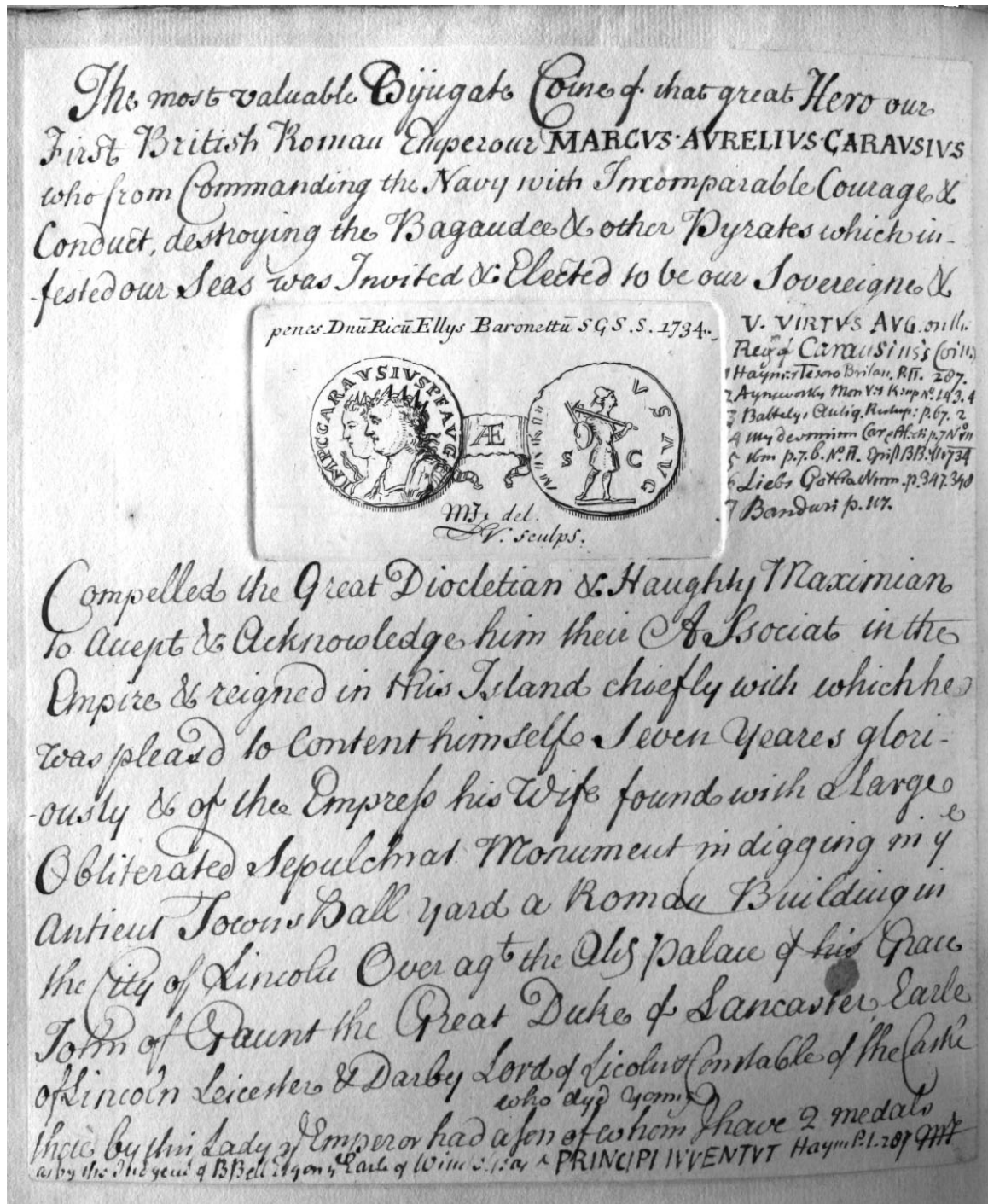


Fig. 2. Illustration of a coin of Carausius inscribed VIRTVS AVG and discussion from Johnson's *Decennium Carausi & Allecti* (photograph by the author; by kind permission of the SGS).

I view that Series of Monstrous Men It gives me great pleasure to reflect upon the true & Undaunted Bravery of that Royal British Widdow, brought into my mind by this her Amulett (for So Sir I begg You'll give me leave to call It) as the Learned Lord Almoner hath taught me from Cæsar & Bartholine.⁴⁶
Letter from Maurice Johnson to William Stukeley, 6 October 1716

⁴⁶ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 16, nos. 22–23. It is not certain what coin Johnson refers to: it is possible that the coin was a fake; forgeries were common in the eighteenth century.

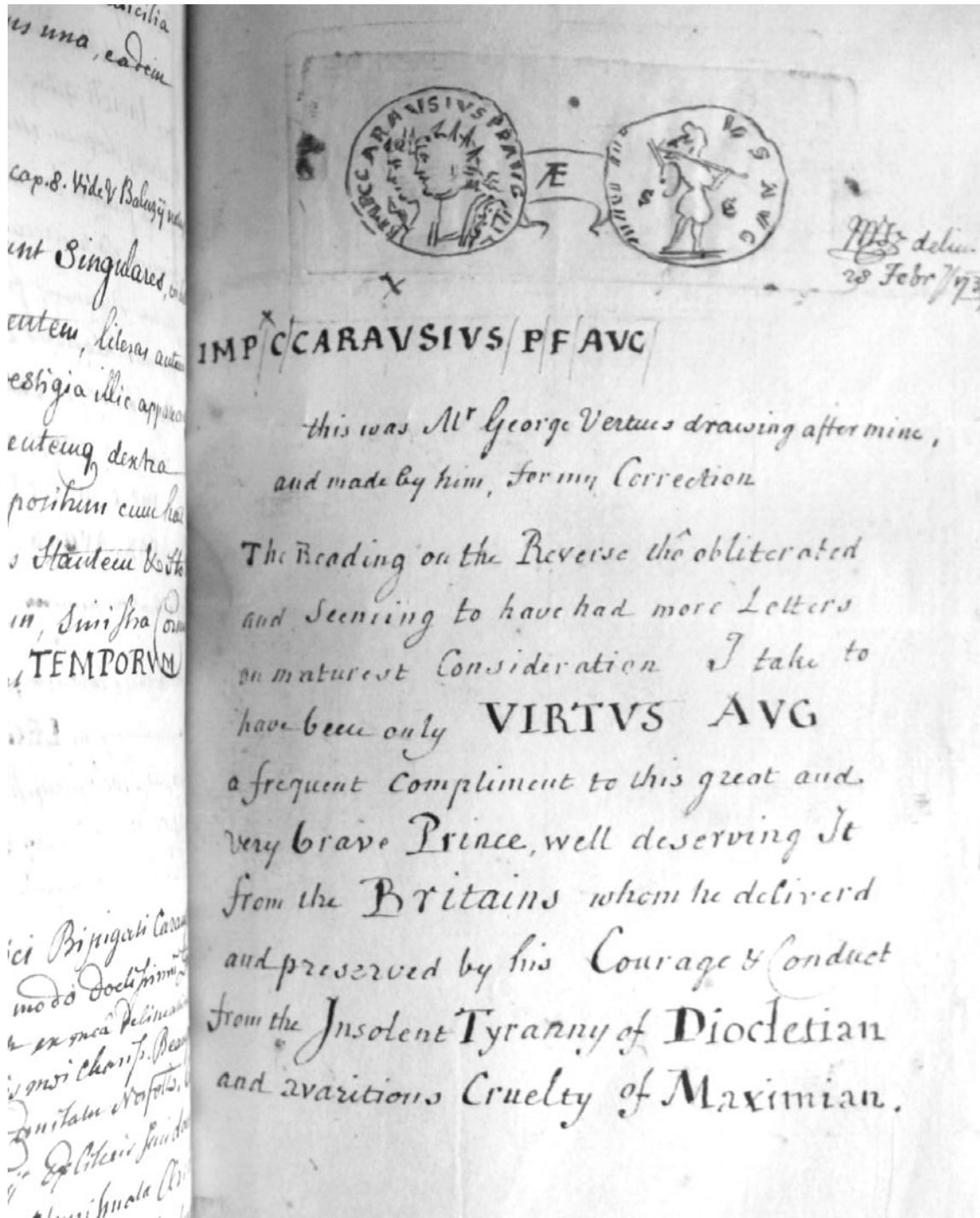


Fig. 3. Illustration of the coin of Carausius inscribed VIRTVS AVG and fuller discussion from Johnson's *Decennium Caraussi & Allecti* (photograph by the author; by kind permission of the SGS).

To Johnson coins were evidence of political struggles between his 'forefathers'⁴⁷ the 'Britons' as he calls them in a letter to Dr Stukeley (in which he includes the break-away Emperor Carausius), and their oppressors, the Romans. Johnson's distaste for the Roman Empire does however seem to be largely confined to the conquest period (mid to late first century AD), for

⁴⁷ Letter from Maurice Johnson to William Stukeley, 6 April 1714, in Stukeley 1883, 24.

he ends his dissertation on a positive note, claiming that Agricola (under Titus – ‘that delight to Mankind’) placed a Christian British Lady in the Imperial Court in Rome.⁴⁸ Johnson makes reference to Martial and identifies the lady as Claudia Caeraleis, wife of ‘Senator’ Pudens mentioned in II Timothy, IV.21, who according to tradition was of British birth. Johnson’s favouring of the Roman Empire after this time might be attributed to the widely-held conjecture that it was through Claudia’s brother’s line that missionaries were eventually sent to convert the Britons,⁴⁹ but also perhaps because the story places a British figure in the political heart of the Roman Empire. Johnson’s faith was clearly deeply held, for in a letter between Johnson and his brother we read of Johnson complaining about members at the Royal Society laughing at correspondents should they mention the name of God:

the worthy Praesident Sr. Hans Sloan made a good Solem & serious oration to the Company which was very numerous Upon some indecent Liberties taken by some of the Members of laughing at what was communicated there if It didn’t happen to hit their Tast (sic), or was less accurate than a Man would have printed It, & more particularly if the well meaning Correspondent mentioned the name of God, which they ought to hear as well as pronounce with reverence & all their Efforts in the Enquiries ought to be as their Charter proposes *Ad majorem Dei Creatoris Omnipotentis Gloriam* (To the greater glory of God the omnipotent creator).⁵⁰
Letter from Maurice Johnson to his brother John Johnson, 15 December 1730

Johnson closes his complaint by remarking that:

every Ape & Monkey has the faculty of contracting Its muscles with a Sneer, as well as these forward Young Gentry, but use It with more discretion, in that They can neither intend to make a Jest of Religion or any Branch of Learning.⁵¹
Letter from Maurice Johnson to his brother John Johnson, 15 December 1730

Given Johnson’s tendency to place coins within a religious narrative, it is possible that his views also reflect how England had to contend with the Continent, notably in the confrontation between Catholic European countries and Protestant England. A similar religious use of history is noted in Stukeley’s writings on religious practice at Stonehenge, in which he attempted to ‘verify the existence of the early British Church on grounds free from Roman Catholic ties’.⁵²

It is interesting to note that Johnson held similar views to those of John Aubrey, and indeed William Stukeley, regarding Britain before the Romans. In his dissertation *On the learning and politeness of ye Ancient Brittaines* Johnson asserts his support for Stukeley’s claims regarding the pre-Roman use of Avebury and Stonehenge by Druids. Like Aubrey, Johnson wrote on the technology, coinage and weaponry of the Britons, and spent much time on the subject of the Roman conquest of the island. Once again a political use of the past is detectable in his writings; in his dissertation Johnson compares the weaponry and tactics of the Britons warring against the Claudian invasion of AD 43 to the battles between the English and the Highland Scots, namely the battles of Sheriffmuir (Dunblane, 1715), Prestonpans (1745) and Falkirk (1746). Just as modern archaeological interpretations often reflect contemporary concerns it would appear that Johnson’s interpretations reflected the profound changes that were occurring between England and Scotland at the time. It would appear from this dissertation that Johnson identified the ancient Britons with the Jacobites or Scots and the Romans with the English, though he does not elaborate on these associations any further.

Other influences on the type of coins Johnson collected – particularly influences of a political nature – are traceable in his collection. Within the documentary archive of the SGS is Johnson’s unpublished manuscript on the coins of the Roman usurpers Carausius and Allectus, entitled *Decennium Caraussi & Allecti*.⁵³ Carausius established a separatist regime in Britain

⁴⁸ Maurice Johnson, ‘A discourse on the Learning and Politeness of the Antient Brittaines’, unpublished dissertation read to the Society 17 Aug. 1749, SGS archive.

⁴⁹ Rockwood 2009, 269.

⁵⁰ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 57–8, no. 132.

⁵¹ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 57–8, no. 132.

⁵² Haycock 2001, Chapter 5; see also Piggott 1985, 79–109.

⁵³ See n.45.

and parts of Gaul in 286 but was subsequently murdered by his finance minister Allectus in 293, who in turn was defeated and killed by an army of Constantius I commanded by the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus somewhere in Hampshire, in 295 or 296. The manuscript contains an illustrated list of coins of Carausius and Allectus and is bound with a number of letters relating to the compilation of the catalogue. Johnson's unpublished manuscript is the fruit of numerous letters and conversations also recorded in the minute books, mostly between Johnson, Stukeley and Beaupré Bell. This exchange of information, coins and casts resulted in both Stukeley and Johnson writing a volume on the coins and history of Carausius and Allectus, though only Stukeley's made it to publication. Both authors rely heavily on numismatic data derived both from their own personal collections of coins and those of others, tempered with information taken from classical sources and later histories of the emperors including Geoffrey of Monmouth's pseudo-history of Britain. The manuscript concludes with a discussion of the coins and the history of the period in which Carausius is named as a British Emperor and a prince of the blood royal of Britain.⁵⁴

It appears that Johnson collected specific coins of Carausius to support this conclusion. A short entry in the SGS minute books for 18 December 1733 describes Johnson examining the reverse of a coin to prove a British connection. On a coin inscribed LAETITIA AVG, Johnson misread the letters 'S – P' or 'S – A' for 'S – B', which he took to be an abbreviation for *Senatus Benignitate*. While Johnson's reading was in error, many of the symbols and abbreviations on the coins of both Carausius and Allectus such as FE, BE, SC and SP are still not well understood.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, none of these inscriptions pertain to the emperor's place of birth, which is now known to be Gallia Belgica.

Carausius and Allectus, who eventually murdered him, had held a particular fascination among historians since the appearance of the *Historia Brittonum* ascribed to Nennius, in which Carausius was claimed to be of British origin.⁵⁶ The connection between the usurper and Britain naturally led to Carausius becoming a popular hero like Boudicca, King Arthur and King Alfred. These heroes became 'powerful figures in defining national consciousness'.⁵⁷ Consequently, various histories have been created about Carausius at various points in time in order to advance various political narratives.⁵⁸

This political use of heritage is also found in eighteenth-century descriptions of prehistoric stone tools and coins.⁵⁹ The unification of Britain in 1707 undoubtedly influenced the perception of the past; antiquities were beginning to be seen from a perspective of national identity. For some, this led to a fascination with material and literary evidence for national heroes such as King Arthur and King Alfred.⁶⁰ As we have already seen, for Johnson this fuelled an interest in Boudicca; it developed an interest in establishing that the Roman usurper Carausius was of British origin,⁶¹ and it led to him praising Agricola for placing a Briton in the Imperial Court.

In a similar fashion Johnson compares the Roman usurper Allectus (293–95/6) to the 'usurping murderer' Oliver Cromwell. Clearly, those personalities of the past who promoted Britain were favoured by Johnson, and those who threatened it were seen with distaste. But it would be a mistake to assume that this approach was something that was overtly promoted by high society. Rather, the surge in feeling for Britain was something that 'emerged from a range of social and cultural changes during the eighteenth century',⁶² not least the unification of

⁵⁴ Cf Johnson's unpublished MS on the coins of Carausius: 'this great and very brave prince ... from the Britains [*sic*]'.
⁵⁵ The mint marks RSR and INPCDA are discussed in de la Bedoyere 1998. Both abbreviations are suggested as referring to Virgil's Fourth Eclogue: RSR as an abbreviation for *Redeunt Saturnia Regna* ('The golden age is back'), and INPCDA as an abbreviation for *Iam Nova Progenies Caelo Demittitur Alto* ('Now a new generation is let down from Heaven above').

⁵⁶ Casey 1995, 168.
⁵⁷ Casey 1995, 170.

⁵⁸ For example Stukeley's attempt to establish Carausius as a British naval hero at a time when Britain was more or less constantly at war (Casey 1995, 186).

⁵⁹ Cf. Cook 1994, 181–3.

⁶⁰ Casey 1995, 170.

⁶¹ Colley 1992 Hingley 2008.

⁶² Colley 1986, 99, quoted in Harvey 2003, 479.

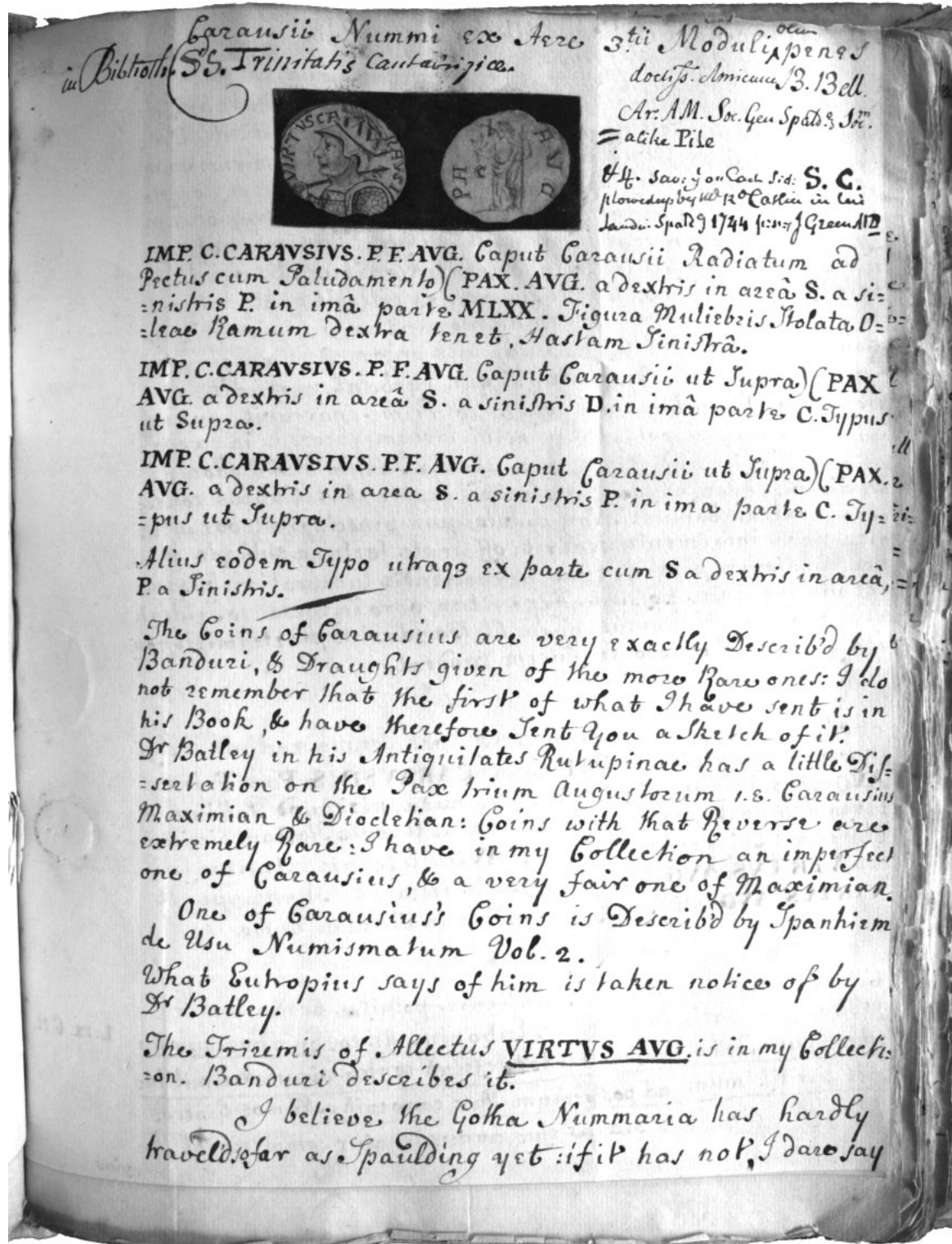


Fig. 4. Extract from Johnson's *Decennium Caraussi & Allecti* (photograph by the author; by kind permission of the SGS).

England and Scotland. The birth of the provincial Society at this time meant that such societies quickly became fertile centres for research. In their efforts to produce information that resulted in a greater understanding of the history of the nation, numismatic projects, such as Johnson's, inevitably contributed to the new sense of national pride. Numismatics naturally, and perhaps for the most part unintentionally, became embroiled in helping to create and maintain national identities.

Johnson's interest in the history of Britain did not overly influence his academic rigour however, as the 'Oriuna' saga clearly shows. In 1752 Stukeley published his *Palaeographica Britannica*, in which he discusses a coin of Carausius bearing an incomplete reverse inscription reading ORIVNA.⁶³ Stukeley took this inscription to be evidence for the name of the wife of Carausius, the empress 'Oriuna' despite numerous objections from other numismatists including Johnson, who correctly read the inscription as FORTVNA. To Stukeley, Oriuna was another national hero; to Johnson she was the product of poor academic rigour tempered with a vivid imagination. A number of letters within the SGS archive document these arguments,⁶⁴ and a fine illustration of the coin appears in Johnson's notebook.

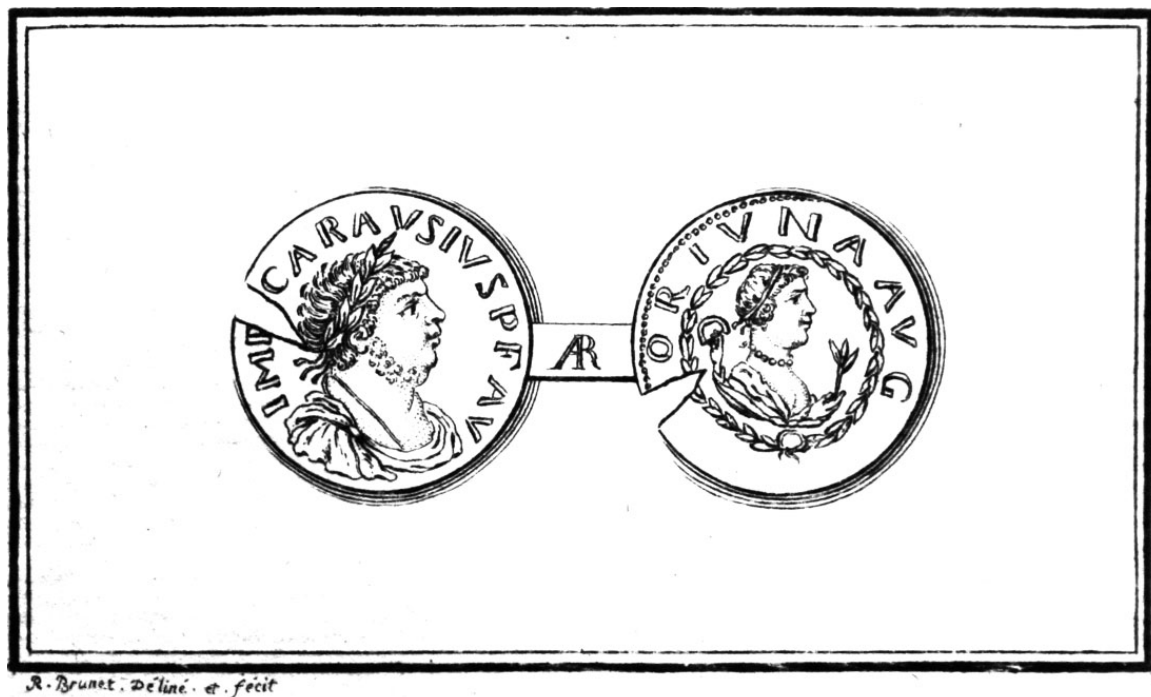


Fig. 5. Illustration of the 'ORIVNA' coin from Johnson's *Decennium Carausii & Allecti* (photograph by the author; by kind permission of the SGS).

However, Johnson's interest in numismatics extended beyond Carausius. The documentary evidence for how Maurice Johnson collected and interpreted his numismatic collection shows a strong preference for research into local and national history in accordance with the overall aims of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Johnson led the way in researching local history in the south Lincolnshire region; in a letter to William Stukeley, Johnson urges that 'historical studies must always be considered in their geographic context'.⁶⁵ In another letter we even find him reprimanding Stukeley for his unhealthy interest in Greek history:

Tho every thing You apply to my Friend comes with satisfaction out of Your hands & I shall (I promise my Self) receive much from Your reserches in Greece, Yet I must own I could have wishd You had not for the more

⁶³ Stukeley 1752. For further information see Casey 1995, 180–1; Piggott 1985, 140.

⁶⁴ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, letter nos. 235, 515, 531, 558.

⁶⁵ Piggott 1985, 36.

beautyfull & stupendous, have deserted the Enquirys You was Upon relating to our brave, or great Ancestors the brave rough, the bold, the Honest Britons.⁶⁶

Letter from Maurice Johnson to William Stukeley, 3 April 1721

While Johnson and the SGS undoubtedly discussed other coins, particularly ancient and contemporary foreign coins, there is little evidence to show that they were actively sought or researched. Rather, attention was focussed on how English coins could help with the fact-finding mission of constructing British history and research into local history such as the mint at Lincoln. The SGS literary archive contains frequent references to local discoveries and though the entries are often rather short, they nonetheless show an interest in the recording of new discoveries of antiquities and an appreciation for context. The minute books and correspondence record discussion on a variety of finds from Roman coins from Water Newton in Cambridgeshire to Roman coin hoards from Lincolnshire, and even single coin finds. In the SGS minute book for 1733 there is an interesting entry concerning the discovery of a 'middle brass' coin found in the spring-head at Dunston, Lincolnshire. The entry goes into some detail regarding the circumstances and provenance of the discovery:

Mr Johnson showed them a curious medal of the middle brass size of that fine metal commonly called the Corinthian but not perfectly preserved having layen long in the head of Dunston spring about the middle of Lincoln heath where it was taken up by some workmen employed by Edward Walpole Esq, Lord of that Manor, when they cleaned and opened the fountain head and made a cold bath there, who gave it him on the one side is the head of Antonia the wife of Nero Cl. Drusus Germanicus the mother of Germanicus Caes. & Ti. Claudius afterwards Emperor, who then in honour of her caused it to be made of that metal as Aen. Vico in his *augustarum Imagines* p. 59 says: *ANTONIAE AVGVSTAE 4 an (sic) human figure standing TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG on each side a letter S C*.⁶⁷

The SGS therefore became an important centre for the recording and discussion of local finds of antiquities, and it was not long before similar societies became established in neighbouring areas such as Stamford and Peterborough. The minute books of these societies and the letters sent between members provide useful information on many finds such as the hoard of Roman coins found in March, Isle of Ely (Cambridgeshire). This hoard was recorded by the Society of Antiquaries in London and the Peterborough Gentlemen's Society,⁶⁸ and a letter dated 26 November 1730 from the Revd Richard Neve⁶⁹ to Maurice Johnson survives in the SGS archive which gives further details.⁷⁰

Rev Richard Neve (P'boro) to Maurice Johnson 26 11 1730

I suppose you have heard of a great Treasure of ancient silver Medals lately found at March in ye Isle of Ely, by a poor man who was levelling a little parcell of rising ground for mending part of ye way betwixt that town & Wisbeach. He has found not far distant from each other, 3 or 4 urns, ye first was broken in ye taking up, ye others are intire. One of them was full of small silver medals, most of 'em very fair. I've seen 13 or 14 of them which were purchased by a Gentlemen of this town [P'boro] who chanc'd to be at March soon after they were found, which were sold at first for 2d or 3d a piece, now they are all got into 2d or 3d hands & none to be had but an extravagant price. The poor man that found them is almost out of this mind for selling them before he knew their value. But he is resolv'd not to be bitt in his earthen ware, for he will come up to London with his 3 or 4 urns, & does not doubt but to make it worth his while, & to have a good market there. There are two little hills or mounds remain still to be levelled & they expect to find more Treasure there still.

I would give you a catalogue of those I saw, but I am too indifferent a medallist as to be able to give you a very lame account. However, such as I can, you are welcome to your good nature will excuse mistakes.

The first then in order of time is a Domitian by a mistake I suppose in ye Die ye letters are inverted & no more are to be seen yⁱ(?) AVG DOM ye reverse is a wolf suckling 2 children, and a little boat or basket under it, no letter to be seen on yⁱ side.

⁶⁶ SGS archive.

⁶⁷ SGS Minute Books, 19 July 1733, in Owen 1981, 23. The letters written in bold were presumably those legible to Johnson. The coin is probably a *dupondius* of Antonia, struck under Claudius (AD 41–54), mint of Rome, *RIC* I, 127, 129, nos. 92, 104.

⁶⁸ Extracts of these letters are given in Robertson 2000, 67, no. 321.

⁶⁹ Richard Neve (1694–1757) was educated at St John's College, Cambridge and became a fellow of the SGS in 1718. Neve founded the Peterborough Gentlemen's Society in 1730 while serving as a minor canon of Peterborough Cathedral (Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 234).

⁷⁰ Honeybone and Honeybone 2010, 57, no. 130.

- 2 The 2^d thus IMP CAES NERVA....GERM....
Reverse a Genius or Victory with wings down to her heels. PM TRP COS III P P
- 3NER TRAIANO PTIM AVG GER...
The Rev. The Emp. With a spear in his right hand & sceptre in his left. PN TR P COS VI P P S...
- 4 IMP CAES TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TRI
SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI a soldier sitting down in a melancholy posture
- 5 IMO CAESAR TRAIAN....
P M TR P COS III A figure with a spear in his left hand and a patera in ye right
sacrificing at his feet CLEM
- 6TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI P P
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. The Palladium upon a Pedestal
Another Trajan...
- 7 Rev. A Noted figure sitting in a chair with a cornucopiae in her left hand in her right a Lotus under
FORTITUDO
- 8 another Trajan
The Rev. The Emp.[†] sitting in a chair sacrificing with a patera in his right hand. PONT MAX TR POT COS...
- 9 ...an Adrian
Rev. – FIDES PVBLICA
2 of Mar. Antoninus and one of Faustina with this Inscription
FAUSTINA AVG III AVG, ye Reverse I forgot nor have I time to be particular. There is one other that I could
not make out whether it were a Vespasian (sic) or an Adrian. You will be so good as to excuse this very imperfect
account and accept it only as a Testimony of a grateful mind for many favours received.

Perhaps the most significant piece of work on local numismatics penned by Johnson is his dissertation on the Lincoln mint, in which he discusses at length the types of coins minted there.⁷¹ This, in fact, was the first piece of work of its kind on the mint of Lincoln, for which, documentary evidence indicates, he was actively collecting:

I take leave to exhibit a few [Johnson writes regarding the coins from the Lincoln mint] but those very fair, instances of the coins themselves in my own collection, which are sufficient and more satisfactory than sending you to Occo,⁷² Mezzabarba,⁷³ Banduri,⁷⁴ or the cabinets of others...⁷⁵
Extract from Johnson's dissertation on the Lincoln mint, 1740

Although parts of the dissertation contain erroneous information, particularly on the attribution of the coins of Carausius and Allectus to Lincoln, Johnson nonetheless provides a reasoned and well researched article. His research included actively collecting specimens and making extensive enquiries into those coins held by fellow numismatists. Johnson's dissertation reveals that his collection included coins from Claudius to Edward I, many of which are illustrated in the short catalogue contained in his work.

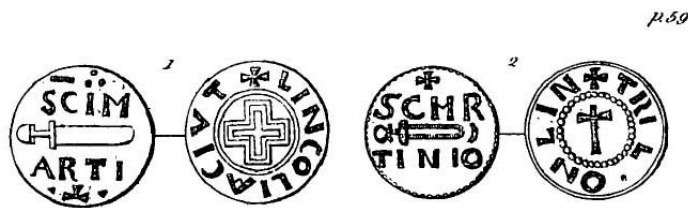


Fig. 6. Illustrations of coins of the Lincoln mint held in the Pembroke Collection in 1740 from Johnson's *Dissertation on the mint at Lincoln*, 28 August 1740 (photograph by the author; by kind permission of the SGS).

⁷¹ Maurice Johnson, 'A dissertation on the Mint at Lincoln, proved from undoubted monuments and money in several ages there coined, with references to the places where they are still remaining, to records and other credible authorities. Communicated to, and read at, the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding, on their anniversary meeting, 28 August 1740, and September 11', in Nichols 1790, 58.

⁷² Adolphus Occo (1524–1606) was born in Augsburg and received a medical education before turning to antiquities. He became an eminent writer on numismatics who authored an ambitious check-list of Roman Imperial Coinage, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (1579) (Gorton 1838 *sub* Adolphus Occo (unpaginated)).

⁷³ Count Francesco Mezzabarba (1645–97) published an updated version of *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata* (see n.72) in 1730 but the additions were of doubtful authority and it was not greatly relied upon (Crabb 1833 *sub* Adolphus Occo (unpaginated)).

⁷⁴ Anselmus Banduri (1671/75–1743) was born in Ragusa, Dalmatia, entered the Benedictine order and later spent some years in Paris at the abbey of St. Germaine, where he published on the antiquities of Constantinople. In 1718 Banduri published two folio volumes on the imperial coinage from Trajan to c.1453 (Puskarić 2006).

⁷⁵ See n.71.

In his dissertation on the Lincoln mint, Johnson attempts to explain how reverse legends seen on the coins of Carausius and Allectus – L, LN, LC and ML – were to be understood as abbreviations for *LINDVM COLONIA*. Johnson's dissertation makes admirable attempts to prove this connection, though unfortunately his interpretations were in error. There was in fact no mint at Lincoln during the Roman period. Nevertheless, the documentary archive shows a method of collecting coins that was rooted in local context. Such a methodology mirrored Johnson's interest in local antiquities and the important role that the SGS played in recording them.

IMP. C. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG., REV. PAX AVGGG. Between
s and p in exergue MLXXI. which they read *Mpneta Lindicollin.*,
cusa in officina ad num. cud. XXI. about A. D. 289.

IMP. C. ALLECTVS P. F. AVG., REV. PAX. S. P. M. L. about
A. D. 296.

So in many of them with different reveries. M. L. with the
same N° XXI. and sometimes s. c. sometimes s. p. *Senatu probante.*
vel permittente cufum Lindi Colini.

IMP. MAXIMANVS P. F. AVG.

GENIO PO. ROM. in exergue P. L. N. about A. D. 300.

IMP. CONSTANTINVS P. F. AVG.

Fig. 7. Extracts from Johnson's *Dissertation on the mint at Lincoln*, showing transcripts of coins of Carausius and Allectus wrongly attributed to a mint at Lincoln (photograph by the author; by kind permission of the SGS).

There is certainly much more to be gleaned from the literary archives of the SGS. Perhaps what the archive does best of all is to provide a snapshot of the complexity of the British numismatic network in the first half of the eighteenth century, during which the SGS became important institution for the recording of new discoveries in the East Midlands, such as the March hoard, and the fostering of regional and national networks of specialists. What the archive perhaps most clearly highlights however, is just how much the success of these early antiquarian societies depended on the zeal and encouragement of individuals such as Maurice Johnson.

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ROBERT BIDDULPH AND HIS BULL

D.W. DYKES



Fig. 1. Detail from Plate 22 of Charles Pye's *Provincial Coins and Tokens issued from the Year 1787 to the Year 1801*.

ONE of the more artistically dramatic of British eighteenth-century tokens is that issued, initially as a medalet, to commemorate the victory of the radical Whig parliamentary candidate, Robert Biddulph (1761–1814) (Fig. 3), in the Herefordshire election of June, 1796. Charles Pye tells us that two substantive versions were produced by the London medallist, John Milton (1759–1805), the dies of the first (Plate 22, no. 9 (Dalton and Hamer [DH]: Herefordshire 1); Fig. 1), that he reckoned were very rare ('r, r, r' on his scale of scarcity), breaking after 'a few specimens' were struck. Of the second (Plate 22, no. 10 (DH: Herefordshire 4); Fig. 1) he claimed that 2,076 specimens were minted, 'intended for halfpence, but found too expensive'.¹ Although normally struck in copper – occasionally bronzed – proof specimens of the two versions were also produced in silver, presumably for presentation to favoured supporters.

The striking of the token was more complex than Plate 22 would suggest, however, because, as Pye indicated in his 'Observations', there were 'several' pieces that combined the obverse of his no. 9 with the reverse of no. 10 (DH: Herefordshire 2). In the 'Advertisement' or preface to his 1801 catalogue Pye acknowledged the help given to him 'respecting tokens made in London' by, among others, 'Mr. Milton' who, he added, 'kindly gave a most minute account of all in which he was employed'.² There is, therefore, little reason to doubt the accuracy of Pye's comments on this particular issue. Even so, to complicate the matter still further, there are also specimens that combine the obverse of no. 10 with the reverse of no. 9 (DH: Herefordshire 3). This latter combination was not referred to by Pye – nor had it been listed by James Conder in 1798. Interestingly, Miss Banks – who died in September 1818 – did not appear to have a specimen but one did eventually surface in Sir George Chetwynd's collection; we do not know when it had been added to his cabinet but it was in time to be included in Thomas Sharp's

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to the National Museum of Wales for the illustration of Robert Biddulph's portrait (Fig. 3) and to Messrs Dix Noonan Webb and Peter Preston-Morley for the illustrations (a)–(d), pp. 165–6 (Ref: Auction Catalogue T10, 5 October 2011). My thanks are also due to the latter for his comments on an earlier version of this paper.

¹ Pye 1801, [11]. The diameter of the tokens is 32 mm and the average weight of the 'currency' issue (DH: Herefordshire 4) a fraction short of 18 g. This compares with a diameter of no more than 30 mm and weight of 10 g for the average halfpenny token of the time. The tokens were treated as penny size by Denton and Prattent 1795–97, Index, 5; Conder 1798, 45; and Sharp 1834, 12.

² Pye 1801, [3]. Among the 'others' were Miss Banks and Matthew Young.

catalogue of 1834.³ Its absence from the earlier publications, especially that of Pye who had obviously not been alerted to its existence by Milton, causes one to wonder whether this particular variety was a later, nineteenth-century, restrike produced after Milton's death in 1805 for Matthew Young, who seems to have handled much of Milton's token business and continued to possess at least some of his dies.⁴ If this is so it calls into question Pye's implication that *both* dies of no. 9 broke early. Examination of extant pieces certainly suggests that there was little or no deterioration of the *reverse* die of no. 9.

My belief, therefore, is that the sequence of varieties set out by Dalton and Hamer [*DH*]⁵ is incorrect and should be re-ordered as follows:

(a) *DH*: 1 (Pye 9):



Obv. An infuriated bull trampling on his chains with the date – June 3rd 1796 – above and the die-sinker's signature in the exergue.⁶

Rev. An apple tree and a short-handled plough resting on exergue line within an oak wreath. Specimens usually exhibit a developing obverse die crack as shown in the second obverse example above. Very Rare.

(b) *DH*: 2 (Pye – : but Pye noted that there were 'several' pieces that combined the obverse of his no. 9 with the reverse of no. 10):



Obv. As (a).

Rev. Similar to (a) but plough is long-handled and there is no exergue line.

This version is presumably a trial by Milton of a preferred reverse prior to deterioration of the obverse die of *DH*: 1. Rare.

³ Conder 1798, 45; Sharp 1834, 12, no. 4. Nor was the piece included in Thomas King, junior's sale of Thomas Welch's collection in September 1801: reprinted in the introductory matter of Pye 1916.

⁴ It is known that Matthew Young had some of Milton's 'Fullarton' tokens struck for the collectors' market, probably in the 1820s, and it is not in the least unlikely that he similarly had other pieces struck from dies that were in his possession: Dykes 2002, 156. It is perhaps significant that many pieces in various series originally executed by Milton exist from dies that exhibit rust raising the question as to whether Young acquired most, if not all, of Milton's stock of dies and had pieces struck from them. The dies do not, however, appear in the extensive series of Young sales but by then they may have been in the possession of manufacturers such as William Joseph Taylor: pers. comm. by Peter Preston-Morley.

⁵ Dalton and Hamer, 1910–18, 53.

⁶ The date – 3 June 1796 – was the date of the start of the county poll, the declaration not being until 6 June.

(c) *DH*: 4 (Pye 10):



Obv. A more powerful bull than that in (a) and (b), and, as Sharp puts it, with 'the gender of the animal expressed'. The legend *HEREFORDSHIRE* is above and the date in the exergue below.

Rev. As (b) with long-handled plough.

This is the piece issued for currency, Pye saying that 2,076 specimens were struck. Today it is the commonest variety extant.

Scarce.

(d) *DH*: 3 (Pye –):



Obv. As (c).

Rev. As (a) with short-handled plough

Not listed by Pye (1801) or Conder (1798) and not apparently included in Miss Banks's collection. First (?) referred to by Sharp (1834) in his catalogue of the Chetwynd collection.

An anomalous piece, some specimens exhibiting a light die flaw in the obverse exergue probably due to rusting indicating that the issue succeeded (c) *DH*: 4.

It is conceivably a Matthew Young concoction produced as late as the 1820s.

Rare.

While Milton was an engraver of great professional skill his artistry, fluent as it was, was derivative rather than original and he was not regarded by the cognoscenti as a *designer* of the first water. Commending him as a 'die-sinker and seal cutter', Sir Joseph Banks, who always took an almost paternal interest in Milton, nevertheless questioned his creative talent and observed that he lacked the elegance or the classical authority of a Flaxman.⁷ He was, though, accepted as 'a gentleman well versed in the study of antiquities' and, remarkably for one of his calling, was elected to the Society of Antiquaries in 1792.⁸ He was certainly familiar with antique art and symbolism but, like many medallists, he was often dependent on others for his ideas. Both Flaxman and James Tassie were not without influence⁹ and, like John Gregory Hancock before him, Milton derived at least some of his inspiration from Joseph Spence's

⁷ Sir Joseph Banks to the Irish politician and agriculturist, John Foster [later 1st Baron Oriel], [28 June 1802]: *Natural History Museum*: DTC XIII, 183–4; Dawson 1958, 341.

⁸ 24 May 1792. The phrase 'A gentleman well versed in the study of antiquities', it should be noted, was the standard recommendatory formula for election to the Antiquaries at this time. Milton's sponsors, in addition to Sir Joseph Banks, were the President, the Earl of Leicester (master of the Mint, 1790–94), the collectors Samuel Tyssen (in commemoration of whom Milton struck a medal probably in 1802: *BHM* 491; Stainton 1983, 144), George Keate, FRS, and James Bindley, FRS, and the Rev. John Grose and Richard Haworth: from the Society's minutes kindly extracted for me by Adrian James, the Assistant Librarian.

⁹ At least two of Milton's medals were designed by Flaxman while Tassie was the source for Milton's 'Adam Smith' pattern tokens for William Fullarton: Stainton 1983, 137 and Dykes 2002, 151–2.

Polymetis, a lavishly illustrated folio that related the works of ancient artists to the writings of Roman poets.¹⁰ The engraving of the bull, for instance, was modelled on an image of ‘Taurus’ from Spence’s gloss on the signs of the zodiac, although the original animal had no chains (Fig. 2). ‘On some gems’, Spence explained, ‘you have his whole figure in the act of butting with his head, and tearing up the ground with his feet; just like the bull described by Virgil, or like any common bull you please’.¹¹



Fig. 2. ‘Taurus’ from Plate XXV of Joseph Spence’s *Polymetis*, 1747.

Pye’s explanation of the circumstances of the issue of the medalet – ‘struck upon Mr. Biddulph gaining a contested election for the county of Hereford’ – had already been amplified by the poet and political reformer, George Dyer (1755–1841), writing in the radical *Monthly Magazine and British Register* a year or so after the event. Dyer, spurred on by James Wright’s earlier ‘Observations on Coins’,¹² had expressed the view that whenever

Medals are struck, illustrative of any recent occurrence, of public notoriety, or of acknowledged utility, ... a short history of the event, and a plate descriptive of the coin, should be inserted in your Magazine. How far the occurrence may be of sufficient importance to insure celebrity, or how far the coin may display workmanship, so as to invite attention, must always be left to your decision.

But Dyer had an axe to grind and his true intent in writing was brought out in his next paragraph:

My mind was led into this train, by the return of the 3d of June. This day was distinguished in Herefordshire, by the independent manner in which Mr. ROBERT BIDDULPH was chosen representative for that county, in 1796. The 3d day of June, therefore, is celebrated by the yeomanry of Herefordshire, and an appropriate medal is struck. I have sent you one of them; and, as I think some useful hints may be suggested on this subject, I shall be happy to pursue them in a future paper...¹³

No engraving of the medalet was published in the magazine but in accordance with his promise Dyer returned to the subject more fulsomely in a further letter – introduced by a lengthy

¹⁰ Joseph Spence (1699–1768) first published his *Polymetis* in 1747, new editions appearing in 1755 and 1774. Although it quickly lost any serious reputation it remained a useful guide to mythological images and abridged versions for the use of schools were current until the 1820s. For Spence see *ODNB*.

¹¹ Spence 1747, 173. Spence’s reference to Virgil is to the latter’s *Eclogues*, III, 87: ‘... pascite taurum, / iam cornu petatet pedibus qui spargat harenam’: ‘... feed fat a bull that butts already and spurns the sand with his hooves’: Fairclough and Goold 1999, 44–5.

¹² For Wright and his numismatic writings see Dykes 1996, 195–9 and esp. 195 and 198, n. 4.

¹³ *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, III, June 1797, 441. For Dyer see *ODNB*.

and turgid disquisition on medallic art – that, after some untoward delay, was eventually published in the magazine in July 1798.¹⁴

June 3, 1796 [Dyer wrote] was a memorable day to the freeholders of Herefordshire; several consider it as the æra of their independence. The character of that county, beyond many other counties in England, naturally inclines to independence, in consequence of the number of small freeholds, into which it is divided, and the productive quality of the land.

Notwithstanding this, through the interest of great families, the county had long been represented in parliament by persons who had not espoused the interests of the people, and one (Sir G. Cornwall [*recte* Cornewall]) had recently exposed himself to suspicions detrimental to his popularity. These circumstances, together with the critical situation of public affairs, and the impatience of the people on account of the high price of corn, which they supposed to proceed from the war, agitated the minds of the yeomanry, and they determined to do themselves justice.

Accordingly, a few days before the last general election, the people of the county rose, as it were, by one general impulse. Till the Wednesday previous to the election they had done nothing actively. The day of election, however, being fixed for Friday the 3d of June, a meeting of highly respectable and patriotic freeholders assembled, who finally determined to nominate candidates, to afford the people an opportunity of expressing their sentiments to the old members. The persons in contemplation were, Colonel JOHN SCUDAMORE, Capt. SYMMONDS [*recte* Symonds], and ROBERT BIDDULPH, Esq. all equally entitled to the character of friends of liberty, and only preferable one to the other as accidental circumstances might render them more or less objects of public confidence.¹⁵

Considerations of long and acknowledged services rendered every preference in favour of the name of SCUDAMORE natural, and the recent injustice heaped on Mr. BIDDULPH, at his late contest for Leominster, excited a general indignation in the breasts of the people. It was, therefore, determined to put these two gentlemen in nomination...

The yeomanry of Herefordshire considering the 3d of June 1796 the æra of their triumph over the powerful influence of great families and of their asserting and obtaining their independence had an appropriate medal struck which I send you.

The figure of a bull has long been received as symbolical of the dullness or tameness of the English character. On the FACE of the medal, therefore, appears a bull breaking its chains, and trampling them under its feet. The inscription on the edge, or, as it is called the LEGEND is simply Herefordshire. The exergue, June 3, 1796.

The reverse is descriptive of the agricultural character of Herefordshire, which is well known to abound with the apple tree, the pride of that county and with the oak tree. A circle of oak leaves, an apple tree, and plough, are, therefore, devices properly illustrative of this character. The simplicity and appropriateness of this medal render it unnecessary for me to offer any more observations...

George Dyer's gloss on the Herefordshire election is of more than passing interest but is it rather a reflection of his belief in the independent freeholder as the basis of liberty than the circumstances as they really were? For all his stress on the independence of the county's 'yeomanry' the 'interest of great families' was still powerfully to the fore in 1796 and the outcome of the election was due to more complex political manoeuvrings than Dyer would have been prepared to admit. For twenty years Herefordshire's parliamentary representation had been divided between the interests of two of the county's established political families, the Harleys, Earls of Oxford, and the Cornewalls of Moccas Court. At the general election of 1790 there had been no hint of hostility to either of the sitting members, the Hon. Thomas Harley, friendly to the Pitt administration, and Sir George Cornewall, a consistent supporter of the opposition. But, in 1794, Cornewall had gone over to government with the Portland Whigs, a splintering of the parliamentary opposition which had reduced Charles James Fox's supporters from about 180 MPs to a rump of a mere fifty or so. This is what Dyer meant by Cornewall's exposing 'himself to suspicions detrimental to his popularity' and it was this that brought him down at the general election of 1796. Not a result of any grass-roots reaction against the 'powerful influence of great families', as Dyer suggested, for then the Tory Harley would have been an equally if not more appropriate victim but rather of a vigorous and vindictive cam-

¹⁴ *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, V, Supplementary Number, 15 July 1798. Dyer's letter had originally been sent to the magazine 'nearly a twelvemonth' earlier but, according to the editor, it had been mislaid; one wonders how inadvertent this temporary loss was.

¹⁵ Dyer was somewhat confused here. Colonel John Scudamore of Kentchurch was a sitting member for the *borough* of Hereford and had been securely so since 1764. Both he and his fellow Foxite, James Walwyn, supported by the Duke of Norfolk, were returned unopposed for the borough in 1796. Captain Thomas Powell Symonds of Pengethley, another Norfolk attachment, was eventually returned unopposed for the borough on the death of Walwyn in 1800. See Namier and Brooke 1964, III, 419; Thorne 1986, II, 197–8 and V, 116, 328–9, 477.

paign mounted personally against Cornewall's defection by the Foxite Duke of Norfolk, high steward of Hereford and himself a magnate of some political clout in the county.¹⁶ Norfolk had already in the election tried to impose a 'violent opposition man' on the 'open' constituency of Leominster but his candidate, Robert Biddulph, had lost by one vote.¹⁷ Norfolk, now turning his rancour against the apostate Cornewall, brought in his protégé Biddulph as a last-minute candidate for the county.¹⁸

It was a vendetta, according to Cornewall, 'most unexpected' in its success 'even by those who made the attack' but, playing upon the admitted concerns over the high price of corn and the growing unpopularity of the war 'amongst the yeomanry',¹⁹ the revanchist Biddulph, 'the Friend of Peace and Liberty',²⁰ was able to unseat Cornewall though at a cost of £3,000. Even before the declaration, however, Cornewall had in effect given up. With over 800 votes still unpolled and the constituency's non-resident out-voters not yet mobilised he could not face spending more than the £2,000 he had already laid out on the election; financially, he dreaded a 'constant canvass'. He would console himself with the thought that he had gone down as one of the 'Duke of Portland's martyrs'²¹ but had he persevered he might well have retained his seat. He had never lacked for supporters and the dismay felt by many constituents at the Norfolk coup was brought out in a contemporary skit on Biddulph's celebratory medalet – later printed by William Henry Parker, of Broad Capuchin Lane, Hereford – but unpublished at the time.

To
JOHN BULL, of Herefordshire,
On seeing a Medal in Honour of his Exploits on the
Third of JUNE, 1796:

At which time the following lines were written, but now first published:

N.B.—Since the first circulation of this Copper Trophy a new Impression has been struck with some *additions*.

ALAS! poor JOHN BULL, to what ills art thou fated!
For ever bamboozled, and worried, and baited!
Whilst soft-hearted friends thy sad hardships bewail,
They hoodwink thy eyes, and clap thorns to thy tail.
Thus goaded to fury, what pranks dost thou play,
Kick, trample, and toss whate'er comes in thy way!
And still by the close-sticking torment pursued,
You spurn e'en the hand which supplied you with food.
For freaks such as these how your drivers extol ye,
Whilst they laugh in their sleeves at your wonderful folly!
To complete thy disgrace they have lately thought proper
To blazon thy shame on a penn'orth of copper.
What a pitiful figure before and behind,
Have they here held thee up to the scorn of mankind.
Thy honest blunt phiz—how it stares on the brass—

¹⁶ Through his marriage into the Scudamore family of Holme Lacy and control of its estate said to be worth £30,000 a year.

¹⁷ *Pace* Dyer Biddulph had not suffered an injustice at Leominster. Twenty-one of his votes had been rejected on the grounds that 'some of our voters had received parish relief and some had, despite our injunctions, boasted of receiving money for their votes': Norfolk, quoted in Thorne 1986, II, 200.

¹⁸ The general election lasted from 25 May until 29 June 1796 but the precise dates of polling in any particular constituency were set by its returning officer. There was thus no necessary consistency of date between constituencies and, as in Herefordshire, a candidate who was unsuccessful in one constituency could move on to another where an election was taking place. Polling could continue for many days, so long as there were voters wanting to participate and candidates wishing to continue although from 1785 the maximum duration of polling in county elections was limited to 15 days. For Biddulph's parliamentary career see Thorne 1986, III, 205–6.

¹⁹ Owing to the bad harvest of 1795 wheat – increasingly the main constituent of bread in the Midlands and the south of England – was in short supply and its price had escalated. Many blamed the dearth on the French war with its vastly increased requirement of grain for the military and an assumed – if not wholly real – disruption of corn imports. In Herefordshire Biddulph's supporters took care to ensure that the popular cry of 'no barley bread' was directed particularly against Cornewall.

²⁰ The Foxite platform was for a negotiated peace with France and the repeal of Pitt's domestic seditious legislation. 'True Foxites loathed the Crown, and they opposed the war because they saw it as a pretext to undermine still further the liberties of the English people': Hilton 2006, 64.

²¹ The county return recorded 1,565 votes for Harley, 1,292 for Biddulph and 1,015 for Cornewall: Thorne 1986, II, 196; III, 205, 502.

One would swear from a Bull thou'rt transformed to an Ass!
 Thy skeleton ribs with compassion we view,
 And—masculine honours at least were thy due!
 Then, prithee, good John, howsoe'er thou may'st scoff it,
 Take a hint from the medal, and turn it to profit.
 Leave butting and roaring—return to the plough,
 Nor quit for harsh oak thy lov'd appletree bough.
 With old cider and old English freedom contented,
 May thy madness, at length, be sincerely repented,
 And ne'er may'st thou more be so ill *represented*.

Six years later at the general election of 1802 the 'breach of faith' with Cornwall was repaired. In a complete volte-face he was returned top of the poll with John Geers Cotterell of Garnons, a candidate also inclined to the administration, as the second member.²² Biddulph, who in parliament had energetically lived up to his reputation as an advanced Whig, was ousted by a crushing margin of 873 votes. Parker's original verses were now quickly published with an addendum:

Well done, honest John, these are ample amends—
 Thy reason's restored, and thou know'st thy true friends.
 Henceforth may'st thou rest from political quarrels,
 Crown'd with heart-cheering Apple and evergreen Laurels.
 The well-woven garland thy temples shall shade,
 Which shall ne'er be untwisted, and never shall fade.²³

More soberly, in the opinion of the *Times*,

The contest now carrying on in Herefordshire is the best contradiction that can be given to the belief that has been generally entertained of the political sentiments of that County. Mr. BIDDULPH, who has constantly voted with Opposition on every question during the war, and considered the Corresponding Societies as very harmless institutions, is suddenly left in a most disgraceful minority, even after his re-election was considered secure. A proof how little his politics have been esteemed in that County.²⁴

In the fashion of the time Biddulph's husting had been supported by rousing verses put out by Edwin Goode Wright, editor of the *Hereford Journal*, to be sung to William Boyce's strains for the patriotic *Heart of Oak*:

BIDDULPH

The Man of a Free and Independent People

TUNE—"Hearts of Oak."

I.

HARK! Hark! ye bold Britons, to Liberty's Voice,
 She invites you to BIDDULPH,—the Man of your Choice:
 He, firm as the *Oak*, in Freedom's great Cause,
 A Pillar will prove to your Rights and your Laws.

CHORUS.

Heart of Oak in our hats, staunch in Liberty's Cause,
We are always ready,
Steady, Boys, steady,
To BIDDULPH and FREEDOM, RELIGION and LAWS.

II.

Come on, then, with vigor, in spite of all *Arts*,
 And Poll for brave BIDDULPH,—the *Man of your Hearts*;

²² The county return recorded 2,592 votes for Cornwall, 2,049 for Cotterell and 1,176 for Biddulph. Cotterell's election, as a result of a vindictive petition by Biddulph's supporters, was declared void but it was of no avail to Biddulph for at the ensuing by-election, John Matthews, a Cotterell supporter, was returned unopposed as a *locum tenens*. Matthews made way for Cotterell, unopposed, in the general election of 1806, the latter remaining a member for the county until 1831: Thorne 1986, II, 196–7; III, 205, 502, 508. Cornwall retired at the general election of 1807 rather than face a contest although he had been confident he could have come in: Thorne 1986, III, 502.

²³ Published at Hereford, 21 July 1802. Reproduced from Bell 1966, 30–31.

²⁴ *The Times*, 21 July 1802.

That all honest Men may exultingly see,
That the *Lads of old Cider* will dare to be free.

CHORUS.

Heart of Oak in our hats, staunch in Liberty's cause, &c.

III.

Shall the Lad who the sweet Voice of Liberty hears,
His Freedom renounce, and work ever in *Geers*?—
O no!—Then, come on, Boys, we'll drive, hand in hand,
Corruption and Tyranny out of the Land.

CHORUS.

Heart of oak in our hats, staunch in Liberty's Cause, &c.

IV.

We'll bear him in Triumph, that *Cott-r-ll* may see,
Galling Chains we detest, and resolve to be free.—
Here's to BIDDULPH and Freedom! his praises shall sound,
Triumphantly glorious, the Universe round.

CHORUS.

*Heart of oak in our hats, staunch in Liberty's Cause, &c.*²⁵

Wright's doggerel, however stirring it might have been, had failed to excite the electorate a second time, as he was forced to recognise in a plaintive rejoinder to Parker's verses on the medal:

NOTE UPON NOTE

or

A Sequel to JOHN BULL'S Equivocal Eulogy, July 21, 1802

AND AS A HINT TO HIS

FUTURE WELFARE.

Tis a knot, my dear John, that will bind you, indeed!
'Till again from such bondage by BIDDULPH you're freed:
'Tis a knot like to *Wyndham's*,²⁶ who, for reasons of State,
Your liberty cramped, your prowess to bait!
'Tis a Garland, they tell you, to honour your brow;
It would puzzle *their* heads, if you asked them— 'Pray how?'
When your brethren of old to the Altar were led,
Such garlands were twisted, and deck'd out the head;
But the fatal axe follow'd — when 'procumbit humi bos';
Your blood was purloined by 'Fur atque Sacerdos'.²⁷

Biddulph was never to free the electors of Herefordshire from their 'bondage' and was to remain out of parliament until 1806. In 1801, however, he married Charlotte Myddelton, a Welsh co-heiress and herself successor to the Chirk Castle estate in Denbighshire, and adopted the name Myddelton Biddulph. At the general election five years later, having failed to secure a nomination for Worcestershire, Biddulph put himself forward for Denbigh Boroughs where the Myddelton family had had a controlling interest since the early eighteenth century. Here he was at last successful but gained the seat only by forcing out the sitting member and Pittite supporter, his brother-in-law, the Hon. Frederick West. It was a vicious and unexpected action that was to result in lasting family rancour but it was perhaps very much in character with the man.

Robert Biddulph was the eldest son of Michael Biddulph, a Ledbury barrister and landowner. Before entering British politics Biddulph had made a fortune in Bengal as a private

²⁵ Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: Johnson Ballads, fol. 313.

²⁶ A reference to William Windham (1750–1810), Whig member of parliament greatly influenced by Edmund Burke, and one of the architects of the Portland Whigs' rapprochement with the Pitt government in 1794.

²⁷ Reproduced from Bell 1966, 31–2.

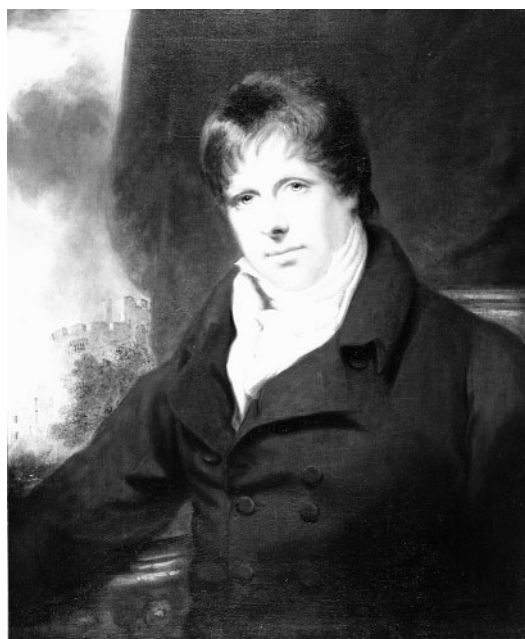


Fig. 3. Portrait of Robert Biddulph, c.1801, traditionally attributed to Sir William Beechey. The background view is of part of Chirk Castle.²⁸

merchant contracting for bullocks.²⁹ He returned to Herefordshire in 1795 and, like many another ‘nabob’, he came home with parliamentary pretensions, soon attaching himself to the Duke of Norfolk’s interest in his native county. His reputation as a ‘violent opposition man’ had already been established in India where he had been a thorn in the flesh of the Bengal government. Once in parliament, as a staunch Foxite, he carried on a strenuous criticism of the East India Company, and when he contemplated a return visit to the sub-continent in 1798 Cornwallis, the former Governor General, was concerned enough to issue a warning to his successor.

I have stated Mr. Biddulph’s conduct towards my Indian Government in such terms as I think he justly merits. As Mr. Biddulph is a Member of Parliament, he may be looked up to by the young men of the settlement, who have chiefly gone abroad at a very early period of life, and consequently very ill-informed in regard to European politics. Nothing could be so prejudicial to themselves as well as to the general good order of the settlement, as to instil into their minds a spirit of party and of opposition to all Government. Liberty and equality is a most pernicious and dangerous doctrine in all parts of the world; but it is particularly ill-suited to the Company’s servants in India, who are to thrive by minding their own business, and paying a due regard to the commands of their superiors in the service. I trust, therefore, to Mr. Biddulph’s honour that there will be a truce to his politics during his expedition to India.³⁰

Biddulph took care to assure Cornwallis that he would adopt ‘the most profound silence . . . as to European politics’ but in the event he did not go back to India. A wealthy landowner in both Herefordshire and Denbighshire he succeeded his uncle as a partner in the London banking house of Cocks, Biddulph & Co of Charing Cross in 1800 and when he eventually returned to parliament five years later, renewing his opposition stance ‘as an ardently zealous reformer’, he projected himself ‘as a man of business with a sense of mission about securing public economy’. In 1812, though, his parliamentary career was brought to an acrimonious end

²⁸ See Steegman 1957–62, I (1957), 87 (no. 29) and Plate 15 D. The portrait was sold at Christie’s Chirk Castle Sale on 21 June 2004 (Sale 7000, lot 107).

²⁹ Ross 1859, III, 23, n. 1; Thorne 1986, III, 205.

³⁰ Ross 1859, III, 23.

through the machinations of his unforgiving brother-in-law. Biddulph died in 1814 at the age of 53 leaving his heir with an income of £70,000.³¹

To return to the medalet. Although the piece itself gives no indication of its actual issuer there is no reason to doubt Pye's assertion, made, one assumes, on the testimony of Milton, that Biddulph himself was directly responsible for its commissioning, its 'proprietor' as he puts it. It is hardly credible that the medalet was the result of any spontaneous gesture on the part of the 'yeomanry' of Herefordshire as George Dyer would have us believe. However much it might be dressed up as a populist celebration of their 'triumph over the powerful influence of great families' and an assertion of their 'independence' the truth is the medalet was a *Foxite* trophy, a celebration of Biddulph's success as a Foxite 'Friend of Peace and Liberty' in a highly politicized election. While the image of the enraged Hereford bull, normally a comparatively docile animal – hence Dyer's dismissive comment about its being symbolic of the 'dullness or tameness of the English character' – did represent the county electorate,³² his ferocity was directed at Pitt's anti-radical legislation and war policy rather than any local aristocratic despotism.

Having said this, in its original manifestation (Pye 1801, Plate 22, no. 9 (Fig. 1); *DH*: Herefordshire 1), it is unlikely that the medalet would have caused much stir outside Herefordshire with only a date to inform the public's curiosity. The breakage of the obverse die, however, must have encouraged Biddulph to make the piece more generally intelligible if only by the slight gesture of having the county name inserted. It is likely that it was always his intention to aim for a reasonably wide circulation for the piece and, as Pye implies, to introduce it into the currency; not so much as a commercial token but rather as a sophisticated piece of political propaganda, à la Thomas Spence. Such a plan was initially frustrated by the breakage of the obverse die and eventually curtailed by the overriding expense of a piece too extravagant for its purpose. According to Pye 2,076 specimens of the revised version (Pye 1801, Plate 22, no. 10 (Fig. 1); *DH*: Herefordshire 4) were produced before the stoppage and it was one of these that the Londoner Dyer was able to acquire. How plain the medalet's message was to the ordinary public even with the addition of the county name is questionable. Few extant pieces show much evidence of circulation but, however abstruse its iconography, the exceptional artistry of the medalet must have ensured that it quickly found its way into collectors' cabinets; at the Welch sale in September 1801, with the market for provincial coins and tokens somewhat depressed, Pye's very rare no. 9 in copper could still fetch as much as 9s. 6d. and no. 10, 5s., a far cry from the nominal value of a halfpenny for which Biddulph intended to release them.³³

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³¹ Thorne 1986, III, 205–6. The bank – at 43 Charing Cross (16 Whitehall since 1931) – was acquired by Martins Bank in 1919 becoming part of Barclays Bank in 1968. The bank building (remodelled in 1874) is now a public house and wine bar.

³² And not as some of Biddulph's opponents snidely maintained a reflection of Biddulph's earlier 'nabob' career in India.

³³ See Pye 1916 as in n.3 above. Pye 1801, [11] had estimated the then current values of his no. 9 at 15s. and even no. 10 at a remarkable 10s. 6d.

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A POOR HOST LEAVES A BAD IMPRESSION

ERIC C. HODGE

ANY help in isolating forged and faked counterfeit coins must benefit the numismatic community.¹ There have always been forged and faked counterfeit issues of British merchant countermarked dollars.² Some were contemporary, hoping to benefit from the business market at the time and some are known to have been perpetrated early in the twentieth century, made for the collector market.³ Privy marks were used by issuers to assist in the identification of forgeries.⁴ However, in more recent times, countermarks have been seen that are not only believed to be fake but which have been on host coins other than the normal Spanish-American eight reales.⁵ No doubt the counterfeiters are aiming at foreign markets where collectors may be less knowledgeable of the genuine countermarks and the more usual host coins.⁶ This paper sets out to highlight an additional weapon in the unpeeling of the layers of obfuscation surrounding the false production of Merchant countermarked dollars issued in Great Britain. It is the host coins, rather than the countermarks, that will be reviewed in the following discussion.

These tokens were used by manufacturers, merchants, shopkeepers and banks, during the period from c.1780 to 1830, to take the place of official silver coins that had become very scarce. They were used in trade, and to pay employees, during this time of immense business growth often referred to as the Industrial Revolution.⁷ Prior to these issues payment was often made in kind, issuing food and clothing from the factory shop.⁸ Sometimes this was done as a means of extracting more from the employees, but often was because there was no other viable means of making payment.⁹ IOUs had very little value far from the business premises, but even if accepted were done so at a discount.¹⁰ As most of the large employers were in the countryside, benefiting from fast flowing water for power, the factory shop became the only means of sustenance.¹¹ It was, in short, a time of monetary innovation and confusion, especially difficult for those who earned wages or dealt daily in small sums.¹²

Prior to Manville¹³ the standard catalogue for these issues was Davis, who in his introduction stated:

Early in the nineteenth century there was issued a trading coinage of a remarkable character. This currency, for such it was, is now known as the 'Countermarked Tokens.' The seal, or countermark, of the issuer was intended to be taken as security for the full indicated value. The token issue was again directly caused by the failure of the Government to supply sufficient silver coin for public requirement, which was the more keenly felt, as people were naturally averse to accept foreign dollars, which bore effigies and inscriptions they did not understand. To meet this antipathy mill owners and merchants, perforce, impressed on foreign coins their own promissory stamp, and such was the desire for something reliable that the issuers could almost demand the acceptance of their countermarked money.¹⁴

Acknowledgements. My thanks to Ken Eckardt and Mike Shaw (always in alphabetical order!) for reading this paper and creating much animated discussion, and to the editors and referees for their advice.

¹ I have used forged for contemporary copies and faked for modern copies for the collector market.

² Hodge 2007a; Hodge 2007b; Hodge 2010.

³ Manville 2001, 215, 235, 265–6; Mitchell and Eckardt 2001, 205; Dickinson 2010, 71.

⁴ Hodge 2009.

⁵ Hodge 2007b; Hodge 2010.

⁶ Hodge 2010, 171.

⁷ Manville 2001.

⁸ Hilton 1960, 1–3.

⁹ Unwin 1924, 181.

¹⁰ Unwin 1924, 190.

¹¹ Turner 1958; Hume 1967; Shaw 1984, 319–21, 331.

¹² Manville 1973, 462.

¹³ Manville 2001.

¹⁴ Davis 1904, xl–xli.

This succinctly highlights the reasons for the issue and also indicates that if a foreign coin was to be used then it should be one that was recognisable. How much more confused would the recipients have been if there was a plethora of foreign silver coins, albeit with similar countermarks? Consistent use of the same type of host coin could only help to fortify the acceptance of these tokens by the general public.

Spanish-American 8 reales: the host of choice

The vast majority of host coins used for countermarking were Spanish-American 8 reales from the mints of Mexico City (see Fig. 1), Lima, Potosi and New Guatemala. Coins of other mints too were used, from South or Central America and also from the Spanish mainland, but only a few examples are known and they are all on 8 reales coins.



Fig. 1. 8 reales, Mexico City (© Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles).

To compare these issues, and place them in context with a similar situation, one must only turn to Matthew Boulton and his Soho Mint. On 3 March 1804 the Bank of England placed a contract with the Soho mint to overstrike 8 reales completely with a new design, and so arose the Bank of England Five Shillings Dollar.¹⁵ Boulton was aware that even using his steam-driven presses, some faint elements of the old designs frequently remained visible. Rather than cause discomfort, Boulton turned this aspect in his favour, arguing that this provided an additional security measure against forgery.¹⁶

For our purposes this also provides an opportunity to know the host coin. When Boulton completed his contracts by April 1811, the Soho mint had produced some 4,496,162 of these Dollars.¹⁷ Modern-day collectors look for all sorts of varieties, the underlying coin of the Bank of England Dollars being one of them. Dickinson states 'Coins for circulation were always overstruck on 8 reales ... I have yet to come across an identifiable undertype that has *not* been struck at one of the Spanish-American mints.'¹⁸ This statement was, however, altered to Spanish mints in a subsequent update.¹⁹ This writer, too, is unaware of any host coin used other than 8 reales. The fact that none has been found other than 8 reales is because Boulton was only sent 8 reales and ensured he only over-struck 8 reales.²⁰ The complexity of forging Bank of England Dollar dies to over-strike unusual host coins has, up to now, proved too complicated or too expensive to attract counterfeiters.

This point has also been referred to in articles about the Bank of England oval and octagonal countermarks where the 'Government agreed to [countermark] Spanish dollars.'²¹ Manville believes this statement to be 'rather dogmatic', but this writer takes issue with his statement

¹⁵ Selgin 2008, 199.

¹⁶ Symons 2009, 182; Dyer and Gaspar 1992, 453.

¹⁷ Doty 1998, 328.

¹⁸ Dickinson 1999, 310.

¹⁹ Dickinson 2003b, 312. Since Dickinson's update two more examples have come to light in St. James's Auction 21, 19 April 2012, lots 275 and 286.

²⁰ Doty 1998, 151.

²¹ Pridmore 1955, col., 311.

that ‘a heavy silver coin was a heavy silver coin and the occasional non-Spanish dollar could easily be accepted ...’.²²

Pridmore in fact goes on to say that

The Bank of England dealt in Spanish Dollars as merchandise, and customers who demanded that coin, expected to receive that coin. It is clear that when foreign silver was purchased for bullion, the Bank had staffs engaged upon sorting the various coins into their particular issues. These sorters were experts and while the occasional non-Spanish dollar may have slipped through, I am not inclined to accept such stamped pieces without very grave doubts being cast upon their authenticity.²³

So we have here a statement guarding against host coins other than 8 reales countermarked with Bank of England oval and octagonal marks.

Spanish-American 8 reales were a worldwide currency due to their availability and high regular silver content. They had become accepted in world trade for over 150 years, and were easily purchased from the bullion market in London for British entrepreneurs to countermark.²⁴ They became readily acceptable by the business population, whether they were employers or employees. Their silver content was known and they therefore possessed a reliable intrinsic value directly related to the market value of silver. They could easily be exchanged for gold or the necessities of life, food, clothing and housing. They became recognisable by all levels of society in and around the businesses that issued them. They became an acceptable coin for doing business.²⁵ Why, therefore, would a businessman countermark any other type of silver coin and risk it being rejected by the recipient?

British merchant countermarks on other host coins

Some British merchant countermarks are known on host coins other than Spanish 8 reales. The most common is the Dalzell Farm countermark that only appears on French 5 francs. The reasons for this mark being on these host coins have been fully researched and the circumstances are so unusual that they continue to be considered a valid merchant countermark.²⁶ French half-écus, dated between 1726 and 1759, were also used by three businesses: Ballindalloch Cotton Work,²⁷ Adelphi Cotton Work²⁸ and Lanark Mills. All are believed to have been issued at a value of 2/6. In addition to these, some other oddities appeared at auction in July 2001.²⁹ All other known merchant countermarks on unusual host coins are listed in Table 1. This paper has been prompted by the recent proliferation of countermarks on Brazilian host coins.

TABLE 1. Countermarked non-8 reales hosts (listed by host coin type).

Notes: Issues considered spurious are shown in the Manville 2001 ref. column by an X and in the photos column with brackets. The photos column presents confirmed examples of countermark from photographs of individual coins. The numbers shown are for different varieties of each mark. The date column gives the year these coins first appeared in the market. All host coins are between 39 mm and 42 mm diameter.

No.	Year host issued	Details of countermark	Host coin	Manville 2001 ref.	No of photos	Date
1	1810	J Muir Manufr Paisley 5/- Cancelled by pear shape scratches rev. plumes (Fig. 2)	20 reales	083	16	1973
2	1784	Galston Friendly Society 5/- No. 12 Cancelled by grille (Fig. 3 a)	écu	033	9	1965
3	1789	Galston Friendly Society over Donald & Co. Birmingham Cast copy (Fig. 3 b)	écu	033/100	9	1996

²² Manville 2000, 109.

²³ Pridmore 1955, col. 311.

²⁴ Manville 2001, xiii, 243–7.

²⁵ Greenock Advertiser, 23 December 1803. Reproduced in Manville 2001, 241–2.

²⁶ Hodge 2006.

²⁷ McFarlan 1979.

²⁸ Hodge 2002; Macmillan 2002.

²⁹ Manville 2002.

TABLE 1. *Continued.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Year host issued</i>	<i>Details of countermark</i>	<i>Host coin</i>	<i>Manville 2001 ref.</i>	<i>No of photos</i>	<i>Date</i>
4	1742	Payable at Lanark Mills 5/- (Fig. 4)	écu	070	1	1930
5	1732	Cromford Derbyshire 4/9 (Fig. 5 a)	écu	104	56	1989
6	1784	Cromford Derbyshire 4/9 (Fig. 5 b)	écu	104	56	B of E³⁰
7	1806	Dugd McLachlan Mercht + Tobermory 5/- on obverse & reverse (Fig. 6)	5 francs	099	4	
8	1673	Galston Friendly Society 5/- No. 12 (Fig. 7)	5/-	033	9	1891
9	1707	DC (Fig. 8)	5/-	051	17	1910
10	1668	Yelloley's Pottery Ouseburn 5/- (Fig. 9)	5/-	X107	(4)	1927
11	1816	J Leckie Campsie 5/- over Brazilian 960 reis Bahia (Fig. 10 a)	960 reis	X012	1 & (2)	2009
12	1814	J Stewart Fintry 5/- over Brazilian 960 reis (Fig. 10 b)	960 reis	X032	1 & (1)	2008
13	1814	Thistle Bank 4/9 no reverse thistle (over)? Brazilian 960 reis (Bahia)? (Fig. 11)	960 reis	045	12	1972
14	1818	J & A Muir Greenock 4/6 over Brazilian 960 reis Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 12 a)	960 reis	X059	20 & (3)	2007
15	1818	J & A Muir Greenock 4/6 over Brazilian 960 reis Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 12 b)	960 reis	X059	20 & (3)	2009
16	1815	Payable at Lanark Mills 5/- under Brazilian 960 reis Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 13)	960 reis	069	91	1992
17	1819	Payable at Lanark Mills 5/- under Brazilian 960 reis Rio de Janeiro	960 reis	069	91	2003
18	1816	Mc G & C Paisley 5/- over Brazilian 960 reis Bahia (Fig. 14 a)	960 reis	X078	3 & (1)	2009
19	1814	Robt. Crichton Pt. Glasgow 4/6 (incuse) over Brazilian 960 reis (Fig. 14 b)	960 reis	X087	8 & (2)	2008
20	1815	Rothsay Cotton Works 4/6 1820 over Brazilian 960 reis (Fig. 15 a)	960 reis	X092b	42 & (5) & (1)	2008
21	1817	Cromford Derbyshire 4/9 under Brazilian 960 reis Rio de Janeiro (Fig. 15 b)	960 reis	104	56	1897
22	1795	WG & Co 4/9 (Fig. 16)	US dollar	052	3	1971
23	1800	J&JW Hurler 5/- + three dots in triangle (Fig. 17 a)	US dollar	064a	7	1966
24	1799	J McLean Cott. St. Paisley 5/3 (Fig. 17 b)	US dollar	081	3	1973
25	1790	Thistle Bank 4/9 no reverse thistle on Tuscany tallero Pisa (Fig. 18)	tallero	045	12	1909

The writer, therefore, decided to list and research all merchant countermarks on unusual host coins in order to, hopefully, add another layer of confidence when isolating genuine marks from more questionable ones. Photographs exist of all the coins listed except number **17**. Some of these photographs are better than others. The most difficult to study are numbers **12**, **19** and **20**, where only the obverse is available, all being taken from a catalogue printed in 2008 (see Figs. 10 b, 14 b and 15 a).³¹ However, during this research it became apparent that some of the host coins were produced from the original countermarked 8 reales coins. It was not always clear which came first, the countermarked 8 reales or the final host coin. The questionable coins are numbered **13**, **16**, **17** and **21**. The results of these investigations are, too, noted in the following text. Further details for each of the coins in Table 1 are listed below with additional comments and information.

Countermarks on French host coins

1) 'J. Muir Manufr. Paisley' around '5/.' obverse countermark (cancelled by cuts) with the 'Prince of Wales plumes' bearing the motto 'ICH DIEN' on the reverse, on an 1810 Joseph

³⁰ This coin is in the Bank of England collection ref. T525. It was from Maberly Phillips, former employee at the Bank, who died in 1923. The Bank has no record of acquisition date.

³¹ González 2008.

Bonaparte 20 reales host from Madrid, assayers AI. The mark is believed contemporary and genuine. (Fig. 2.)



Fig. 2. Joseph Bonaparte 20 reales, Madrid, 1810, countermarked 'J. Muir Manufr. Paisley' (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

During the French occupation of Spain, Joseph issued 20 reales pieces each year between 1808 and 1813 inclusive. The Spanish mainland 8 reales, in the same name of Joseph, was also issued in the years 1809 and 1810.³² The 20 reales and the 8 reales were equal in every way, but they existed in parallel because the first represented reales of billon (vellon) and the other represented reales of silver, which had an equivalent value ratio of 2½ to one. There was no billon coinage in Spanish America.

This host coin could have been accepted in trade in Britain as a normal 8 reales as it was still marked as Spanish, although it was clearly very different from the usual Spanish American 8 reales. No Spanish American coinage was issued under the name of Joseph Bonaparte; it continued to be issued in the name of Ferdinand VII, the colonies being unwilling to accept French rule. The cancellation could confirm circulation unless, of course, it was stamped in error and cancelled immediately.

2) 'Galston Soc.y' surrounding '5s No 12' countermark (cancelled by a grille pattern) on the obverse of a French Louis XV écu of 1784, mint mark K (Bordeaux). (Fig. 3a)

3) 'Galston Soc.y' surrounding '5s No 12' countermark on the obverse of a cast French Louis XV écu of 1789, mint mark Q (Perpignan), over-struck on a 'Donald & Co · Birmingham ·' around '5/-' countermark (Manville type 100). This example is only known on a cast copy. (Fig. 3b).



Fig. 3 a–b. The Galston Society countermarked écus: a) Louis XV écu, 1784 (no. 2); b) Louis XV écu, 1789 (no. 3) (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

³² Oliva 1955, 79–80.

The Galston Society is considered to have been active in the early 1820s and the earliest recorded date for this countermark in a collection is 1891 (see **8** below). It is believed to have been a Friendly society, set up to alleviate hardship in the Galston area ‘so that people with limited incomes could each donate a dollar per annum’.³³ The idea that contributions of a dollar *per annum* were being received from local contributors would indicate the possibility that any large silver coin was accepted and stamped to advertise the work of the Society. The tokens would have been given to needy individuals to buy food and clothing and so are likely to have circulated in a rather restricted environment. Perhaps the type of silver coin was not as important to the local recipients (see also **8** below). These coins, therefore, would have been accepted, in the restricted terms of their issue, within the local area.

The link with Donald of Birmingham (**3**) is most intriguing. No association is currently known between the two ‘merchants’. Besides it is unlikely that the Donald mark on a French écu would have been accepted in the trade and may, therefore, be the reason the coin was retained as a keepsake, eventually finding its way to Scotland.

4) ‘Payable at Lanark Mills *’ around ‘5/’ countermark on the obverse of a French Louis XV écu of 1742, mint mark L (Bayonne) (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Louis XV écu, 1742, with Lanark Mills countermark (© National Museums of Scotland).

Lanark Mills used two types of privy marks.³⁴ All Lanark Mills 5/ marks currently considered genuine use the lozenge privy mark. This coin is the only non-8 reales host and the only star privy mark. It is possible that it was marked in this way because it was an unusual host coin but it would seem more likely that it was produced as a presentation piece for a French visitor (of which there were many),³⁵ and that the incorrect privy mark was applied to prevent its use locally.³⁶ The Lanark Mills countermarks were made using two separate punches, one for the business name, including privy mark and one for the value, so they were interchangeable. It would be quite likely that local merchants would accept countermarked 8 reales with either privy mark but on return to Lanark Mills the incorrect usage of the privy marks would be noticed and alarm bells would ring over unauthorized use of dies so the privy mark control would come into play, preventing wide spread abuse. This countermarked host coin is unlikely to have been issued for trade in the Lanark area.

5–6) ‘Cromford · Derbyshire ·’ around ‘4/9’ countermark on the obverse of a French Louis XV écu of 1732, mint mark M (Toulouse) (Fig. 5 a), and ‘Cromford · Derbyshire ·’ around ‘4/9’ countermark on the obverse of a French Louis XV écu 1784 mint mark K (Bordeaux) (Fig. 5 b).

³³ Manville 2001, 70, 276.

³⁴ Hodge 2009, 244.

³⁵ Donnachie and Hewitt 1993, 74, 75, 86, 109, 125.

³⁶ Manville 2001, 145.



Fig. 5 a–b. The Cromford Derbyshire countermarked écus: a) Louis XV écu, 1732 (© The Trustees of the British Museum); b) Louis XV écu, 1784 (© The Governor and Company of the Bank of England).

This genuine mark is believed contemporary. Of the fifty-six or so known examples Figs 5 a–b are the only examples not on Spanish 8 reales. It is clear that the Cromford works had access to any number of Spanish 8 reales, so it is unlikely they would have mixed in other foreign coins. It seems more reasonable that these coins were stamped as keepsakes for French visitors.³⁷ It is worth noting that Fig. 5 a would have been over seventy years old at the time of countermarking, and yet still displays little wear. Fig. 5 b, though damaged, also appears to have little excessive wear. These coins are not likely to have been used in trade.



Fig. 6. Napoleonic 5 francs, 1806, countermarked 'Dugd. Mc.Lachlan Mercht. + Tobermory +' (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

7) 'Dugd. Mc.Lachlan Mercht. + Tobermory +' around '5/' countermark on the obverse and reverse of a French Napoleonic 5 francs of 1806, mint mark BB (Strasbourg) (Fig. 6). There are only four examples known of this mark and questions have been raised about its authenticity.³⁸ Each coin is marked in a different way, but with the same punch. It is possible that some coins are test pieces or examples made as a keepsake for the proprietor's family. This coin is unlikely to have been used in general trade but it is certainly possible that it would have been acceptable in the Tobermory area.

British crowns

8) 'Galston Soc.y' surrounding '5s No 12' countermark on the obverse of a Charles II crown of 1673 (Fig. 7).

³⁷ Jones 2008.

³⁸ Dickinson 2003a, 131.



Fig. 7. Charles II crown, 1673, with Galston Society countermark (© Spink & Son, sale 136, October 1999, lot 1570).

Like numbers **2** and **3** above, this was an unusual issue. This coin is even more unusual: as a British crown it carried a value of 5 shillings without the need of a countermark. As explained under **2** and **3** above, the countermark was likely applied to a donation to advertise the ideals of the Society and to help to ensure the return of the coin to the Galston Society. This coin, therefore, would have been accepted, in the restricted terms of its issue, in the local area.

9) 'DC' countermark, without value, (Manville type 051, but without the rosette mark) on an Anne crown of 1707, mint mark E (Edinburgh) (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Anne crown, 1707, countermarked 'DC' (© National Museums of Scotland).

This countermark is an oddity. Manville type 051 has DC with a six-leaved rosette, with no value being marked. Manville describes the issue as 'a real challenge, with the issuer of the mark not yet positively traced.'³⁹ Various suggestions have been put forward to identify the letters DC but with no indication of location or value, to give a period of issue, the task is insurmountable without the discovery of contemporary documentation. The six-leaved rosette mark on type 051 has been used to suggest an issuer of patterned tape, but the main reason for confusion is the lack of value. What reason could the countermarks be for if there was no guaranteed value given to the recipient? This example has the same DC mark without the rosette. In addition it is marked on a British crown which had a value of five shillings. As no value is given on the countermark, the DC mark would not ensure its return to the issuer. With no value given, melting could be just as profitable to the holder. It is most likely, therefore, to have been a trial or test-piece for the DC or made as a keepsake for the issuer. This coin would not have been a benefit in trade with the addition of the mark.

³⁹ Manville 2001, 99.



Fig. 9. Charles II crown, 1668, countermarked 'Yelloley's Pottery Ouseburn' (Manville 2001, Pl. 50, 2).

10) 'Yelloley's Pottery · Ouseburn ·' around '5/-' countermark on the obverse of a Charles II crown of 1668 (Fig. 9). This countermark is listed in Manville as a concoction.⁴⁰ A countermark on a British crown already valued at 5 shillings would have provided no benefit to the issuer or the recipient. This countermark is likely to have been made to further confuse an already doubtful mark. This coin would have received no benefit in trade with the addition of this countermark.

Brazilian reis

11) 'J·Leckie Campsie.' around '5/.' countermark on the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1816, mint mark B (Bahia) (Fig. 10 a). There is no doubt that the merchant countermark was applied after the Brazilian coin was over-struck on a Spanish 8 reales coin.⁴¹ There is another example, using the same countermarking die, over an 8 reales⁴² and the conclusion drawn here was that the countermark was a fake. This, therefore, tends to confirm that the Brazilian coin countermark is a fake too and the coin, being Brazilian, is unlikely to have been used in UK trade.



Fig. 10 a–b. Brazilian 960 reis: a) 1816, countermarked 'J·Leckie Campsie.' (© Spink *NCirc*, Sept. 2010; b) Obverse, 1814, countermarked 'J. Stewart Fintry.' (© José Luis González).

12) 'J. Stewart Fintry.' around '5/.' Countermark on the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1814, mint mark R (Rio de Janeiro) (Fig. 10 b). Manville lists only two examples of this mark,⁴³ so it will always be difficult to assess genuine as opposed to fake. However the mark

⁴⁰ Manville 2001, 215–6.

⁴¹ Hodge 2010.

⁴² Dickinson 2010.

⁴³ Manville 2001, 68.

studied here is with a different die to that illustrated in Manville. This coin is only known through an obverse photograph with no description.⁴⁴ The photograph is poor, but it appears that the merchant countermark was applied after the Brazilian coin was over-struck on a Spanish 8 reales coin. This coin, together with **19** and **20** below, is only known from the referenced González publication. It would appear that there are many questionable countermarked coins mixed with genuine examples in this catalogue, and communication with González proves difficult. This coin is unlikely to have been used in trade.

13) ‘Thistle Bank ·’ around ‘4/9’ with no thistle design on the reverse on or under the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1814, mint mark B (Bahia) (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11. Brazilian 960 reis, 1814, countermarked ‘Thistle Bank’ showing the countermark (enlarged), obverse and reverse (© Spink *NCirc*, February 1992).

The mark is seen as genuine and matches all the other twelve or so known examples. This coin was first published in 1992,⁴⁵ although it is listed in Manville as ‘Last located in Brazil, 1972’, when it was described as being merchant-countermarked before the 960 reis was struck.⁴⁶ However, Levy describes the merchant mark as ‘placed on the 960 reis, and not on the host coin.’⁴⁷ Further discussion of this confusion is made by Dickinson, who certainly questions Manville’s interpretation.⁴⁸ Having only seen the coin photograph in Manville, this writer too believes that the Thistle Bank mark is over the 960 reis.⁴⁹ If this is the case, then the Scottish mark was made in or after 1814. Manville describes this issue to have been ‘certainly issued in or shortly after 1803’, the latest host being dated 1799.⁵⁰ It appears likely, therefore, that this Scottish countermark was applied to an unusual host coin many years after the supposed dates of issue, and could have been made as a keepsake prior to the destruction of the dies (see also **25** below). In McFarlan’s article he states that ‘[t]here is no note in the accounts of payment for cancelling dollars as opposed to altering the value.’⁵¹ This student has, however, discovered more documents that appertain to not only the cancelling of dollars but also to the altering of dies for defacing dollars, which will form the basis of a future article. The first document referring to cancelling dollars is dated 6 February 1809,⁵² and that for altering dies for dollar cancellation is dated 12 September 1817.⁵³ The 1814 date of the host falls mid-way between these two document dates and could, therefore, have been the commencement of plans for die alteration or destruction.

⁴⁴ González 2008, 57.

⁴⁵ Manville 1992.

⁴⁶ Manville 2001, 93.

⁴⁷ Levy 2002, 156.

⁴⁸ Dickinson 2003a, 131.

⁴⁹ Manville 2001, pl. 19. 6.

⁵⁰ Manville 2001, 90.

⁵¹ McFarlan 1980, 93.

⁵² GUAS, UGD94–2–4.

⁵³ GUAS, UGD94–2–9.

14–15) Two ‘J & A. Muir *Greenock.*’ around ‘4/6’ countermarks on the obverse of Brazilian 960 reis of 1818, mint mark R (Rio de Janeiro) (Fig. 12 a–b).



Fig. 12 a–b. Two Brazilian 960 reis, 1818, countermarked ‘J & A. Muir Greenock’ (a) © Spink *NCirc*, Oct. 2007; b) © Spink *NCirc*, Sept. 2010).

These two coins have been published recently in two articles.⁵⁴ Each coin had the merchant mark over the 960 reis, and both countermarks were deemed faked. Further research on the twenty photographs of genuine countermarked coins held in the writer’s archives shows how haphazardly the stamp was applied. Two show the stroke between the 4 and the 6 of the value to 12 o’clock, three to 3 o’clock, six to 6 o’clock and nine to 9 o’clock. All three of the believed fake stamps (one on an 8 reales⁵⁵ and the two discussed here) show the stroke to 12 o’clock. Perhaps this indicates too much attention to detail. It is not considered possible that either countermarked coin would have been used in trade during the period 1818 to 1830.



Fig. 13. Brazilian 960 reis, 1815, with Lanark Mills countermark (no. 16) (© DNW sale 71, September 2006, lot 1033).

16–17) Two ‘Payable at Lanark Mills ♦’ around ‘5/’ countermarks under the obverse of Brazilian 960 reis of 1815 and 1819, mint marks R (Rio de Janeiro). Only coin 16 is supported by a photograph (Fig. 13), which clearly shows that the Lanark mark was made before the 960 reis. For this article it is assumed the same applies for coin 17, which was reported to this writer as being seen in 2003, with the merchant mark made before the 960 reis. In these circumstances the coins would have circulated in trade, in the Lanark and surrounding area, before finding their way to Brazil.

18) ‘Mc.G & C. Paisley’ around ‘5/.’ on the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1816, mint mark B (Bahia) (Fig. 14 a). This coin has recently been published, when it was decided that it was a modern fake applied over the 960 reis.⁵⁶ As such it would not have circulated for trade in Scotland.

⁵⁴ Hodge 2007b; Hodge 2010.

⁵⁵ Tarkis SA Madrid, 19 December 2006, 657.

⁵⁶ Hodge 2010.



Fig. 14 a–b. Countermarked Brazilian 960 reis: a) 1816, countermarked ‘Mc.G & C. Paisley’ (© Spink *NCirc*, September 2010); b) Obverse, 1814, countermarked ‘Robt.Crichton Pt.Glasgow.’ (© José Luis González).

19) ‘Robt.Crichton Pt.Glasgow.’ around ‘4/6’ on the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1814, mint mark B (Bahia) (Fig. 14 b). Manville lists eight examples of this mark⁵⁷ but the coin studied here has been countermarked using a different die. This coin is only known through an obverse photograph with no description.⁵⁸ The photograph is poor, but it appears that the merchant countermark was applied after the Brazilian coin was struck. The mark on this coin is the same as that discussed by Dickinson,⁵⁹ and the stroke between the 4 and 6 of the value points to exactly the same position as the one in his article, indicating the likelihood that there was only one punch for the name and value, an issue raised by Dickinson because all the examples listed in Manville⁶⁰ are believed countermarked using a separate die for the value. There is no reverse photo so it is not possible to check for a privy mark.⁶¹ However, a genuine issue would have a privy mark of a curved rope-like mark carefully aligned along the upper curve of the crown, so the main countermark should correctly be on the other side of the coin (see also **20** below). This coin, together with **12** above and **20** below, is only known from the referenced González publication, which includes many questionable countermarked coins. This piece is unlikely to have circulated for trade in Scotland.

20) ‘Rothsay Cotton Works.’ around ‘4/6’ over ‘1820.’ on the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1815, mint mark R (Rio de Janeiro), with an additional countermark that appears to be for the Portuguese Azores (Fig. 15 a). This coin is only known through an obverse photograph with no description.⁶² The photograph is poor, but it appears that the merchant countermark was applied after the Brazilian coin was over-struck on a Spanish 8 reales coin. There is no reverse photo so it is not possible to check for a privy mark.⁶³ However, a genuine type 1 issue would have a privy mark below the shield, so the main countermark should correctly be on the other side of the coin (see also **19** above). Manville lists two varieties of this mark,⁶⁴ but it appears that this is a new variety, showing important variations from both types 1 and 2. This coin, with **12** and **19** above, is only known from the referenced González publication. It is unlikely to have circulated for trade in Scotland.

⁵⁷ Manville 2001, 168–9.

⁵⁸ González 2008, 57.

⁵⁹ Dickinson 2011.

⁶⁰ Manville 2001, 168.

⁶¹ Hodge 2009, 244.

⁶² González 2008, 56.

⁶³ Hodge 2009, 245.

⁶⁴ Manville 2001, 177–8.



Fig. 15 a–b. Countermarked Brazilian 960 reis: a) Obverse, 1815, countermarked ‘Rothsay Cotton Works.’ (© José Luis González); b) 1817, countermarked ‘Cromford Derbyshire’ (© Spink *NCirc*, February 1992).

21) ‘Cromford · Derbyshire ·’ around ‘4/9’ countermark under the obverse of a Brazilian 960 reis of 1817, mint mark R (Rio de Janeiro) (Fig. 15 b). The mark is believed genuine and matches all the other fifty-six or so known examples. This coin was believed first published in 1897.⁶⁵ Both Manville and Levy describe the merchant mark as placed on the eight reales before the 960 reis was struck.⁶⁶ The coin photograph in Manville certainly does not indicate conclusive proof one way or the other.⁶⁷ It is possible that the countermark is below the 960 reis, and not having seen the coin I accede to other authority. In this case, therefore, the coin would have circulated in trade in England before finding its way to Brazil.

US dollars

22) ‘WG &C°’ over ‘4/9’ in a flattened T-shaped dentate configuration on the obverse of a USA Flowing Hair (Small Eagle) dollar of 1795 (Fig. 16).



Fig. 16. USA Flowing Hair (Small Eagle) dollar, 1795, countermarked ‘WG &C’ (© Noble Numismatics, sale 88, July 2008, lot 2680).

The mark is believed genuine but with only two other known examples, one of which is cancelled, this cannot be conclusive. As Manville stated in 2001:

it certainly appears to be a legitimate late 18th or early 19th century mark, and not a later concoction. This conclusion is reinforced ... by the use of an American dollar, because, until recently at least, the host coin would have been worth considerably more to American collectors in an unmarked state.⁶⁸

With only the letters WG &C° to go by, this issue has not been accurately located, making any supposition as to the reason for the use of an unusual host more difficult. It is unlikely to have been used in trade, but on this coin the jury is definitely still out (and see **23** below regarding the values of USA dollars).

⁶⁵ Meili 1897, 230, 17.

⁶⁶ Manville 2001, 207; Levy 2002, 156.

⁶⁷ Manville 2001, pl. 47.5.

⁶⁸ Manville 2001, 102.

23) ‘J. & J.W. Hurlet.’ around ‘5/’ with additional ‘triangle of three dots’ countermark on the obverse of a USA Draped Bust (Heraldic Eagle) dollar of 1800 (Fig. 17 a). The three dots are considered to be a form of privy mark with one of the dots always in the letter D of DEI on an 8 reales coin.⁶⁹ The equivalent dot on this coin is in the R of LIBERTY which is in a similar position to the 8 reales D. The countermark and the privy mark are believed genuine. Manville reports that ‘the former B.A. Seaby staff has asserted that it came to them in 1966 in a 19th century box which, unfortunately, was crushed in shipment and not saved.’⁷⁰ He also refers to this coin as an anomaly. As an anomaly it certainly would be unlikely to circulate in trade, especially as Hurlet was in the countryside a few miles to the south of both Glasgow and Paisley. This coin is now in the collection of the American Numismatic Society⁷¹ and in an article Robert Wilson Hoge, Curator of North American Coins and Currency, referring to this coin, writes:

The US dollar would have been an uneconomical candidate to utilise for payments in this context (counter-marking), since it contained slightly more silver than its Spanish equivalents and would generally have been melted for its bullion content.⁷²

It is more likely to have been made as a family keepsake on a different type of coin so as to avoid being mixed with the countermarked 8 reales for trade.



Fig. 17 a–b. Countermarked USA Draped Bust (Heraldic Eagle) dollars: a) 1800, countermarked ‘J. & J.W. Hurlet.’ (© Seaby’s Coin and Medal Bulletin, August 1966, 4003B); b) 1799, countermarked ‘J. McLean’ (© Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles).

24) ‘J. McLean *Cott: St Paisley.*’ around ‘5/3’ countermark on the obverse of a USA Draped Bust (Heraldic Eagle) dollar of 1799 (Fig. 17 b). The mark is believed genuine but with only two other known examples, both cancelled, this cannot be conclusive. This coin is marked twice with the weaker slightly overlapping a clear strike. It is, therefore, unlikely that this coin was used in trade. It is either a test strike, to see how the die was affected by different positions on the coin or it was a family keepsake. Manville states that this would have been a short-lived issue between June 1814 and March 1815 or possibly after June 1815.⁷³ As the other two known examples are cancelled it would indicate good control over the issue. This in turn would confirm a keepsake issue for the USA dollar (see the comments on the values of USA dollars under **23** above). This idea bears further credence when Manville notes that someone with the same name retired to Williamsburg after 1834.⁷⁴ Could he have taken the die with him? Interestingly there is also known a perfect strike on a 1797 penny,⁷⁵ perhaps another keepsake?

⁶⁹ Hodge 2009, 243.

⁷⁰ Manville 2001, 124.

⁷¹ 1967.57.1

⁷² Hoge 2008.

⁷³ Manville 2001, 159.

⁷⁴ Manville 2001, 159.

⁷⁵ Paisley Museum ref. 321/1984.

Leopold tallero

25) 'Thistle Bank ·' around '4/9' with no thistle design on the reverse on the obverse of a Tuscany Leopold tallero of 1790, mint mark Pisa.



Fig. 18. Leopold tallero, 1790, countermarked 'Thistle Bank' (© Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery).

The mark is seen as genuine and matches all the other twelve or so known examples. See also **13** above for a general discussion surrounding this issue. A further possibility for use of this very unusual host coin is a striking made for an important bank client. Manville makes reference to two Bank of England oval countermarks, on similar tallero host coins, which 'are almost certainly concoctions made for collectors.'⁷⁶ It is not a coin that would have been easily recognizable by the general public and is, therefore, unlikely to have been issued by the bank for purposes of trade. There is proof from invoices that the countermarking was not done by the Thistle Bank but by a smith.⁷⁷ It is therefore less likely that he would stamp just anything without at least asking. This writer feels that there was an element of additional control because an outside third party was doing the work. Alternatively, as with **13** above, this particular marking could have been applied to an unusual host coin many years after the supposed dates of issue, and could have been made as a keepsake prior to the alteration or destruction of the dies.

Conclusions

Trade is oiled by confidence and certainty, confidence from the issue of coins with an intrinsic value supported by a known issuer and certainty that the coin is recognisable. For this analysis to have any meaning, we must try to understand the reasons that Merchant countermarked dollars first arose. In that first instance this writer believes that it was a genuine attempt by enlightened, philanthropic entrepreneurs to support and value their workforce.⁷⁸ It required a lot of extra work, and risk, by the employer to buy and countermark coins. There was always the possibility that silver could fall in value leaving the business entrepreneur bearing a loss on the bullion silver coins in his stock. Hence we can deduce that the employers must have felt it was worth the risk and their effort.

The biggest confusion appertaining to the coins listed above relates to numbers **13**, **16**, **17** and **21**. All these coins are believed to be Spanish-American eight reales⁷⁹ that have subsequently been completely over stamped into Brazilian 960 reis. At some time they have been countermarked with a merchant mark. The difficulty is to decide when the merchant mark was applied, before or after the over-striking to the Brazilian coin. This has been discussed under each coin above.

⁷⁶ Manville 1976, 363.

⁷⁷ McFarlan 1980.

⁷⁸ Pressnell 1956, 22.

⁷⁹ Manville 1992, 5.

For each of the above twenty-five coins an alternative reason has been proposed for their issue, with merchant countermarks, on other than the normal eight reales coin. Three of the eleven Brazilian 960 reis (**16**, **17** and **21**) are believed to have been marked by a British merchant before the 960 reis was made. This leaves eight questionable British merchant countermarks made over the Brazilian coin, 32 per cent of the total coins listed. Other than coin **13**, which has question marks about when the countermark was applied and was first noted in 1972, all the others have been recorded for the first time between 2007 and 2009. This is, surely, too much of a coincidence. The writer, therefore, concludes that the probability is that no silver coins other than 8 reales, Dalzell Farm French 5 francs and the French half écus mentioned in the text were knowingly countermarked for trade in Great Britain during the period 1780 to 1830. To paraphrase Pridmore, '[one] should not be inclined to accept such stamped pieces, other than on 8 reales, without very grave doubts being cast upon their authenticity.'⁸⁰

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⁸⁰ Pridmore 1955, col. 311.

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THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND THE BLITZ: THE DEPARTMENT OF COINS AND MEDALS IN WARTIME

THOMAS HOCKENHULL

Introduction

ON the night of 10 May 1941 the Luftwaffe launched its last major bombing campaign of the Blitz on London. Described by *The Times* as ‘another large-scale attempt at terrorization of the familiar Nazi pattern’, the raid saw more than five hundred bombers fly over London, releasing seven hundred tons of high explosives.¹ The damage was immense, and the loss of life significant. By the morning of 11 May, 1,400 people were dead and many public and civilian structures had been damaged or destroyed, including the chamber of the House of Commons, Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall.²

The British Museum was also a casualty of the raid as a result of several hits by incendiary bombs just before midnight. Although the London Fire Brigade were called, their operations were hampered by a lack of sufficient water and, subsequently, the fires caused by the incendiaries burned out of control until 6.30am.³ The Department of Coins and Medals, Room of Greek and Roman Life, Bronze Room, Fourth Greek Vase Room, Romano-British Room, Central Saloon and the Prehistoric Room, were all devastated by fire and water from the firemen’s hoses.⁴ The South-West Quadrant of the British Library, then based within the British Museum, was also destroyed.⁵ The fires had burned most fiercely in the Department of Coins and Medals where the incendiary charges had penetrated the thin copper roof and lodged in a hollow space in the rafters to which there was no access.⁶ Eventually the broad iron girders that held up the roof buckled under the heat and crashed to the floor in a ‘mass of flame and twisted metal’ (Fig. 1).⁷

Two months later the Trustees of the Museum convened to hear the report about the damage from John Allan, Keeper of Coins and Medals. This relatively brief report begins by mentioning the ‘complete destruction of the Medal Room by fire during the air raid,’ but it goes on to state that ‘[n]o coins or medals belonging to the Museum were lost or damaged and a large part of the departmental library had been removed.’⁸ As Allan’s report implies, the losses were minimised because the Department’s objects were evacuated at the start of the war. This exodus was one component of a plan to move all of the British Museum collections out of Bloomsbury and was, because of their size and complexity, unparalleled in the scale and scope of its ambition.⁹

The evacuation of objects from the British Museum during the Second World War is well documented; however, no narrative has specifically focused upon the numismatic collections and the activities of Coins and Medals during this period.¹⁰ The aims of this paper are, there-

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¹ Anon. Editorial 1941; Mortimer 2005, 340–341.

² Calder 1991, 37.

³ Caygill 1990, 38.

⁴ BMA, Box 3: ‘Fire Damage Night 10/11 May 1941’.

⁵ British Museum 1967, 16.

⁶ BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Standing Committee Report, 12 July 1941.

⁷ Anon. Special Correspondent 1945; Forsdyke 1952, 8.

⁸ BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Standing Committee Report, 12 July 1941. Five hundred pounds was later allocated for the replacement of the books lost from the library.

⁹ Caygill 1989, 17.

¹⁰ See, for example, Wilson 2002, 249–251 with references. See also Saunders 1992, 102–5 for a comparative discussion about the evacuation of the National Gallery in World War One and its subsequent preparations leading up to the Second World War.



Fig. 1. The Department of Coins and Medals, May 1941. © Trustees of the British Museum.

fore, twofold. Firstly, by using the available archive evidence, it will provide a more detailed narrative of the wartime activities of the Department of Coins and Medals and, by doing so, attempt to evaluate the success of the Department in protecting its objects leading up to the bombing and in the immediately following years. Secondly, by revisiting the source material, including recent work to reassess the available physical evidence, this paper highlights some omissions from Allan's aforementioned report.

Evacuating the Department of Coins and Medals

The First World War proved to be pivotal for arguments concerning the necessity or, indeed, possibility, of evacuating objects from the British Museum, and it also laid the groundwork for the future movement of the Department of Coins and Medals. The developments in long-range aerial bombardment had made the collections held by the National Museums more vulnerable to damage if they remained in proximity to areas with dense populations or identifiable military targets. As the war entered its latter stages in 1917, as a result of an increase in German raids on London, the Department of Coins and Medals moved its collections (but not the library) to storage in the disused Holborn Post Office tunnel.¹¹ Although the British Museum escaped damage, the relocation of objects, albeit partial, required collections staff to consider the conditions in which the collections should be kept and worked upon. To realise this, the Museum established its Research Laboratory in 1920.¹² The 1914–18 conflict had

¹¹ Caygill 1992, 32.

¹² Caygill 1992, 31.

lasted longer than anticipated and provision had to be made for offsite storage that was suitable for protracted periods. Policies established by the Laboratory proved to be the key to ensuring the safety of the collections, especially those which featured organic matter. This was less of a consideration for the Department of Coins and Medals, whose objects could be considered to be generally more robust, easy to move, and less affected by variation in temperature and humidity than those held by other departments.¹³

Until the mid 1930s the movement of objects was not a foregone conclusion. A meeting of national museum directors was called by the Minister (then First Commissioner) of Works in 1933 and proved to be crucial for deciding upon the most viable policies. Initial comments were fatalistic, suggesting that the evacuation of collections was now pointless and that, given the speed with which aerial attack could be mobilised, there would be no time to consider moving museum collections. The Museum duly rejected this notion and so the Minister of Works put forward the alternative that Hampton Court Palace should become a repository for every national collection.¹⁴ Arguing that this was also a large and therefore viable target for aerial bombardment, the British Museum vetoed the idea.¹⁵ Finally it was agreed that the owners of large country houses in locales regarded as 'safe areas' should be approached with a view to lending space for the storage of collections.¹⁶ This culminated in the designation of Boughton House in Northamptonshire, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, as the proposed repository for the entire collection of Coins and Medals.¹⁷

Sir John Forsdyke's appointment as Director of the Museum in 1936 coincided with the beginnings of political disintegration in Europe. With 'painstaking brilliance', according to Caygill, he began to plan the evacuation in detail. This included the procurement of 3,300 folding packing cases which could be stored in very little space. The Museum also found a source of ordinary millboard cases, of which six hundred would be required for the removal of the coin cabinets.¹⁸ An internal report dated 1938 states that, 'since there was no intention of taking the objects out of the boxes in the repositories. . . [Coins and Medals cabinets] were sealed with steel bands.'¹⁹ It is unclear whether these bands remained intact throughout the war.

Historically, the Department of Coins and Medals stored its objects in wooden trays in mahogany cabinets and, collectively, their gross weight was estimated at twelve and a half tons by the Museum Object Handlers.²⁰ Unlike those departments that had a diverse collection of objects, the regularity of the dimensions of the coin cabinets meant that the plans for evacuation were comparatively straightforward. The Coins and Medals annual report for 1939 states that the internal packing of coins in cabinets was completed in advance so that they merely had to be placed in their millboard boxes for transport.²¹ On the evening of Wednesday 23 August 1939 the Home Office contacted Sir John Forsdyke to warn him that war was imminent: a cascade system of communication filtered this information down to Allan who was to ensure that employees of Coins and Medals were prepared to begin removing the collections by 7am on Thursday 24 August. Coins and Medals was one of the first departments to evacuate the Museum and, by noon on Saturday 26 August, according to Allan's report, all of its objects had been sealed in crates and transported by rail to Boughton House.²²

The Department of Coins and Medals did not just move its objects: those members of staff not immediately called up for war duty vacated Bloomsbury and decamped to Boughton to oversee the collection and continue their research. The Deputy Keeper of Coins and Medals,

¹³ Digby 1979, 26. The Montague Guest collection, which included ivory tickets and passes, was housed in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities at this point. See British Museum 1930, with Preface.

¹⁴ Caygill 1992, 33; Wilson 2002, 249.

¹⁵ Caygill 1992, 34, states that there would have been a 'spectacular bonfire if it was attacked.'

¹⁶ Forsdyke 1952, 1.

¹⁷ Caygill 1992, 36.

¹⁸ Forsdyke 1952, 1.

¹⁹ BMA, Box 3: 'Confidential: Air Raid Protection of Museum and Library Material', 20 January 1938.

²⁰ Anon. Special Correspondent 1959; BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Report of the Standing Committee, 14 October 1939. At this point the Object Handlers were known as the Masons.

²¹ BMOP: J. Allan, Department of Coins and Medals Annual Report for 1939, 18 January 1940.

²² BMOP: Allan, report to the Trustees, 14 October 1939.

E.S.G. Robinson, was placed in charge of the Museum's entire operation at Boughton House during this period.²³ Digby suggests that he was chosen for logistical reasons, because Coins and Medals was the easiest of any collection to manage, giving Robinson time to supervise the entire operation: 'the coins were all beautifully stored in cabinets, which were very quickly packed and the evacuation of that department [from Boughton] would be completed long before any others.'²⁴ The first half of 1940 appears to have been relatively stable and productive for the purposes of research. It was at Boughton, for example, that Harold Mattingly completed the fourth volume of his *Catalogue of Roman Coins*, an achievement for which, in 1941, he was awarded medals of the American Numismatic Society and the Royal Numismatic Society.²⁵

By 1941 the productive academic environment appears to have become more constrained, partly owing to the fact that key members of staff including John Walker, the Assistant Keeper, were called up for service. Remarkably he managed to complete his *Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum* whilst on commission as a Pilot Officer in the Royal Air Force Intelligence Service.²⁶ Far greater disruption was caused when, despite the protestations of the Trustees, a military airfield was built near Boughton House at Grafton Underwood.²⁷ Deeming the safety of the collections to be in jeopardy, the Trustees decided to move the collections of the Department of Coins and Medals, along with the other objects being held at Boughton, to a purpose-built climate-controlled room in Westwood Quarry, Wiltshire. This quarry was to be shared with the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and took about six months to prepare since it required drying out, floors levelling, and appropriate ventilation, at a cost of £20,000.²⁸ Allan was sent to oversee its adaptation and was put up at a hotel in nearby Bradford-on-Avon for the duration of its completion.²⁹ By December 1941 the quarry was ready to receive objects, but the decision was taken to delay the move until March 1942 when the convoy could depart using police escort and arrive in daylight, thus giving it greater protection from night bombing raids.³⁰

In the interim, the Department of Coins and Medals accepted additional storage at Drayton House in Northamptonshire and Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire and, by October 1941, the collection was divided equally between the three houses.³¹ This separation appears to have made the objects more difficult to locate and, for example, in March 1942 Robinson wrote to a colleague at Drayton because he believed that one of the coin cabinets had gone missing.³² On another occasion coins were erroneously added to a batch of objects intended to be shipped from Drayton to Compton Wynyates.³³ The ease with which cabinets of valuable coins could go astray might, in part, explain why Forsdyke suggested to Allan that, once the work was complete, he should prioritise the movement of the collections of the Department of Coins and Medals to Westwood.³⁴ This finally took place in March and April 1942 and there the collection remained until December 1946, under armed guard and the full-time supervision of members of Museum staff on rotating shifts.³⁵

²³ BMOP: E.S.G. Robinson, letter to the Trustees, 11 October 1939.

²⁴ Digby 1979, 25. See below for the later movement of coin cabinets from Boughton House.

²⁵ Mattingly 1940; BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Standing Committee Report, 12 July 1941; BMOP: Robinson, letter to Sir John Forsdyke, 8 January 1940.

²⁶ Walker 1941; CMA: Department of Coins and Medals, Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Antiquities, etc., 12 July 1941; BMOP: Allan, Report to the Trustees, 8 May 1941.

²⁷ Caygill 1992, 37.

²⁸ Forsdyke 1952, 5; Wilson 2002, 251.

²⁹ BMA, Box 2: R. Bedford, letter to Allan, 24 March 1942. Bedford was employed by the Victoria and Albert Museum to oversee the evacuation of their objects to Westwood.

³⁰ Caygill 1990, 37.

³¹ BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Allan, 25 October 1941; BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Allan, 20 March 1942; BMA, Box 1: Robinson, letter to C.J. Gadd, 26 March 1942; BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Allan, 25 October 1941.

³² BMA, Box 1: Robinson, letter to Gadd, 26 March 1942; BMA, Box 1: Robinson, postcard to Gadd, 31 March 1942. The missing cabinet is listed as 'C&M.586' and Robinson eventually found it at Compton Wynyates but 'packed in a wooden box & not in the cardboard container [he] was looking for.'

³³ BMA, Box 1: Basil Gray, letter to Allan, April 21 (no year given). Gray called it '[t]hat box of Coins, C&M R11'.

³⁴ BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Allan, 25 October 1941; BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Allan, 20 March 1942.

³⁵ Allan, Mattingly and possibly also Robinson were all posted there for duty. See BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Mattingly, 13 March 1943; BMA, Box 2: Forsdyke, letter to Allan, 12 November 1942; Forsdyke 1952, 6.

Back in London, the Museum initially closed in anticipation of the predicted waves of bombers, but these failed to materialise. Forsdyke later reflected that this period had made it seem that 'the clearance of all the galleries had been unnecessary.'³⁶ In January 1940 it was decided that selected galleries should reopen with a display of replicas and photographs, but 'containing no irreplaceable treasures' and, later that year, the Department of Coins and Medals mounted its first wartime display consisting of electrotype copies of its objects.³⁷ An internal memorandum, circulated in June 1940, and which predates the bombing, contains a list of the collections material which remained in the British Museum.³⁸ This document essentially acted as a guideline for salvage should the Museum receive a direct hit during an air raid. Many of the large stone objects were still in situ, having been deemed too cumbersome to remove, and the British Library had completed only a partial evacuation of its collections. Allan's contribution, reporting the status of Coins and Medals, stated that '[n]othing is left but the Departmental Library from which the most important books have been removed.'³⁹

Bomb-damaged coins

In 2010, an archive box containing unsorted numismatic material was removed from one of the Museum basements set aside for Coins and Medals. Some of the material consisted of modern European coins which, since they were minted after the war had ended, must have been added to the box in the decades that followed.⁴⁰ However, the box also contained hundreds of misshapen lumps of metal which are made from coins fused together, bearing the signs of significant damage by fire, including melting and oxidisation. It is inconceivable, given the heat to which they were evidently subjected, that they were situated anywhere but the Museum and, most likely, within the Department of Coins and Medals when the building was bombed. The fragments were probably salvaged from the destroyed Department in the days or weeks that followed the bombing and afterwards placed in storage. Two of the largest of these molten fragments were subsequently selected to be registered as objects for the collection (Fig. 2 and Fig. 4).⁴¹

One of the two masses is relatively compact, and appears to consist of medieval hammered pennies (Fig. 2).⁴² These have melted to such an extent that parts of this lump are now little more than silver ingots showing faint outlines of coins: all except one are illegible. The legible coin resembles an Edward I or II type 10 penny (c. 1305–1310) and has an obverse inscription that begins **EDWAR** (Fig. 3).⁴³ Arguably these coins were once part of a hoard of pennies and, because type 10 pennies comprised between forty and fifty per cent of hoards buried after about 1320, its deposition probably dates from the early to mid-fourteenth century.⁴⁴ The total weight of the lump is 390.54 g and, since an unclipped penny issued during this period might weigh between about 1.3 g and 1.4 g, one might surmise that the mass contains the fused remnants of about 275–300 coins.

There is no gap in the British Museum series of medieval hammered pennies and there is no hoard recorded to have been acquired and which has subsequently gone missing from the collection. This suggests that it is previously unrecorded and, moreover, that it was brought to the

³⁶ Forsdyke 1952, 3.

³⁷ BMOP: Anon. 1940a; Allan, Report to the Trustees, 4 September 1940.

³⁸ BMOP: 'Salvage Lists and Instructions', June 1940.

³⁹ BMOP: Allan, reporting in 'Salvage Lists and Instructions,' June 1940.

⁴⁰ These may have been objects donated for potential acquisition but which were not required for the collection.

⁴¹ BM registered object numbers E.5226 and E.5227. These were exhibited in 2011 in the BM Money Gallery, for which see Hockenhull 2011, 47. The fragments were displayed alongside an incendiary shell casing that was salvaged from the roof of the Parthenon Gallery after 10 May 1941. The casing was designed to open at altitude, scattering the charges over London, but its mechanism was probably faulty and released them too late, causing them all to land on the British Museum. See Forsdyke 1952, 8.

⁴² BM object number E.5227.

⁴³ Image photographed using Reflective Transformative Imaging (RTI) by Craig Williams, Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum, June 2012. Although its features are worn, the crown and spreading hair featured on the bust are reminiscent of type 10cf2 series.

⁴⁴ Stewartby 2009, 131.

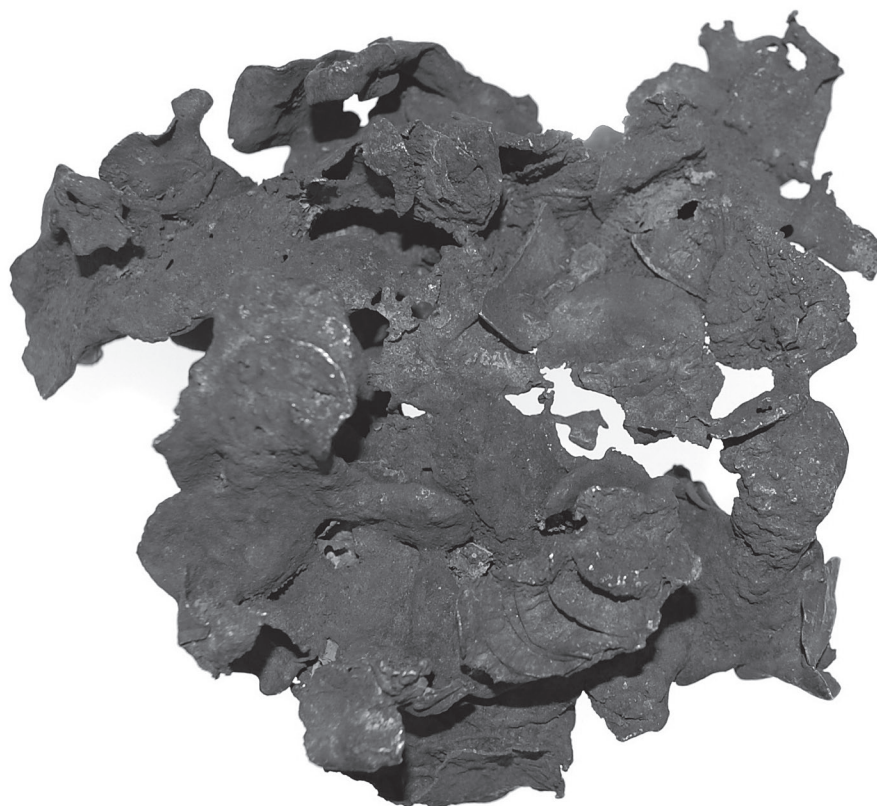


Fig. 2. Object no. E.5227. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 3. Detail from object no. E.5227, Edward I/II Type 10 Penny. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Museum to be catalogued as Treasure Trove.⁴⁵ The finder was perhaps unable to return to collect it or was informed that the hoard had been destroyed in the bombing, but no documentary evidence survives to support this suggestion.

The second block of melted coins that was accessioned in 2011 is approximately 390 mm long, 270 mm wide at its broadest point, and 105 mm deep (Fig. 4).⁴⁶ It is not only larger but, at 8.5 kg, much heavier than the first block. The object has brittle edges and it is possible that some of the other fragments found in storage were once attached to it but have now broken off. Subjected to radiographic testing in February 2012, the mass was found to contain several hundred copper coins which had been fused together by lead.⁴⁷

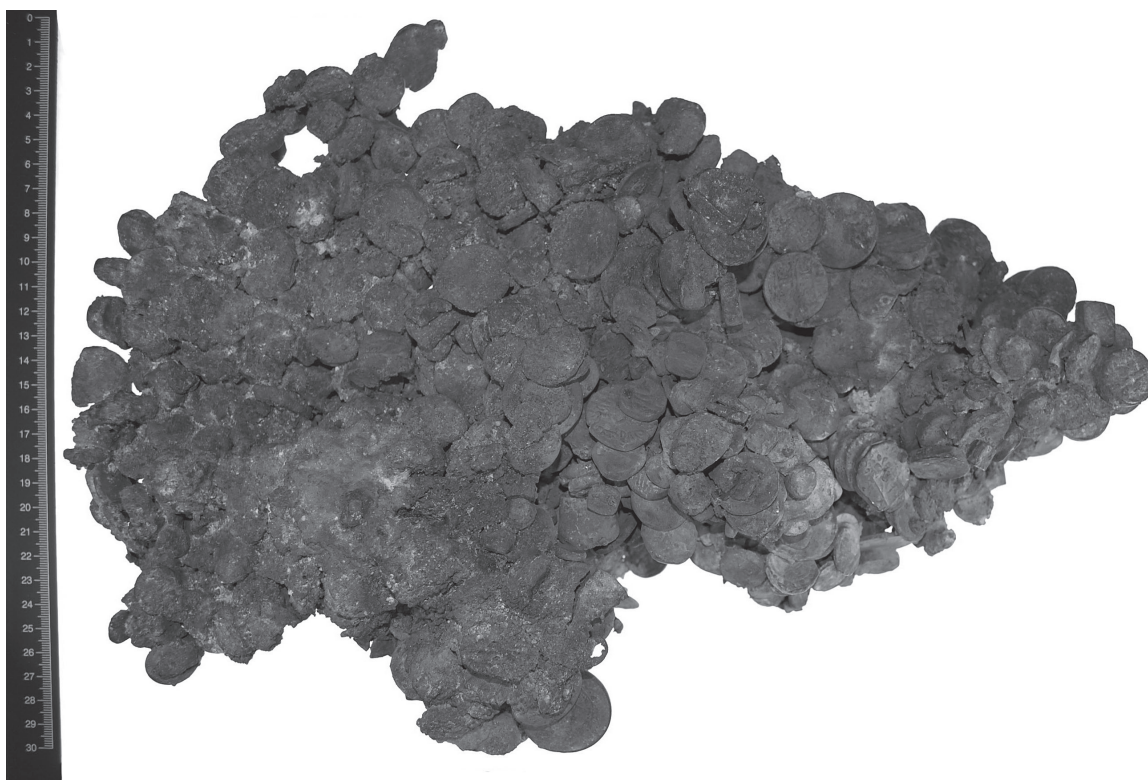


Fig. 4. Object no. E.5226. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Most of the coins that are fused within the mass are damaged to the point of being illegible. Those that were identified were predominantly issued in India and the earliest identifiable coin is of Wima Kadphises, the third Kushan king, from between about AD 113 and 127. Other identifiable coins include those of the Yaudheya Republic and Kanishka II.⁴⁸ From their diameter, thickness, and from the details remaining on the inscriptions, it is possible further to surmise that most of the remaining coins in the mass are medieval Indian, but they do not

⁴⁵ BMOP: Allan, Department of Coins and Medals Annual Report for 1941, 14 February 1942, lists the Treasure Trove dealt with by the Department in 1940 and 1941. No hoard matches this description which implies that it had only recently entered the museum and that it had not yet been processed or catalogued.

⁴⁶ BM object number E.5226.

⁴⁷ Testing conducted by J. Ambers, Department of Conservation and Scientific Research, British Museum, February 2012. Since lead melts at 327.5° C and copper at 1083° C respectively, the mass was subjected to heat somewhere between these ranges. The copper shows signs of melting in several places, suggesting that temperatures reached the upper end of this range.

⁴⁸ Many of the coins are worn and were probably in a poor condition prior to the bombing. Given the large number and varied numismatic nature of the objects found, not to mention their poor condition, it would require a project more focused in scope than the present paper fully to catalogue the legible coins within this conglomerate.

appear to have been properly sorted. One unregistered lump, for example, has the remains of a Victorian halfpenny token from Nova Scotia half wedged between layers of Indian coins.

The lead within the mass is most likely to have come from electrotypes which were, presumably, stored nearby and melted in the fire to fuse the copper coins together. Large numbers of electrotypes, which also exhibit signs of fire damage, were found in the archive box when it was examined. Their lead cores are gone leaving a thin layer of plating. The Museum was known to be producing electrotypes in the 1930s and, indeed, they constituted the wartime sacrificial display mounted by Coins and Medals.⁴⁹

It remains open to question whether any of the damaged coins were registered: given the damage to these objects, their corresponding paper tickets (the card discs upon which the coins sat in their trays, providing information about their provenance and type) would have almost certainly perished in the flames. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether these objects were ever accessioned from the original registers. This is because the collection was built over two centuries and because collecting policies were, until long after the war, fluid and flexible.⁵⁰ Objects which were already represented in the collections of Coins and Medals were sometimes exchanged for objects from other collections which would fill gaps within series.⁵¹ The Coins and Medals registers should have been amended to reflect the fact that the object was no longer with the Museum but this system varied from series to series and according to the practices of individual curators. In some instances the exchange of these so-called duplicates remains unrecorded.⁵² The Oriental registers, which were removed from the Department of Coins and Medals before it was destroyed, provide an illustrative example of the development of the collection, and the attendant pitfalls that derive from trying to identify missing coins. It is not, therefore, possible to state definitively whether the coins in the larger lump were registered objects, potential acquisitions left for staff to choose from, objects loaned by another institution for study or a combination of the above suppositions.

The extant correspondence between Forsdyke, Allan, and Robinson during 1939 and 1941 gives a clear indication that, whilst most of the Department decamped to Boughton House, Allan, at least, remained at the Museum. Heating was required in the Medal Room, which further suggests that, since the Coins and Medals library was closed to students, he was working there after the outbreak of war, and possibly up until the bombing in May 1941.⁵³ Dr David MacDowall, who joined the Department of Coins and Medals in 1956, states that 'when the rest of the cabinets had been removed to safety ... the Keeper John Allen [sic] had retained in the BM some of the Indian cabinets on which he was working.'⁵⁴ To a certain extent this is supported by the evidence of stained coin tickets; indeed, a great swathe of tickets belonging to ninth and tenth-century Shahi series coins show evidence of staining (see, for example, Fig. 5).⁵⁵ This occurred at some point between 1933 (the latest acquisition year to be found on a stained ticket) and 1956 or 1957, when it was noticed by MacDowall. MacDowall recalls a conversation with John Walker, who suggested that 'they must have suffered from the fire bombs that had set fire to the BM in the war.'⁵⁶

⁴⁹ BMA, Box 3: 'War Exhibition List and Notebook, 1940'; BMOP: Allan, Report to the Trustees, 4 September 1940.

⁵⁰ Williams 2011, 37.

⁵¹ See Wilson 2002, 159–60 for an example of objects being bartered for other objects held with institutions in the United Kingdom and abroad. The practice of exchanging duplicates between collections was widespread until the mid-twentieth century.

⁵² See, for example, CMA: Oriental Series Register, Whitehead 1922, 1525–4149, Volume 9, object nos. 1922,0424.377, 1921,1118.54 for standard documentation procedure for object exchange. This required the gluing of tickets from exchanged coins directly into the registers. The same volume has entries where the traces of glue are apparent but the ticket has gone astray.

⁵³ BMOP: Allan, letter to the Directorate, 28 September 1939.

⁵⁴ D. MacDowall, pers. comm., 15 March 2012, by email.

⁵⁵ India Office Collection, acquired 1892. See Walker 1953, 78. See also tickets belonging to objects with the following BM object numbers: 1933,0802.12; IOC.804; IOC.811; 1904,0206.3; 1894,0507.1017; 1853,0301.50. Tickets with more extensive damage may have been replaced since the bombing. Under ordinary circumstances tickets would not have been separated from the objects and would, therefore, have accompanied the coins in their cabinets to Boughton House.

⁵⁶ D. MacDowall, pers. comm., 15 March 2012, by email.



Fig. 5. Stained ticket from BM object no. IOC.834. XRF testing ruled out fire damage. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The stained tickets were subjected to X-ray fluorescence and Raman spectroscopy (XRF) testing in June 2012 which found no difference in the elemental composition between the dark areas and the unaffected areas of paper.⁵⁷ Since XRF testing should detect higher traces of carbon associated with charring, this rules out the possibility that the tickets were damaged by fire. It is still possible, however, that the staining was caused by the firemen's hoses, the water from which had done as much to damage the books in the South-West Quadrant as the fire itself.⁵⁸

The initial report about the bombing, states that '[t]he only serious losses were the section of the Library dealing with Indian and Oriental Coins and the manuscript and casts made for Mr Allan's Catalogue of Coins of Medieval India', and the Trustees express their sympathy with Allan for the 'total destruction of the Medal Room and in his personal losses.'⁵⁹ Since no one was hurt in the bombing of the Medal Room, one assumes that these 'personal losses' refer to the aforementioned manuscript although, since it was not published, very little information survives concerning its content. Unfortunately Allan's work is not mentioned in reports to the Trustees except in retrospect (after it was destroyed).⁶⁰

Allan's reasons for not reporting the destruction of coins to the Trustees are elusive, but mitigated by the fact that the damaged objects were not thrown away, as might easily have occurred when the building was cleared of debris. This indicates that he did not go to any great lengths to hide their destruction: he simply omitted the fact from his report, and it seems unlikely that he would have faced serious repercussions if he had reported their destruction, especially if they were unregistered. Indeed, the readiness with which the Trustees accepted the possibility that registered objects could be destroyed is demonstrated by a British Museum wartime display, advertised in a contemporary press report as a 'possible sacrifice to the aerial perils of war.'⁶¹ This so-called 'suicide display' lived up to its name and was destroyed during the bombing of the Museum on 10 May 1941.⁶²

The lack of evidence about the destruction of numismatic material might, in part, be explained by the limitations of the archive documents relating to the period 1939–45, which are woefully brief. Minute taking was limited by staff shortages, and this is particularly evident with regard to the original papers for 1941–51, which are condensed into a single volume, when previously a single year (1938 for example) might have filled a large bound tome in the archives.⁶³ Considering the scale of the damage to the Museum on 10 May 1941, it is extraordinary that the report about the degree of the damage barely covers one page of the Trustees'

⁵⁷ Testing conducted by C. Higgitt, Department of Conservation and Scientific Research, British Museum, June 2012.

⁵⁸ BMA, Box 3: 'Fire Damage Night 10/11 May 1941'; BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Standing Committee Report, 12 July 1941. A British Museum Fire Warden, in a letter to the Chief Fireman, referred to the night of the bombing and complained that his uniform was 'completely soddened [sic] with water within a few minutes' and that his 'pants and vest are stained and ruined.' See BMA, Staff Archive: Alfred Joseph Riches, letter to George Robert Thorpe, 12 May 1941.

⁵⁹ CMA: Department of Coins and Medals, Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Antiquities, etc., 12 July 1941.

⁶⁰ See, for example, BMOP: Allan, report to the Trustees, 4 April 1940.

⁶¹ Anon., 1940b.

⁶² Caygill 1990, 37; BMA, Box 3: 'War Exhibition List and Notebook, 1940'.

⁶³ The reports to the Trustees from Coins and Medals, in particular, become extremely short between 1941 and 1945, often consisting of a couple of handwritten lines on scraps of paper. See, for example, BMOP: Mattingly, Report to the Trustees, 10 November 1942.

report.⁶⁴ It took until 1952 for an official treatment to emerge, written by Forsdyke two years after his retirement as Director.⁶⁵

Finally, there is evidence to suggest that the British Museum attempted to understate the scale of the destruction. The final written report from the Trustees is defiant in its tone and, whilst it acknowledges the ‘complete destruction of the Quadrant and of the roofs of the main staircase and the Galleries mentioned’, it further states that ‘all these roofs and floors and the whole structure of the Quadrant were condemned as unsafe before the last year, and would have been reconstructed long ago if money had been available.’⁶⁶ Reflecting upon the scale of the damage to the rest of the building and the destruction of 250,000 books from the British Museum Library, this places a more measured perspective upon the losses from Coins and Medals.⁶⁷

After the war: conclusion

The preceding narrative highlights the difficulties faced by the Department of Coins and Medals over a period lasting twenty years. The mystery surrounding the bomb-damaged coins also demonstrates the extent to which important information can be lost within a relatively short period of time. Fortunately, the surviving evidence suggests that, on the whole, the Department successfully executed a remarkable evacuation of its valuable collection, which bears testament to the dedication and diligence of its staff in the face of challenging conditions.

The tasks of rebuilding and re-housing Coins and Medals were both arduous and disruptive to the Department’s activities and, according to Wilson, ‘an austere greyness settled on the institution.’⁶⁸ Having previously managed to maintain the disparate links between a geographically and logistically fragmented collection, members of museum staff returning from war service were now hampered by post-war austerity measures. The Ministry of Works had made its priorities clear, explaining that ‘little or no labour would be available for Museums until demands for housing had been met, and Museums must therefore be prepared to confine their activities to parts of their premises which would need no serious reconditioning.’⁶⁹ The slow progress of the rebuild frustrated the new Director and successor to Sir John Forsdyke, Sir Thomas Kendrick, who referred to this period as the ‘lean years’.⁷⁰ The Department of Coins and Medals moved back to Bloomsbury in late 1946 to temporary accommodation in the Museum’s No. 3 East Residence, where working conditions were far from convenient.⁷¹ Space was limited, many of the objects remained inaccessible, and provision for students was minimal. During this time, the burned out Department remained little more than a roofless shell, leading Kendrick to remark that he ‘dreaded every shower of rain.’⁷² Finally, after a thirteen-year rebuild, the Department of Coins and Medals reopened to staff and students in November 1959.⁷³

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⁶⁴ BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Standing Committee Report, 12 July 1941.

⁶⁵ Forsdyke 1952, 7–8. His report, however, still lacks detail and only briefly refers to the episode of the bombing.

⁶⁶ BMOP: Trustees of the British Museum, Standing Committee Report, 12 July 1941.

⁶⁷ Johnstone-Wilson 1952, 9.

⁶⁸ Wilson 2002, 252. Some staff members from the Department of Coins and Medals, for example, the Assistant Keeper, Derek Allen, stayed on in the civil service and did not return to the Museum after the war.

⁶⁹ Forsdyke, September 1944, quoted in Wilson 2002, 252.

⁷⁰ Anon. Special Correspondent 1959a. Kendrick was announcing his resignation as Director. Allan had retired as Keeper of Coins and Medals in 1952 and died three years later, in 1955. See Walker 1956, 351–2.

⁷¹ Anon. Special Correspondent 1959b; Walker 1953, 80; Burnett 2011, 6.

⁷² Anon. Special Correspondent 1959a.

⁷³ Anon. Special Correspondent 1959b. The article proudly announced that the rebuilt Department ‘has its own entrance hall and waiting room, and is air conditioned.’

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 2011

WHAT IS THE POINT OF NUMISMATICS?

R.J. EAGLEN

Introduction

IN my last two addresses I feasted your eyes with illustrations. Tonight, I shall engage your minds with words alone. To ease any qualms you may have, in responding to the question I have posed I offer myself as your stalwart champion, not as a feeble apologist.

Definition

Before entering the lists, we should be clear what is meant by numismatics. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as ‘The study of coins and medals, esp. from an archaeological or historical standpoint’.¹ This is a pithy but uncharacteristically lazy definition. To ‘coins and medals’ we can immediately add the study of tokens, banknotes and other embodiments of money and money’s worth. Also, to the incipient queue formed by archaeology and history, we can add economics, politics, metallurgy, engineering, art and aesthetics, iconography, mythology and even anthropology. You could doubtless place others in this queue, were you so minded.

Indeed, the sheer scope of numismatics is one of its greatest attributes and sources of fascination. It also risks, ironically, being its Achilles’ heel. Touching so many other disciplines it runs the danger of being relegated as a footnote to such subjects. I shall seek to expose the absurdity of such a notion. In doing so I shall concentrate mainly on coins and on the British series, but as we are considering numismatics *per se*, I must be excused for straying occasionally beyond these limits. I also crave your indulgence if the necessarily selective examples I use in support of what I say are drawn mainly from my own interests and experience. Again, you could doubtless offer alternative and possibly more telling examples of your own.

Numismatics and archaeology

The *OED* is irreproachable in stressing the links between numismatics, archaeology and history. Numismatics and archaeology enjoy an especially intimate, two way relationship, particularly in periods for which written records are sparse or non-existent. Both disciplines then rely on what the earth yields up. For the archaeologist painstaking excavation and recording provide vital evidence of when a site was occupied, by whom, and why and how the occupiers related to the wider environment. Within this framework coins, whether in the form of hoards or stray finds, may amplify or reshape the archaeological evidence.² This capability arises directly from numismatic knowledge of the identity, classification and dating of the coins themselves. In the Iron Age, for example, in addition to helping define tribal territories, coins are sole evidence for the existence of such rulers as Tasciovanos, father of Cunobelin, and of

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¹ *OED* 1989, X, 598.

² See Reece 2012, pp. 8–28 above, for the use of coin finds to illuminate the economy of Roman Britain.

Addedomas, possibly his grandfather.³ The foundations are thereby laid, to be tested against other evidence coming to light, of a credible chronology for these rulers. Another example is the relevance to the introduction of gold coinage in Britain of John Sill's work in dating the uniface stater, Gallo-Belgic E.⁴ As a significant contribution to this partnership from archaeology, advances in the techniques of conservation are enlarging the capabilities of coin evidence. For instance, the British Museum now uses a solution of alkaline glycerol as a non-invasive replacement for previous cleaning agents.

Numismatics and history

The examples I have just given could also be used to illustrate the interdependence of numismatics, archaeology and history. The relationship of numismatics to history is, however, more broadly based. The primary sources of history consist of the physical evidence of surviving immovable and moveable objects from the past, all of which may fall within the domain of archaeology, but they also consist profusely of the written word and other graphic material from the past. Such documentary evidence may, of course, allude to or consist of specifically numismatic evidence. Coins, besides being objects of enormous historical significance in their own right, can illuminate all the primary sources I have mentioned. The importance of coins arises from their relative indestructibility and the concentration of information they are capable of conveying. The role of the numismatist is to identify, interpret and apply this information. The contribution of coins may even be heightened where they embody both primary and secondary sources. For example, a commemorative issue may be a primary source for the commemoration itself, but also a secondary source about what is being commemorated.

As I have already observed in relation to archaeology, coins provide vital, even unique, evidence where written or graphic historical sources are either scarce or altogether lacking. From Ancient Greece certain *poleis* are known purely from the coins they issued.⁵ Turning to Britain, early hoards have also begun to reveal the extent to which contact with the Continent outlasted the departure of the Roman legions.⁶ Later, in ninth-century England, study of its coinage has transformed our understanding of the Northumbrian kingdom, compared with the picture pieced together from incomplete and often later chronicles.⁷ Our knowledge of East Anglia at that period is even more elusive. Contrasting with the extensive hagiography surrounding the life and death of St Edmund (d. 870), five kings ruling before him are at present unknown apart from their coins.⁸

Where specifically numismatic written evidence survives, in the form of laws, writs, proclamations and official and monastic records, experience confirms that they can usually be relied upon. (This may be because the documents tend to deal with subject matter where the motive for falsification is usually absent.) An example is the documentary record of round halfpennies being struck in the reign of Henry I, treated with scepticism until in recent years actual specimens began to emerge.⁹

More usually, documentary evidence relating to coinage is either clarified or elaborated by the coins themselves. An example within my own experience relates to repeated references that the abbot at Bury was entitled to a sole moneyer. Exceptionally, writs of Stephen increased the complement to three. My die studies confirm that this indeed happened in Stephen's first, Watford type. They reveal, however, that the abbot also had two and possibly three moneyers in the latter years of Henry I's reign, although no writs survive to testify the fact.¹⁰

³ Cottam, de Jersey, Rudd and Sills 2010.

⁴ Sills 2005.

⁵ E.g. coins of Phistelia, southern Italy. See Head 1911, 41.

⁶ Abdy and Williams 2006; Abdy 2006.

⁷ Metcalf 1987; *MEC*, 295–303.

⁸ Pagan 1982; Archibald 1985; Archibald, Fenwick and Cowell 1995; Naismith 2011, I, 35–43, pl. 75–6, 85–99.

⁹ Seaby 1949–51; Grierson 1949–51; Archibald and Conte 1990.

¹⁰ Eaglen 2006, 80–1, 98–100.

From the end of the thirteenth century the government periodically introduced only partly successful measures to ban the circulation of foreign coins in England.¹¹ Later, from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries the challenge to the official monopoly in currency was home grown, in the form of trade tokens. The authorities doubtless had the ability at any period to enforce their policies, but perhaps at times felt that such redress would be more troublesome than tolerating the offence. The banning of tokens in 1672 had long been forgotten when in the late eighteenth century they reappeared to meet the chronic demand for small change which the government of the day was neglecting to provide. These mismatches between regulation and practice are clearly revealed by study of the coins and tokens themselves.¹²

The relationship between numismatics and history is intimate and many faceted. Knowledge and understanding in both disciplines are essential if the fullest synergy is to be gleaned from that relationship.

Numismatics as an intellectual discipline and educative force

If someone were naïve enough to ask – say – ‘what is the value of physics?’ a physicist might be taken by surprise, but would not be nonplussed for an answer. Ask a similar question to an historian, or to a numismatist, and the reply is likely to be more diffident. This arises from differences in the extent of practical application. Physics has a clear and measurable impact on the world, but the humanities offer less obvious and easily quantifiable benefits, especially in our materialistic times. Historians are themselves somewhat at fault for any public perception that their studies are not widely relevant. Early practitioners cultivated an aura of detached superiority towards the outside world, treating history, in the memorable words of David Cannadine, as ‘an intellectual pastime for consenting adults in private’.¹³ However, with an increase in recent years of numbers of students taking historical and philosophical courses at university change is afoot, encouraged by such writers as John Tosh, with his combative *Why History Matters*.¹⁴ Tosh argues cogently for the value of objective historical knowledge and judgment in understanding not only the past and the present but also in facing the future. In this, I suggest that numismatics also has a role to play but, before explaining why, I would like to put the case for the educative benefits of both history and numismatics.

The case rests mainly on their role as intellectual disciplines. Both are an exercise in gathering and marshalling facts to produce convincing narrative and valid judgments from them. The process is also an exercise in identifying falsehoods, fallacies and uncertainties, avoiding preconceived and prejudiced notions and distinguishing between what is relevant and what is not. Honing these skills makes for a successful student. It also provides the intellectual apparatus to deal with a wide range of challenges encountered in work and life.

In my student days in the 1950s it was generally accepted that a good degree in the humanities from a reputable university, apart from offering the prospect of an academic career, was a suitable stepping stone into industry and commerce and such professions as accountancy and the law. Nowadays, emphasis is increasingly placed on vocational courses within a hugely expanded university network. I wonder, however, if vocationally biased education is more likely to equip the individual to cope with the work place, let alone with life.

Heritage and citizenship

I now revert to the practical arguments for numismatics. Especially with the increase in disparate immigrant populations in the UK, often originating from countries not forming part of the former British empire, what are seen as core British values are feared to be under threat. The dismantling of national barriers through the ugly term ‘globalization’ is another corrosive

¹¹ Cook 1999, 233–84.

¹² Brooke 1950, 219, 220.

¹³ Cannadine 1987, 178.

¹⁴ Tosh 2008.

influence. It is doubly so in that the perceived assault on individual identity also encourages social polarization, based on ethnic, religious, linguistic, geographic and other distinctions. The UK government, especially since 1997, has responded by promoting the concept of 'Britishness'.¹⁵ Realistically, this can only be achieved by fostering knowledge and a sympathetic understanding of Britain's past. And no clearer framework for that past is to be found than through the medium of its coinage. Closely linked is the concept of citizenship, a test applied even to those settling in the UK from Commonwealth countries.¹⁶ Here the objective is to instil an appreciation of the Britain of today and its aspirations. Movements in the UK towards greater devolution, and even possible independence, naturally present a threat to the very concept of Britishness.

Perhaps partly as a reaction to the feeling of identity crisis, popular interest in Britain's past has in fact increased in recent years. The media have been an important contributor to this change, both in stimulating and responding to it. It has to be conceded that this upsurge, seen for instance in attendance levels at museums, properties of the National Trust and others, and in the vogue for tracing family history and genealogy, may have partly arisen from the pursuit of entertainment.¹⁷ However, it is not to be disparaged on that account and may serve as a cue for those of us keen to promote numismatics.

Very significantly, this popular movement has had, as I have already mentioned, an academic counterpart in higher enrolments on university courses for degrees in history and philosophy.¹⁸ It is thus a very worrying setback that, in the wake of the financial crisis of 2008, the government feels the necessity to reduce funding for universities and cultural institutions such as museums. This applies added pressure upon those contemplating a career as an academic or a professional curator or numismatist to think seriously about alternatives, perhaps with better immediate job prospects. If so, it means that numismatic advances will become more dependent on those for whom numismatics is an avocation rather than a primary occupation. Fortunately, there is a distinguished tradition for non-professional contributors to coin studies, even if their work does not always win the respect it deserves.

Numismatic research

I would now like to turn specifically to numismatic research. The many links of numismatics with other disciplines have already been stressed. In recent years such links have become ever wider. For example, the work of Anna Gannon into the iconography of the early British series has created an awareness of the meaning and artistic merits of designs that many had hitherto viewed with some condescension.¹⁹ More recently, Katie Eagleton is thrusting out the boundaries even further with her investigation of coinage in Africa from an anthropological point of view.²⁰

Apart, however, from links with other disciplines numismatics also has its own unique skills. I shall take two examples: analysis of hoards and stray finds, and die studies. Both are vital for the numismatist's ability to match and differentiate individual coins, leading to a meaningful classification of individual series. Die studies were pioneered by students of Greek and Roman coins early in the twentieth century and are still being progressively applied to the British series.²¹ They have, however, not been immune from ill-conceived criticism, even from within the numismatic community itself, as an excessive preoccupation with minutiae. Indeed, the

¹⁵ Tosh 2008, 124, 129.

¹⁶ For the 'Life in the UK test', see <http://lifeintheuktest.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/>.

¹⁷ Membership of the National Trust reached 4 million in 2011 from 2 million in 1990 (information provided by National Trust).

¹⁸ In 2011, the Universities and Colleges Application Service reported 15,092 acceptances for historical and philosophical studies, including 511 acceptances for archaeology; in 2006 there were 12,985 acceptances for historical and philosophical studies, including 614 acceptances for archaeology (www.ucas.com/about_us/stat_services/stats_online/data_tables/subject/).

¹⁹ Gannon 2003.

²⁰ More information on the project 'Money in Africa: understanding the past and present of a continent' is available on the British Museum website (www.britishmuseum.org/research/projects/money_in_africa.aspx).

²¹ Eaglen 2011, 177–8.

results of die studies may in themselves be inconsequential, but what is done with those results may be highly significant.

This raises an important point for the well-being and recognition of numismatics. For raw data based on painstaking study to be of any value it has to be used to draw conclusions of wider relevance and interest to numismatists, other disciplines and a wider audience. Detailed studies may be essential as a reliable starting point. They can be so daunting, such as a die study of the London mint, that no one has so far risen to the challenge. Our *Journal* and the *Numismatic Chronicle* serve an essential function in publishing such detailed groundwork. Studies such as our Special Publications constitute the second phase, interpreting detailed research to a wider audience. Phase three addresses a wider audience still with such works as Lord Stewartby's *English Coins 1180–1551*, appealing in equal measure to numismatists and historians.²² Phase four is represented by a work such as Brooke's *English Coins*, where scholarly knowledge is distilled into text appealing to numismatists, collectors and the enquiring general reader.²³ Numismatics can and should serve all these groups.

When I first began to take a serious interest in coins, I became troubled that we were running out of worthwhile challenges. This concern has happily proved unfounded. In spite of all the work in intervening years there still remain important questions. For example, we have far to go in a complete understanding of *renovatio monetae* in the eleventh century and beyond, and of the purpose and effect of weight changes in the currency. In spite also of relatively plentiful surviving coins from the reign of Edward the Confessor, our understanding of that reign is very incomplete, as is that of Henry I, where yawning gaps are only gradually being filled from hoards and stray finds.

It is also clear that each age has something new to add, either from fresh evidence or changes in emphasis or approach. For Edwardian sterlings the work of Burns in the nineteenth century remains relevant today.²⁴ He was followed by the remarkable contribution of the Fox brothers early in the twentieth century²⁵ and they, in turn, by Jeffrey North, especially in the late 1980s.²⁶ I would be astounded if that was the end of the story.

Coins, art and aesthetics

Appreciation of and the collection of coins originated from recognition of their aesthetic and antiquarian qualities. Following the Renaissance, Greek coins from the so-called Classical Period established themselves as the summit of artistic achievement. Even well into the twentieth century it was still customary to distinguish such issues from the earlier Archaic and later Hellenistic Periods.²⁷ The appeal of Greek coinage between the early fifth century and the accession of Alexander the Great is indeed obvious. The flans were thick, enabling high relief to be achieved without too much concern about exposing the highlights to eventual wear. The designs themselves were nevertheless susceptible to great variations in execution according to the skills of the engraver, so that the reputation of the coinage was and remains associated with the finest examples of the celator's art. Identifying such pieces is an aesthetic challenge to students and collectors in the series and to auctioneers and dealers alike. Alongside such coins, in the course of the last century, the intrinsic artistic merits of earlier and later Greek coins have been increasingly recognized. The pejoratively labelled Archaic Period is now appreciated for issues of extraordinary vigour whereas the Hellenistic Period spawned a remarkable portrait gallery of Alexander's successors. Conceptually, this replaced the impassive beauty captured in Classical images of the mythical gods with uninhibited realism, later emulated with mixed success by ancient Rome.

²² Stewartby 2009.

²³ Brooke 1934.

²⁴ Burns 1887, 186–220 and pl. A.

²⁵ Fox and Fox 1909–1913.

²⁶ See especially *SCBI* 39.

²⁷ Jenkins 1972, 5.

In the time available to me it is not practicable to attempt an analysis of how coin design evolved through the Anglo-Saxon period to the immobilized types of the Middle Ages, to the surge of artistic creativity, both in coins and medals, in the Renaissance, and to the introduction of milled coinage, opening up a versatile new world of precision in low relief. The main point is that coins provide an unbroken commentary and chronology for the evolution of artistic expression through the centuries from the beginning of coinage to the present day in a way that no other homogenous group of objects could possibly do. For many periods, coins are also the only affordable (and possibly attainable) examples of the artistic movements they represent – unless you happen to be a Getty or an Arab sheikh. Not everyone is thrilled by the habit of modern mints to issue an unremitting flow of new designs for currency or for collection, but there can be no doubt that they may possess great artistic interest.

Numismatic collecting

This brings me to some concluding thoughts on collectors and collecting. Coin collectors are sometimes viewed as the poor cousins in the numismatic community. Indeed, ridiculing avid and pointless forms of collecting is a sport with a long history. Both Addison and Johnson lampooned virtuosi with an interest in ‘the curious’. Addison imagined one such – Nicholas Gimcrack – who began his will by leaving to his wife a box of butterflies and to a brother, in recognition of the lands he had vested in Nicholas’ son, last year’s collection of grasshoppers. Other bequests included a rat’s testicles and a whale’s pizzle (yes, it is what you think it is).²⁸ In the same vein Johnson imagined a virtuoso who accumulated a collection of unimaginable trivia. In so doing he became the prey of wags and sharks, who so dissipated his wealth that he was obliged to mortgage his property to acquire thirty medals in the Harleian sale.²⁹ In recent times, amongst my former acquaintance was a surgeon with a passion for antique clocks. His wife eventually gave him an ultimatum that when the next clock entered the house she would leave. His solution was to store his many subsequent purchases at a dealer’s premises.

Although, if taken to extremes, collecting may be ridiculous and even harmful, it is normally a deeply satisfying and psychologically fulfilling pursuit. Collectors of coins, for example, determine for themselves the boundaries of their interest, according to their personal inclination and resources. Within that framework arise the thrill of the chase, the element of surprise, and the satisfaction of possession. I would also claim that no collector has ever failed to acquire some knowledge of a personal or wider value in pursuit of a chosen field. Also, of course, major collectors, such as R.J. Lockett (1873–1950), may create a precious resource for numismatic study even though they themselves have no thought of using their coins in that way.³⁰ For others, such as Commander Mack (1901–74), collecting may become the springboard to serious study.³¹ My own collections in the English series have actually been prompted by the desire to amass the materials of study. Not least was my belief that in being known as a collector I would be far more likely to hear about coins relevant to my research. Collecting also gives scope for novel approaches to coin study. I referred earlier this evening to the passing of Eileen Atkinson.³² One of her interests was in coins with images of birds. Another of our members collects coins with Wagnerian associations. It struck me the other day that a collection of coins as propaganda could be fascinating. Such possibilities are almost limitless.

Postscript

Finally, I would offer a frankly unsophisticated thought: that numismatics, whether as a body of knowledge, an object of study or a form of collecting, is also a rich source of pleasure. There is about coins a magic which few other objects can match. Each coin has its own history

²⁸ Addison 1710a.

²⁹ Johnson 1750.

³⁰ R.C. Lockett, fourteen posthumous sales through Glendining between 1955 and 1961. See Manville 2009, 167–8.

³¹ Mack 1966.

³² See p. 298 below.

which may to a varying degree be known. Addison takes us into this realm with his essay on 'The Adventures of a Shilling'. He chronicles the fortunes of an Elizabethan shilling from the silver mines of Peru through decades of use and abuse to a furnace in the Great Recoinage of 1696–7.³³

Although in any discipline rivalries and jealousies may erupt, numismatics is unusually free from such frictions. Whether working alone or together, numismatists are only too willing help and encourage each other, in the course of which friendships are often formed that last for life.

The future of numismatists is in the hands of many. It is nurtured by academia, museums, numismatic societies, authors of diverse topics, auctioneers and dealers, collectors, metal detectorists and, increasingly, the media. Their involvement and commitment combine as a resounding affirmation in reply to my question.

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³³ Addison 1710b.

NEW TYPES AND FINDS FOR OFFA OF MERCIA

RORY NAISMITH AND JOHN NAYLOR

RECENT years have seen the publication of several major works on the coinage of Offa, providing both a revised classification and a fuller understanding of the mints, moneyers and chronology of his issues.¹ The most recent of these was intended, in part, to update Chick's volume in order to take account of new finds which had been made once the Chick catalogue was closed in 2006. However, between the time when this was completed in May 2010 and February 2012 twenty-eight new pennies of Offa have been reported to the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds, or come to light by other means,² five of which provide examples of previously unknown types. The coins are illustrated on **Pl. 4**.

These twenty-eight new finds constitute a powerful demonstration of the richness and complexity of Offa's coinage. It continues to produce surprises and challenges, and remains an unusually fruitful area of research.

1. EMC 2010.0287 [Chick 13, Offa: London, Æthelweald]

Obv. **OFFA** || **REX** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

Rev. **EDEL** || **UALO** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

Weight: 1.02 g (bent and chipped); axis: 270°.

Found near Papworth ('site 2'), Cambridgeshire, by 2010.

2. EMC 2011.0023 [Chick 13, Offa: London, Æthelweald]

Obv. **OFFA** || **REX** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

Rev. **EDEL** || **UALO** in two lines divided by a beaded bar with a cross at each end.

No weight; no axis.

Found near Wildhern, Hampshire, January 2011.

Probably same dies as Chick 13n.

3. EMC 2010.0384 [Chick 18, Offa: London, Ciolhard]

Obv. **OFFA** **REX** around a Roman-style draped and cuirassed bust right with curly hair.

Rev. **CIOL** || **HARO** (lozenge-shaped **O**) above and below serpent-like creature forming a lateral figure of eight across the field.

Weight: 1.03 g (chipped).

Found at Rendlesham productive site, Suffolk, by 2010.

4. EMC 2010.0387 [Chick 20, Offa: London, Dud]

Obv. **OFFA** **REX** around a diademed bust right breaking a beaded inner circle, with ornamental spray projecting in front of bust.

Rev. **+** **O** / **V** / **D** divided by four enclosed lobes containing trefoil-headed sceptres; the inner circle contains a cross bottonnée with four petals in saltire.

Weight: 1.25 g.

Found at Rendlesham productive site, Suffolk, by 2010.

Same reverse die as Chick 20a.

Acknowledgements. Our thanks are extended to the original finders of the coins, and to Martin Allen and the individual PAS Finds Liaison Officers for both the initial identifications and for bringing these coins to our attention.

¹ Metcalf 2009; Chick 2010; Naismith 2010. All type references given here take the form 'Chick'.

² The Portable Antiquities Scheme website can be found at www.finds.org.uk, and EMC at www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc. Note that new sales of previously recorded coins have not been included here.

5. PAS BUC-F1ADC0 [Chick 27, Offa : London, Dud] (probable modern forgery)

Obv. **OFFÆ** (pellet above **O**) || **REX** (seven pellets dotted around the field) in two lines, divided by a beaded bar, each end terminating in a fleur.

Rev. **†D** (three pellets between **†** and **D**; four pellets visible to left, two to right) || **UD** (**†** beneath between **U** and **D**, with a pellet directly above; five other pellets dotted around the lower part of the field) divided by a beaded bar each end terminating in a fleur.

Weight: 1.48 g.

Found at Sherington, Buckinghamshire, 2010.

The style of the lettering on this penny is very unusual, and more sharply defined than is normally the case with Offa's pennies. It is also extremely heavy for a Light penny. For these reasons, it should probably be dismissed as a modern forgery but is included here for reference.

6. PAS DEV-530DA3 [Chick 28, Offa: London, Dud]

Obv. **OFFÆ** || **REX** (with two groups of three pellets and cross above) in two lines, divided by a beaded bar.

Rev. **†D** || **UD** (with cross below and surrounded by groups of pellets) in two lines, divided by a beaded bar, each end terminating in a fleur.

No weight or axis.

Found at Teignbridge, Devon, 1970.

Same dies as Chick 28b.

This is the first known find of a penny of Offa from Devon.

7. EMC 2011.0117/PAS SF-1DE6B3 [Chick 48, Offa: London, Ealhmund]

Obv. **†OFFÆ** **REX†** around draped and cuirassed bust right, breaking a beaded inner circle.

Rev. ...**ÆL** / **MV** / **NÐ** around a large lozenge with incurved sides; a central annulet contains a cross bottonnée and four pellets in saltire.

Weight: 1.01 g; axis: 180°.

Found near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, March 2011.

8. PAS NARC-3B6140 [Chick 55, Offa: London, Ibba]

Obv. **OFFÆ** **REX** around diademed bust right with curved shoulders and collar, without diadem ties.

Rev. **I** / **B** / **B** / **Æ** in angles of a lozenge cross fleury with plain cross in the centre. The initial cross is beaded.

Weight: 1.16 g; axis: 20°.

Found at Cropredy, Oxfordshire, by August 2011.

9. EMC 2011.0122 [Chick 103, Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. **○** / **F** || **Æ** / **Ṁ** (**F** underlined marking a contraction) in the angles of a beaded long cross terminating in sprays, with a beaded annulet containing a pellet cross at centre.

Rev. **€** / **○** / **B** / **Æ** in angles of a long cross terminating in triangles, with a large annulet at centre containing a small cross with pellets in angles.

No weight or axis.

Found on the Isle of Thanet, Kent, 2011.

Same dies as Chick 103a.

10. Fossato di Vico, Umbria, Italy [Chick 106, Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. **ṀF** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in pelleted frame with pellets radiating from each angle || **ÆṀ** below; cross enclosed by two y-shaped ornaments above, with floral ornament on either side.

Rev. **€** / **○** || **B** / **Æ** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in the angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.

Weight: 1.13 g; axis: 0°.

The coin is illustrated and described in Chiari 2007, 260 (no. 348). No specific information on its provenance survives, but there is good cause to believe it to be a local find.

Same reverse die as Chick 106h.

11. PAS BUC-DEC7A8 [Chick 106, Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. **ṀF** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in pelleted frame with pellets radiating from each angle || **ÆṀ** below; Latin cross above and at sides.

Rev. **€** / **○** || **B** / **Æ** (lozenge-shaped **Ṁ**) in the angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.

Weight: 0.90 g.

Found at Longwick, Buckinghamshire, 2011.

12. PAS NCL-AF9BE4 [Chick 106 var., Offa: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. O^{F} in pelleted frame with pellets radiating from each angle || R^{M} below; Latin cross above.

Rev. $\text{E} / \text{O} || \text{B} / \text{A}$ in the angles of a cross fleury, with an annulet in the centre containing a saltire of pellets.

Weight: 1.20 g.

Found at Bardney, Lincolnshire, August 2011.

This coin is a variant of Chick 106, exhibiting a round O on both obverse and reverse rather than the normal lozenge-shaped O.

13. EMC 2011.0058 [Chick 125, Offa: Canterbury, Osmod]

Obv. $\text{+O} / \text{FF} / \text{AR} / \text{EX}$ in the angles of a long cross bottonnée over saltire bottonnée.

Rev. $\text{O} / \text{SM} / \text{O} / \text{O}$ in angles of a long cross bottonnée with a large annulet at centre containing a rosette.

Weight: 1 g (to one decimal place) (chipped and cracked); axis: 90°.

Found at Badsey, Worcestershire, 1978–82.

Same dies as Chick 125b.

14. T. Cleghorn collection [Chick 126, Offa: Canterbury, Pehtweald]

Obv. Ornately detailed bust right with elaborate hairstyle; OFFA RE in field before face; X behind.

Rev. $\text{PE} / \text{H} / \text{VA} / \text{LO}$ in angles of celtic cross with a long cross fleury on limbs, over a small saltire cross of petals in centre.

Weight: 1.04 g; axis: 90°.

Uncertain find-spot.

Same dies as Naismith 2010, no. 39.

15. PAS IOW-C8BD83 [Chick 91B/133 (new type), Offa: Canterbury, Tirwald]

Obv. $\text{O} / \text{F} / \text{F} / \text{A}$ (lozenge-shaped O) in the angles of a Celtic cross containing a fleury with R at the centre.

Rev. $\text{T} / \text{IR} / \text{VV} / \text{AG} / \text{D}$ in the angles of an ornate long cross fleury over a cross bottonnée.

Weight: 1.09 g; axis: 270°.

Found at Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, 2010.

No other specimen of this type has been recorded previously, and its design provides some important new evidence regarding the mint attribution of the moneyer Tirwald. The obverse design is most similar to that seen on Chick 91B, for which a single example exists, with OFFA in the angles of a Celtic cross and a central R .³ There is also a general resemblance to the obverses of other pennies produced by Tirwald (Chick 132–4) although none is an exact match, and so this coin is within the previous stylistic remits of the moneyer's other known coins. The reverse is paralleled by Chick 133. The principal point is the similarity of the obverse to that of Chick 91B, which is a product of the Canterbury moneyer Babba. Tirwald's attribution to Canterbury, whilst suspected, has remained uncertain but the evidence of this coin provides strong additional support for this proposed attribution.⁴

16. PAS LIN-FF2C55/EMC 2011.0218 [Chick 140, Cynethryth: Canterbury, Eoba]

Obv. EOBA to right of curly-haired, draped female bust right with Latin cross and pellets behind head.

Rev. +CYNEAR YD REGINA around a beaded inner circle containing M .

Weight: 1.13 g.

Found near Louth, Lincolnshire, by 2011.

17. EMC 2010.0339 [Chick 180, Offa: East Anglia, Wihtrid]

Obv. +OFFA+REX+ around a curly-headed and draped bust right breaking a beaded inner circle.

Rev. $\text{+F} / \text{IH} / \text{TR} / \text{ED}$ in the angles of a beaded lozenge cross fleury with a plain cross and a saltire in centre.

Weight: 1.1 g (recorded to one decimal place).

Found near Diss, Norfolk, by 2010.

18. EMC 2010.0171 [new type, Offa: East Anglia, Wihtrid]

Obv. +OFFA REX+ (lozenge-shaped O) around beaded inner circle containing cross pommée on mound consisting of two concentric semicircles, breaking inner circle.

Rev. $\text{+w} / \text{ih} / \text{tre} / \text{d}$ (runic) in the angles of a lozenge cross crosslet containing a cross of petals over a saltire of petals, with pellet in centre.

Weight not recorded; axis: 0°.

Found near Sturry, Kent, by 2010.

Pennies of Offa's reign bearing an obverse design of a standing cross flanked by two smaller crosses – an allusion to the crosses of Christ and the two thieves at the crucifixion – had been known only for the moneyer Oethelred prior to the discovery of this penny. Stylistically it shows links to both the obverse and reverse designs of Oethelred's types (Chick 174–7), not least in the form of reverse cross and in the pelleted terminals of letters and other devices

³ EMC 2006.0348.

⁴ Chick 2010, 120–1 lists Tirwald under Canterbury; Naismith 2010, Table 4 is more cautious, listing Tirwald under 'Uncertain Moneyers'.

(which were characteristic of at least one East Anglian die-cutter under Offa). Minor differences in obverse design between Wihtred and Oethelred – use of a cross pommée rather than cross potent, and of a mound rather than steps – may indicate an effort to differentiate dies intended for different moneyers, or slightly earlier or later production. Either way, this penny strongly suggests that Wihtred drew on the services of the same die-cutter at Oethelred, albeit temporarily: there are no other close comparisons within the work of Wihtred, although his name is also given in runic script on Chick 181.

19. PAS KENT-56D318 [Chick 203, Offa: London, Ciolhard]

Obv. \mathfrak{M}^- with five pellets visible to each side || $\cdot\mathfrak{F}\cdot\text{OFF}\mathfrak{A}$ (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with three pellets surviving to left, in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev. $\cdot\mathfrak{C}\text{IOL}\cdot$ (lozenge-shaped O; single pellet above I and O) || $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}$ divided by a beaded bar terminating at each end with small bars, all within a Boeotian shield-like device.

Weight: 1.23 g.

Found at Lydd, Kent, 2010.

20. PAS SF-660703/EMC 2011.0130 [Chick 203, Offa: London, Ciolhard]

Obv. \mathfrak{M}^- with three pellets visible each side || $\cdot\mathfrak{F}\cdot\text{OFF}\mathfrak{A}$ (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with one pellet surviving to left, in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev. $\cdot\mathfrak{C}\text{IOL}\cdot$ (lozenge-shaped O; single pellet above O) || $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}$ single pellet above H) divided by a beaded bar terminating at each end with small wedges, all within a Boeotian shield-like device.

Weight: 1.13 g; axis: 180°.

Found at Glemsford, Suffolk, 2010.

When the catalogue for *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries* was closed, only a single surviving specimen of Chick 203 was known. These two new finds therefore add substantially to our evidence for the type. Neither of the coins is die-linked to the previous specimen.

21. PAS SUSS-42DD45 [new type, Offa: London, Diola]

Obv. \mathfrak{M} with three pellets visible to right, one surviving to left || $\cdot\mathfrak{F}\cdot\text{OFF}\mathfrak{A}$ (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with one pellet surviving to left, in three lines beaded bars.

Rev. $\cdot\mathfrak{D}\text{IO}$ (lozenge-shaped O) with a pellet below the D and O, and three pellets to right || $\mathfrak{L}\cdot\mathfrak{A}$ (retrograde) with three pellets to right and two surviving to left in two curved lunettes, with two crosses between.

Weight: 1.14 g; axis: 180°.

Found near Lewes, East Sussex, 2010.

This new type is comparable with other examples of the Heavy coinage whose design places the moneyer's name in two lines, either within lunettes or divided by a bar or cross.⁵ For Offa's reign Diola was previously only known from two examples of Chick 204 which show the moneyer's name in the angles of a long cross. This coin is the first example of Diola's coinage using the more typical two-line reverse design of the Heavy coinage, and is firmly within the style of the other London moneyers. One feature of interest on this coin is the nature of the spelling of $\mathfrak{D}\text{IOL}\mathfrak{A}$ which is intended to be read left to right on the top line, and left to right on the bottom, in a similar manner to some contemporary coins of Winoth, another London moneyer for Offa.⁶

22. PAS LIN-040716 [new type, Offa: London, Dud]

Obv. \mathfrak{M} with three pellets visible to right, one surviving to left || $\cdot\mathfrak{F}\cdot\text{OFF}\mathfrak{A}$ (lozenge-shaped O) || REX with one pellet surviving to right, in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev. $\mathfrak{D} / \mathfrak{V} / \mathfrak{D}$ within the angles of a crude cross, each arm composed of three lines around a beaded circle containing a plain cross.

No weight or axis.

Found at Granby, Nottinghamshire, September 2011.

This new type is the first known coin of Dud for the Heavy coinage. The obverse is in the range of typical styles for the London coinage in this phase.⁷ The reverse is unparalleled although within the remit of other Heavy coinage London coins.

23. EMC 2010.0364 [new type, Offa: London, Ealhmund]

Obv. \mathfrak{M}^- with three pellets on either side || $\text{OFF}\mathfrak{A}$ (lozenge-shaped O) with three pellets on either side || REX with three pellets to left, all in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev. $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$ around a cross pattée standing on tripod, with square superimposed on head.

Weight: 1.41 g; axis: 270°.

Found near Dunmow, Essex, by 2010.

The reverse of this Heavy penny by the probably London-based moneyer Ealhmund is a new departure for this phase of Offa's coinage, and is otherwise most closely paralleled by the East Anglian issues of Oethelred and

⁵ Chick 201, 203, 206, 210–12, 215–17, 222, 227–8 and 231–2. Cf. also Chick 45, 54 and 147.

⁶ Chick 214.

⁷ Chick 202–8.

Wihtried (see above) and, perhaps more pertinently, by two London pennies issued by the moneyer Pendwine in the immediately succeeding coinage of Coenwulf attributable to the years 796–7/8.⁸ The latter two coins bear a standing cross on the reverse, surrounded by a moneyer's name with no inner circle, very similar to the reverse design of this new type. However, exact precedents for this form of cross cannot be found: a square frame is found enclosing crosses on the carpet pages which introduce the gospels of Mark and Luke in the Lindisfarne Gospels, but not on physical crosses such as could have been mounted on a stand similar to that shown here.⁹ This is, consequently, an important coin both numismatically and iconographically, which demonstrates that creative imagery on pennies of Offa was not restricted to the Light coinage.

24. PAS KENT-566617 [Chick 206, Offa: London, Eama]

Obv. $\overline{\text{M}}$ with three pellets on either side || OFFA (lozenge-shaped O) with Latin cross to left || REX with three pellets to left, all in three lines divided by two beaded bars.

Rev. +EA / MA in two lunettes divided by a beaded bar.

Weight: 1.26 g.

Found at Westwell, Kent, 2011.

Same dies as Chick 206b.

25. EMC 2010.0173 [Chick 211 var., Offa: London, Ludoman]

Obv. $\overline{\text{M}}$ with triangle on either side || +OFFA (lozenge-shaped O ; pellets in angles of initial cross) || REX with pellets around, upper and lower parts of legend in two lunettes.

Rev. +LVD || OMON (lozenge-shaped O) within boeotian shield-like device, divided by a beaded line.

Weight: 1.41 g; axis: 0°.

Found near Devizes, Wiltshire, by 2010.

26. PAS BH-00E844 [Chick 233 var/235 var., Offa: Canterbury, Ethelnoth]

Obv. $\overline{\text{M}}$ with eight pellets to left, three to right || +OFFA (lozenge-shaped O) with three pellets to right || REX with three pellets to left and one to right, upper and lower parts of legend in two lunettes.

Rev. + surrounded by pellets || EPELP with two groups of three pellets between P and E , three pellets in a vertical line between L and P , and two single pellets to right || NO in three lines with three pellets to left and right; upper and lower parts in two lunettes.

Weight: 1.40 g; axis: 180°.

Found at Barkway, Hertfordshire, January 2010.

27. PAS LIN-278218 [Chick 239, Offa: Canterbury, Osmod]

Obv. $\overline{\text{M}}$ with triangle on either side || +OFFA (lozenge-shaped O ; pellets in angles of initial cross) || REX with pellets around, in three lines divided by two plain bars.

Rev. +E+ || OSMOD || inverted $\overline{\text{M}}$ with triangular symbol either side, in three lines divided by two plain bars.

Weight not taken; axis: 270°.

Found at Irnham, Lincolnshire by April 2011.

Same dies as Chick 239e.

28. EMC 2010.0047 [Chick 244, Offa and Archbishop Æthelheard: Canterbury]

Obv. $\overline{\text{M}}$ with triangle on either side || +OFFA (lozenge-shaped O ; pellets in angles of initial cross) || REX with pellets around, upper and lower parts of legend in two lunettes.

Rev. ÆDILHEARD PONTI (NT ligatured; lozenge-shaped O ; preceded by three pellets arranged in triangle) around a cross crosslet within a plain inner circle.

Weight not recorded; axis: 120° (bent and chipped).

Found near Harlow, Essex, by 2010.

Same obverse die as Chick 244b.

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⁸ Naismith 2011, L5.

⁹ British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.IV, fols. 94v and 138v; Anna Gannon, *pers. comm.*.

A CIRCUMSCRIPTION CROSS HALFPENNY OF EDGAR FROM THE WILTON MINT

WILLIAM MACKAY

JUST occasionally a remarkable example of a very rare coin emerges from the ground. Such a coin was a halfpenny of Edgar (957/9–75) sold in the Spink, December 2011 auction (Fig. 1).¹ This added a third example to the corpus for the Circumscription Cross halfpenny of Edgar, a type not known until 1972, when the British Museum acquired a specimen of the Chichester mint found during excavations in Chichester the previous year.² A coin of the Bath mint is recorded from excavations at the Brooks in Winchester in 1987–88.³ This new coin (weight 0.53 g, diameter 16 mm) was struck at Wilton by the moneyer Boiga and it was found near Salisbury, Wiltshire, in September 2011. It is in superb condition. The obverse inscription is **†EADGAR REX ANGLO** and the reverse has the legend **†BOIGA MONETA PIL**. The style matches that of pennies of this issue, for which Boiga is a known moneyer at Wilton.



Fig. 1. Edgar, Circumscription Cross halfpenny, Wilton, moneyer Boiga (twice actual size). © Spink & Son Ltd.

The style of this new coin, with small neatly cut letters, is consistent with that found on a group of Circumscription Cross pennies from southern mints with which Wilton is associated, issued before the coinage reform of c.973. The mint signature on this new halfpenny is abbreviated to **PIL** from the more normal **PILTVN** or **PILTVNE** such as is found on a typical Circumscription Cross Wilton penny of Edgar by the same moneyer as the new halfpenny, the reverse of which reads **†BOIGA MONETA O PILTVNE**.⁴ The obverse similarly also shows abbreviation, with the last part reading **ANGLO** compared with the penny reading of **†EADGAR REX ANGLORVN**. In both cases abbreviation is most likely due to the small size of the flan.

The emergence of this coin provides further evidence for an issue of Circumscription Cross halfpennies alongside pennies under Edgar at West Saxon mints. The pennies, all with a characteristic neat lettering style, were designated as the Circumscription Cross southern group by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon and range across mints from Canterbury in the east to Bath and Shaftesbury in the west, and possibly also including Bedford, Buckingham and Oxford to the north.⁵ They are all thought to be linked to die-cutting centred on Winchester. The new halfpenny firmly belongs to this group both stylistically and geographically.

Of the other two halfpennies noted here for this group, the British Museum halfpenny from the Chichester mint, which is chipped and damaged, has the neat lettering in common with the Wilton coin, but the style differs in some respects with the obverse legend reading **†EADGAR REX** and the reverse not naming a moneyer but simply stating the mint, **†CISE CIFITAS**. The obverse also differs significantly, having a central pellet with four surrounding pellets by the

¹ Spink auction 211, 13 Dec. 2011, lot 72; EMC 2011.0228.

² Archibald and Blunt 1986, no. 1076.

³ EMC 2000.0013 (weight 0.48 g, corroded; diameter 18 mm). Helen Rees, the Curator of Archaeology at Winchester Museums, has very kindly provided images of this coin and information about its discovery.

⁴ Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, pl. 21, no 235.

⁵ Blunt, Stewart and Lyon 1989, 172.

inner circle in the form of a cross rather than the cross pattée on the Wilton coin. The other halfpenny, from excavations in Winchester, matches the Wilton coin with the obverse **†EADGAR REX ANIL** and the reverse naming the moneyer and mint, **†ÆÐELSIGE M-O BAÐAN†**. The existence of two coins in the same style from different mints confirms that a small issue of Southern group Circumscription Cross halfpennies took place under Edgar.

The issue of round halfpennies, as opposed to pennies cut in half to serve as a halfpenny, seems to have begun in Anglo-Saxon England in the 870s during the Cross and Lozenge coinage of Alfred the Great and Ceolwulf II.⁶ They are very much a feature of the tenth-century English coinage before Edgar's reform in c.973 and seem to have been struck in very small quantities throughout this period. Examples are known for all subsequent kings of Wessex and later England up to and including Edgar. These seem to divide into two groups. The first group replicates the widely issued Two-Line type (and its variations) and the Circumscription Cross type pennies with halfpennies noted for Edward the Elder, Æthelstan, Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig and Edgar. A second group reproduces the rarer styles found in the penny coinages of Alfred and Edward the Elder before 924, with London Monogram type halfpennies noted for Edgar, a flower above line type for Edmund, Eadwig, Edgar and a single-line mint name for Eadwig. There is no apparent consistency in the occurrence of 'normal' and 'exceptional' halfpenny types under different rulers, perhaps because so few coins have survived to the present day.

Edgar's reform seems to have set out to bring greater unity to the coinage, creating a single coherent and uniform coinage style for a single English kingdom. The round halfpenny seems to have been a victim of this drive for coherence and uniformity as the production of round halfpennies ceased with Edgar's coinage reform of c.973. After this point no halfpennies are known to have been issued until the reign of Henry I (1100–35), with cut pennies filling the gap for small change.⁷ This seems to suggest that the reform of c.973 sought not only to standardize coinage design and production but also to standardize the denomination on the penny. As such the new Wilton halfpenny may be an example of the last gasp of struck small change in the tenth century and it sheds new light on the character of the pre-reform tenth-century Anglo-Saxon coinage.

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⁶ EMC 2004.0009.

⁷ An Edward the Confessor *Sovereign/Eagles* halfpenny of Chester published by Lyon 1965 was subsequently condemned as a nineteenth-century forgery (Pirie 1975, xxii).

A REFERENCE TO THE LOCATION OF A MINT IN NORMAN LEICESTER

RORY NAISMITH

THE foundation charter of Leicester abbey was issued by Robert II 'Le Bossu', earl of Leicester (1118–68), and has been dated by David Crouch to February 1139 × May 1140.¹ It survives in two abridged copies of a version which was entered into a fifteenth-century dossier, and – remarkably – in two complete transcripts which only came to light in 1985 and 1991 respectively.² The complete version of the charter lists a large number of lands and privileges donated by Robert to the new Augustinian abbey, and among a group of estates in the vicinity of Leicester itself occurs the following grant:³

Ad pontem de Norht carrucatam terre que iacebat olim ad cuneos monete
At the North Bridge, one carrucate of land which once lay at a mint.

The term used by the charter to describe the mint – a location *ad cuneos monete* (literally 'at the dies of the mint') – is in line with Norman terminology for minting, as observed in Domesday Book and other sources.⁴ Relatively little, however, may be said of its exact physical form or location.

The North Bridge (see Fig. 1) crosses the river Soar a few hundred metres outside the northern walls of Leicester, spanning the Abbey Gate area and a piece of meadowland adjacent to the town known as Frog Island. By the later Middle Ages this suburban area included many properties belonging to the abbey.⁵ A position well outside the town walls contrasts with, for example, the location of the moneyers' houses and workshops in the heart of eleventh- and twelfth-century Winchester,⁶ or finds of coin-dies (possibly denoting locations of mints) at sites in medieval London and York.⁷ A parallel may be found, however, at nearby Stamford, where a moneyer given to Peterborough abbey c. 1024 by Thurkil Hoga was based in a suburb, 'Stamford Baron' (possibly a former fort), across the river Welland, south of the town proper.⁸ This suburb was under Peterborough's lordship, and so the location of the abbey's moneyer there reflects above all the geography of local power; it need not preclude minting operations elsewhere in the borough.

Nothing is known of the prior history of the land at the North Bridge, though other lands in the vicinity given to Leicester abbey by Earl Robert are explicitly said to have belonged to other authorities, including the bishop of Lincoln,⁹ suggesting that this was not the case for the mint and its surroundings. What tenurial implications there were to its position outside the town, if any, are unknown. There may also, however, have been practical considerations behind the establishment of a mint at the North Bridge. Given the noise, danger and discomfort generated by metalworking of all sorts, there was an incentive for such operations to take place outside the main part of the town,¹⁰ and indeed the northern suburbs of Leicester were already

¹ On dating see Crouch 1987, esp. 3–4.

² Crouch 1987 and Vincent 1993, 95–7. The two abridged copies are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 625 (s. xv²), f. 5r; and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius F.XVII (x. xv/xvi), f. 10r. The complete copies are TNA: PRO, E 13/76, m. 69d (1351); and Winchester, Cathedral Library, XXB (c. 1536).

³ The text of the charter may be found in Crouch 2006, 234–5 (no. 1). It should be noted that Sir William Dugdale (1655–83 II, 313) evidently had access in the seventeenth century to a version of the foundation charter making reference to the mint.

⁴ See, for example, the *cuneos monete* bought by moneyers at Shrewsbury according to DB i, 252r.

⁵ Squires 2006; Courtney 1998, 119–22.

⁶ Biddle and Keene 1976, 396–422. It should be noted that there was (in the time of Edward the Confessor and c. 1110) a minority of moneyers based outside the walls of Winchester, though the majority remained within.

⁷ Archibald, Lang and Milne 1995; Blackburn 2004, 338–41. Cf. Courtney 1997, 94.

⁸ This grant is reported in summary in the twelfth-century chronicle of Hugh Candidus (Mellows and Bell 1949, 70; Hart 1966, no. 351), and in a separate set of memoranda (Kelly 2009, no. 31(xi)). For discussion see Roffe and Mahany 1983, 200.

⁹ The bishop retained substantial lands to the north of the city (Crouch 1987, 4).

¹⁰ Cf. Campbell 1991, 120–4; Geddes 1991, 174–5.

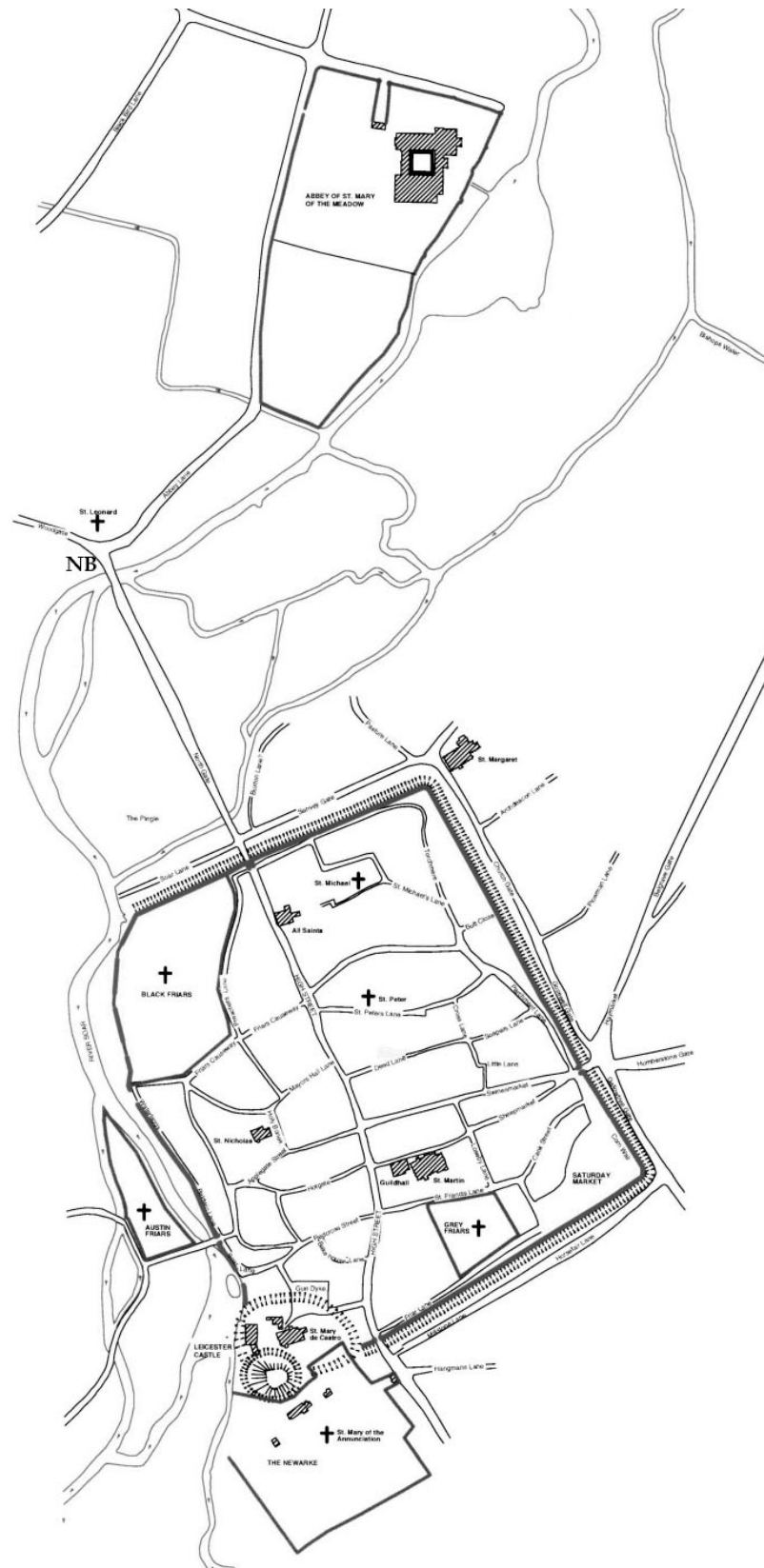


Fig. 1. Map of medieval Leicester and environs ('NB' marks the North Bridge) (reproduced with kind permission of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society).

in the twelfth century associated with noisome activities including dyeing, fulling and tanning.¹¹ Unfortunately the tenants and other inhabitants of the suburb in the first half of the twelfth century are largely obscure. The foundation charter gives no hint of who previously produced coin on the land in question, and the formulation indicates that whatever minting had formerly (*olim*) gone on there was now over. But if the land was still referred to in 1139/40 as the location of a mint one may tentatively assume that its activity belonged not too far in the past.

As with other references to late Anglo-Saxon and Norman mints, the property was presumably associated with one of the moneyers named at Leicester on coins of King Stephen (1135–54) or one of his predecessors. Moneyers had worked in Leicester since at least the time of viking rule late in the ninth century, and the city was named on issues of English kings from Æthelstan (924/5–39) onwards.¹² Knowledge of minting at Norman Leicester is chequered, but many gaps in the record are probably a result of limited survival rather than prolonged periods of closure.¹³ The latest analysis suggests that in the period 1066–1100 Leicester was normally served by between one and three moneyers, and by one or two under Henry I (1100–35), though there was a marked tendency from the start of William II's reign (1087–1100) for just one to appear regularly.¹⁴ Leicester was one of many locations where moneyers ceased to operate in the last type of Henry I (dated c. 1125–35),¹⁵ but it reopened in the first (*Watford*) type of Stephen (c. 1136–45),¹⁶ when two moneyers are recorded there: Samar and Simun. In the years thereafter it was one of many mints in the Midlands which produced independent baronial and irregular types. Some of these copied Stephen's type 2 (*Cross Voided and Mullets*), a few possibly with the name of Earl Robert II in place of the king's.¹⁷ Leicester is not known from regular specimens of Stephen's types 2 and 6, but reappears in Stephen's last type (*BMC* vii, *Awbridge*) with one moneyer, Simun, and persisted into Henry II's *Tealby* coinage. However, there is no way of knowing which (if any) of the known moneyers of the eleventh or twelfth century might have been based at the mint near the North Bridge.

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¹¹ Courtney 1997, 94, and 1998, 121–22.

¹² The one known viking penny with a Leicester mint name (an imitation halfpenny of Alfred's Two-Line type) is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (ex Blunt; Grierson 1955–57, no. 35).

¹³ Difficulty of distinguishing between Leicester, Chester and Lewes creates further uncertainty: Allen 2012.

¹⁴ Allen 2012.

¹⁵ Allen 2009. Prior to its closure, in the previous type xiv, it had been home to two moneyers (Chetel and Walter).

¹⁶ On chronology see Blackburn 1994, 194–9.

¹⁷ Blackburn 1994, 153.

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A NEW MONEYER OF THE SHORT CROSS COINAGE FROM WILTON AND SOME THOUGHTS ON THE WILTON AND WINCHESTER MINTS IN CLASS 1a

B.J. COOK

IN autumn 2005 a penny of the Short Cross coinage was submitted to the British Museum for identification. The coin had been discovered by a metal detectorist in the vicinity of Oxford. It proved to be a coin of the Wilton mint from a previously unknown moneyer. Its details are as follows.

Penny, Short Cross, class 1a1 (1180), wt: 1.09 g; die axis: 300°
Obv.: hEN[]CVS RE/X
Rev.: †[]hAN.ON.WILT.

The coin (see Fig. 1) is slightly chipped, which inhibits a full recording of its legends. While, thanks to the chipping, the initial two letters of the moneyer's name are unclear, it seems evident that the full reading would be Iohan.



Fig. 1. Short Cross class 1a1 penny of the Wilton moneyer Iohan.

The coin unquestionably has all the diagnostic features established by Mass for his class 1a1: most notably, the 'dot-dash' outer circle, as well as the square letters E and the most common form of break in RE/X.¹ The base of the second upright of the N on the reverse die is unseriffed. It is a different die from known 1a1 obverses from Wilton.

The significance of the coin is its provision of a second moneyer for Wilton in this class, at the very start of the Short Cross coinage. Previously, while two moneyers, Osber and Rodbert, were known at Wilton for classes 1a2, 1a4–5 and 1b1, Rodbert alone was known for 1a1. At the other mints operating in this subclass, Exeter has two moneyers, Northampton three, York and Winchester four each and London six.

¹ Mass 1993, 22–6.

The status of the Wilton mint and its relationship to Winchester has received significant attention. In 1966 Brand and Elmore Jones proposed that the Wilton mint opened on an emergency basis only when the mint at Winchester was destroyed by fire on the night of either 1/2 or 14/15 July 1180.² It is certainly the case that, for some reason, two obverse dies of 1a1 and one of 1a2 and one retooled reverse of 1a2 from the Winchester mint were transferred to Wilton for the use of the moneyer Rodbert.³ However, Brand and Elmore Jones's interpretation was questioned in 1993. In his analysis of class 1a, published in that year, Jeffrey Mass showed that coins of Rodbert were in production from class 1a1, the start of the coinage, although it should be noted that in this paper Mass still accepted the proposal of Brand and Elmore Jones that Wilton was opened on an emergency basis after the fire.⁴ However, in an accompanying paper, Martin Allen took on board the implications of Mass's evidence: that Wilton was a functioning mint before the Winchester fire had its supposed impact on mint production.⁵ In 2001 Allen continued to accept that Wilton was active from the start of the coinage and also made the point that Winchester and Wilton were both among the mints which had been active during the *Cross and Crosslets* coinage, in the 1160s, so they both had a reasonably recent tradition of activity.⁶ The appearance of a second moneyer at Wilton in class 1a1 would certainly appear to give clear confirmation, if this were needed, to the idea that Wilton was indeed operating from the start of the Short Cross coinage and that it was not an emergency mint.

It also seems likely that the moneyer Rodbert was active at both mints at the same time and right from the start of the coinage. The transfer of a reverse die of Rodbert from Winchester to Wilton, where it was retooled to fit the different mint name, is the primary piece of evidence here, confirming the fact of the same moneyer operating at both mints. The obverse dies he used at Wilton had also been used previously by Henri and Gocelm at Winchester, as well as by himself. The only counter-argument to Rodbert having a dual role from the start would be to suggest that Iohan was originally the single moneyer at Wilton, and that his unexpected disappearance in 1a1 was the cause of Rodbert being hastily co-opted from Winchester and given this dual position. However, given that the dies transferred from Winchester include examples for class 1a2, this seems a needlessly convoluted speculation. Instead, it may be correct to view the two mints as having always had a strong connection, with Wilton a subsidiary operation of Winchester, this being, as Martin Allen suggests, either an aspect of Winchester's central role in the organization of the recoinage, or else because Wilton was a mint with the special role of being primarily for the king's use.⁷

At Winchester Rodbert worked alongside Clement, Gocelm, Henri and Osbern in the production of class 1a1, whereas at Wilton his only companion was the newly-discovered moneyer Iohan. By the time 1a2 dies were being used, Iohan has apparently disappeared from Wilton and, during the use of 1a2, the nearly-as-ephemeral Henri also ceased production at Winchester. Given that it is only thanks to this new coin that we know about Iohan at all, it is of course possible that a die for him in 1a2 might still at some point be forthcoming. Although Henri disappeared from Winchester in 1a2, a new moneyer named Adam joined the complement in the same issue, perhaps as his replacement, while at Wilton Iohan would appear to have been replaced by Osber, who commenced activity there in 1a2.

Brand and Elmore Jones suggested that Osber was, like Rodbert, a moneyer working jointly at the two neighbouring mints.⁸ There are two assumptions here: first, that the moneyer named on the coins of class 1a1 at Winchester as Osbern is the same individual as the Osber who

² Brand and Elmore Jones 1966. The date of the fire as given here follows the discussion of Allen 1993, 53–4.

³ A reverse die of Rodbert of class 1a4 was also altered in this way, but this was presumably done somewhat later: see Mass 2001, no. 171.

⁴ Mass 1993, 36–7, esp. n.41.

⁵ Allen 1993, 54–5.

⁶ Allen 2001, 1. Wilton was active in *Cross-and-Crosslets* class A, until c.1160, and Winchester continued until class D which, according to Crafter, concluded c.1170: Crafter 1998, 48–56.

⁷ Allen 1993, 54–5.

⁸ Brand and Elmore Jones 1966.

coins at Wilton in 1a2, 1a4, 1a5 and 1b1–2; and secondly, that the Wilton Osber is the same as the Osber coining at Winchester in 1a3–4 and 1b1. Unlike Rodbert, there is no die link to demonstrate the connections between these three appearances of Osber(n). Martin Allen has pointed out a potential problem of nomenclature in equating the Winchester moneyer named as Osbern on the coins with the *Osbertus monetarius de Wilton* who is mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 1183/4 as owing rent for the use of the moneyers' house at Winchester. The fact that *Osberto monetario* at Wilton is also mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 1184/5 reinforces this question: the name-form was not just a single usage.⁹ Although the 1183/4 reference in itself is a strong suggestion that the Osbers of Wilton and Winchester were one and the same, for this to be the case either the reverse die reading Osbern or the Pipe Roll readings *Osbertus* must have recorded the name incorrectly.¹⁰ 'Osber' was not an uncommon name for a moneyer at this time: it is also found at London, Exeter and Worcester during class 1.¹¹ There is, therefore, the possibility that the moneyer Osber(n) of Winchester and the Wilton moneyer Osber(t?) were different individuals, although the link between *Osbertus monetarius de Wilton* with the Winchester mint would tend to give one pause here. The alternative position would be to accept the moneyer's name OSBERN as a mistake, regard this moneyer as the same as Osber(t), and thus the dual Wilton/Winchester moneyer from later in class 1 and (as Allen suggested) view the Osbern of classes 3–4 as a different individual entirely. The main problem with this is that it has been suggested that it was at Winchester itself that the dies for the coinage were being made, which might make it unlikely that they would misspell the name of a moneyer on the spot.¹² However, one could envisage Winchester's role being a storage, accounting and distribution centre for dies, rather than the actual place of their manufacture.

The simplest and perhaps the likeliest situation, given the certain dual position of Rodbert and the Osber link provided by the Pipe Roll reference, is to accept the idea that there was indeed one single moneyer named Osber(t) active first at Winchester alone in class 1a1 and then at the two mints simultaneously thereafter.¹³ A supporting circumstance is provided by the fact that, unlike the other Winchester moneyers, Rodbert, Henri, Gocelm, Clement and Adam (who, apart from Adam, all worked through 1a1 and into 1a2), Osber struck no coins of 1a2 at that mint, while there are such coins at Wilton: Osber might at that time have been setting up his activities at the latter mint, which was, thus, briefly the focus of his operations.¹⁴

All this may have the capacity to throw some doubt onto the importance of the Winchester fire. Its original significance was seemingly clear: the fire caused two of the existing Winchester moneyers, Rodbert and Osber, to set up a new emergency mint at Wilton, while subsequently coining by them continued at both Wilton and Winchester for some unexplained reason, even though the emergency had passed and there was, on the face of it, nothing to inhibit Wilton's closure. However, Mass was able to show that Rodbert had a joint role at the two mints before this event and this appears to demonstrate that the existence of the Wilton mint was part of the very earliest organization of the Short Cross recoinage. It is also the case that there seems to have been some reorganization in the structure of the moneyers at the two mints occurring in and around the time of the introduction of class 1a2. This may have arisen from, or else had as a consequence, the termination of the position of Iohan at Wilton and maybe that of Henri at Winchester (although the arrival of Adam at Winchester has to be factored in as well). The two mints appear to have ended the period of issue of class 1a2 with the same number of moneyers they had started with in 1a1 (and this is counting both Henri and Adam),¹⁵ in con-

⁹ Allen 1993, 54, esp. n.19.

¹⁰ Allen 1993, 54.

¹¹ However, it thereafter disappears from the moneyers' name-stock, apart, that is, from Osbern at Winchester.

¹² Brand 1994, 31.

¹³ This would place the mistake at the door of the mint engraver.

¹⁴ It remains, of course, possible that a coin of Osber from Winchester of class 1a2 might still turn up, to render this point moot.

¹⁵ In 1a1 Wilton had Iohan and Rodbert, and Winchester had Clement, Gocelm, Osbern and Rodbert (five individuals in total), whereas in 1a2 Wilton had Osber and Rodbert, and Winchester had Adam, Clement, Henri, and Rodbert (five individuals in total). Although it is possible that a coin of Gocelm of 1a2 will turn up to expand this number to 6, this is still not taking into account the likelihood that Adam was a replacement for Henri. In 1a5 and 1b1 the total combined complement was definitely up to 6, with a moneyer added to the Winchester total.

trast to the other active mints, London, Exeter, York and Northampton, which received additions to the complement of moneyers.¹⁶ Alongside this, furthermore, there had been some apparent rationalization to the functioning of the Wilton mint, which lost its independent moneyer and was now, seemingly, more explicitly linked with Winchester through the joint moneyers Osber and Rodbert. One argument could be that experience was demonstrating that, unlike the other mint centres, there simply was not the need for so many moneyers at these two physically-close institutions – the scarcity of Iohan's output may also be an indication of this. Nevertheless, the original reason for the establishment of the Wilton mint was still in place and Martin Allen's suggestion that it had a very specific purpose or role seems all the more likely.

The current chronology for 1a is based on the Winchester fire (dated to July 1180) having inspired the transfer of a few dies (two obverses of 1a1 and one of 1a2; and one altered reverse die) used by Rodbert from Winchester to Wilton. From this comes the view that 1a1 was superseded by 1a2 in June/July 1180.¹⁷ This dating rests on the assumption that there could be no other reason for this transfer of dies, and this now seems a little less certain, given the apparently close and evolving links between Wilton and Winchester throughout 1180. An efficiency assessment, some circumstance of Rodbert's activity (since he already had dies being used at Wilton and he would also transfer a Winchester die to Wilton later, in class 1a4), and/or the disappearance or removal of Iohan from the scene could be alternative reasons for consideration. The main sign of a break in the output of coins at Winchester is the disappearance of Henri during the issue of 1a2, but since a new moneyer Adam began in 1a2, this does not seem conclusive.¹⁸

It is of course the case that, whatever the extent of any damage and disruption, the Winchester fire might nevertheless still have provided the occasion for a transfer of dies and for a Wilton/Winchester reorganization – since, obviously, it looks as though something did. However, there is probably a larger element of doubt over the fire's significance, and especially its chronological implications for the coinage, than has been recognized. In terms of the broader picture, this would not involve a dramatic change, since the whole issue of class 1a probably took place between about May and November 1180 and it seems likely that 1a3 was in use by the end of August at the latest.¹⁹ The main revision would be to consider changes to the organization at Wilton and Winchester at this time as perhaps being driven by questions of administrative policy and not as emergency measures.

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¹⁶ See Allen 2001, 1–3.

¹⁷ Allen 1993, 53–4, 57–8.

¹⁸ The absence of Osber in class 1a2 at Winchester is another possible sign, if this is still the Osbern who issued coins of 1a1. However, as has been suggested above, this could be the consequence of a reorganization, not its inspiration. Gocelm is another moneyer with coins missing from class 1a2, but it is possible these may yet turn up, since he was active in 1a3–5. In such 'missing' subclasses for some moneyers during class 1a, Winchester is no different from the other active mints, and no fire is required to account for it.

¹⁹ Allen 1993, 55.

A RICHARD II CRESCENT ON BREAST HALFGROAT

WILLIAM MACKAY

INCLUDED in the Spink October 2011 auction was an example of a halfgroat in the name of Richard II which clearly has a crescent on the breast of the king's bust.¹ Until this coin, found at Ford in Northumberland in 2010,² emerged, the only coins of Richard II known with this feature were the extremely rare type IV groats.³ The existence of halfgroats with a crescent on the breast was for long suspected, with a coin formerly in the Walters collection, sold in 1913 and later acquired by the British Museum, cited as an example.⁴ That attribution was firmly rejected by Marion Archibald in 1965, who showed that the imagined crescent on the coin was an effect created by carelessly punched cusp ends below the king's bust.⁵ The new coin suggests that it is now possible to confirm that crescent on breast halfgroats were indeed struck and should now be added to listings of the English coinage.



Fig. 1. Richard II halfgroat with crescent on breast and detail of obverse enlarged. © Spink & Son Ltd.

The coin has a full flan and weighs 2.04 g. It is uncleaned with lightly corroded surfaces, and all the key details are visible. The obverse has the new style, type IV, Richard II bust with an oval face with bushy hair, and the wide crown 2. The legend omits the French title and has wedge shaped contraction marks after **ANGLI** and **RICARD**. The mint mark is a cross pattée and the legend reads **RICARD DEI GRA REX ANGLI** with a saltire stop after **DEI** and **REX**. The reverse has no contraction marks, unbarred Ns in **LOI DOII** and the mint mark is a cross pattée. The legend reads **POSVI DEVM ADIVTOR MEV**, with a double saltire stop after **DEVM**, and on the inner circle, **CIVI TAS LOII DOII**.

The obverse style and the contraction marks matches Greenhalgh's Richard II type 4 obverse 3 halfgroat, but the sole example that Greenhalgh illustrates is rather corroded and the crescent, if present, is indistinguishable.⁶ The reverse type of this new coin is known from a single die and the form with the unbarred Ns has been traditionally attributed to Henry IV. The traditional identification for this new coin would be as a mule of a Richard II type IV obverse with a Henry IV reverse. To accept this though is to ignore the significance of this coin being the first specimen indisputably having a crescent on the breast of the bust, a variety only associated with the type IV groats of Richard II. This issue was dated by Potter to some time after Richard II's French marriage in 1395, a view also accepted by Lord Stewartby, who saw

¹ Spink auction 210, 6–7 Oct. 2011, lot 79.

² Recorded with UKDFD (United Kingdom Detector Finds Database), ref. 31762.

³ See North 1991, no. 1321b and Spink 2012, no. 1681.

⁴ Potter 1958–59, 347; Brooke 1950, 259.

⁵ Archibald 1965.

⁶ Greenhalgh 2010, 45, illustrated as a Richard II type IV/Henry IV heavy coinage mule.

it as dating from late in his reign.⁷ Walters thought they were the missing heavy coinage groats of Henry IV, with the crescent as a personal symbol of this king, but this is a view no longer accepted.⁸

The new halfgroat bears comparison with the crescent on breast groat, for which one of the two known reverse dies has in common with this new coin the unbarred Ns in LOIIDOII. Until now, the presence of unbarred Ns on the groat reverse was a feature attributed to issues made under Henry IV. With this new coin firmly linking to Richard II's issues this attribution has to be reconsidered and this reverse is more correctly to be identified as a die of Richard II that was later reused under Henry IV.

Lord Stewartby, whilst attributing the unbarred N reverse style to Henry IV, pointed out that halfgroat mules of Richard II and Henry IV always pair earlier reverses with later obverses.⁹ The new coin does the opposite, pairing a Richard II obverse die with what on a traditional interpretation is a later reverse, the unbarred N die, previously attributed to Henry IV. Stewartby, considering this complex series of muled halfgroat issues, observed that the unbarred N reverse die, when occurring on Henry IV halfgroats, always seemed worn and suggested that this might be better linked to the type IV issue of Richard II with the dies reused under Henry IV.¹⁰ This new coin, although with surface corrosion, lends support to this being the case, as it does not seem to have been struck from a worn die. The conclusion from this is that the reverse is not a Henry IV type but is in fact the reverse die for a crescent on breast Richard II type IV halfgroat. This would be entirely consistent with the Richard II type IV groat issue, alongside which were struck similar halfgroats.

The wedge shaped contraction marks, notably that after **ANGLI**, are worthy of comment. The discredited Walters example lacked these but they do occur on the halfgroat illustrated by Greenhalgh as a Richard II type IV/Henry IV mule.¹¹ They do not occur on the Richard II type IV groats but such marks are found on some small silver denominations such as the type III York pennies.¹² This feature seems to be consistent with the later issues of Richard II.

The final question is where does this coin fit within the chronology of the coinage during the revolution through which Henry IV seized the throne? It seems clear that crescent on breast groats and halfgroats are all very rare – they are considered one of the classic rarities of the English medieval silver coinage – suggesting this was a short lived and limited output. It is known that the London mint continued to use reverse dies of earlier issues after the accession of Henry IV, with halfgroat mules known using Richard II and Edward III reverses paired with later obverses. As this new coin is not a mule, it should be placed firmly within the reign of Richard II. Potter considered the crescent on breast groats as exclusively an issue of Richard II, a view shared here for this halfgroat.¹³ It may be time to reconsider the purpose of the crescent which seems so significant on these coins. Whilst the case for this being a personal symbol of Henry IV is very uncertain, it is known from a comment in Holinshed that the crescent was a personal badge worn by Richard II's household members when he was seized at Pontefract on August 19 1399 by the supporters of Henry IV.¹⁴ This would suggest that the crescent groats and halfgroats are an issue associated in some way with this personal mark of Richard II and most probably dated to the very end of his reign in 1398–99. In conclusion, this newly found coin proves the case for an issue under Richard II of crescent on breast type IV halfgroats at the same time as the type IV groats.¹⁵

⁷ Potter 1958–59, 339; Stewartby 2009, 242.

⁸ Walters 1904, 335–6.

⁹ Stewartby 2009, 246.

¹⁰ Stewartby 2009, 246.

¹¹ See n.6.

¹² Stewartby 2009, pl. 15, no. 303.

¹³ Potter 1958–59, 337.

¹⁴ Cited by Potter 1958–59, 343.

¹⁵ Now added as a substantive variety to Spink 2012 edition within S.1685.

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AN UNRECORDED HALFGROAT TYPE OF ROBERT III OF SCOTLAND

PHILIP HIGGINSON

THE first silver coinage of Robert III, the heavy coinage, 1390–c.1403, is represented by two issues. Both have a crowned facing bust of the king and three pellets in the angles of the reverse cross. The first issue, struck at Edinburgh only, has a tall rough bust and rather large lettering. The outstanding feature of most of the groats and halfgroats of this issue is that the cusps of the tressure are ornamented with three pellets.



Fig. 1. Robert III heavy coinage halfgroat of Perth.

The second issue struck at Edinburgh, with the addition of Perth and Aberdeen, has a much neater bust with small neat letters and small trefoils on the cusps of the tressure, though in the case of the halfgroats they are sometimes left plain. The coin in Fig. 1 is a halfgroat of Perth which is exceptional in that it combines features from both first and second issues. Of recent discovery and known only from this one example, and hence of some importance and excessively rare, I have called it here the 'initial variety'. The obverse bears a crowned facing bust of the king surrounded by a tressure of seven arcs, the lower arc to the right extending partially across the bust, but rather than being ornamented with trefoils or left plain the points of the tressure are ornamented with three pellets in a manner similar to coins of the first issue, three pellets also on the centre of the king's breast. The lettering to both the obverse and reverse is large, the words divided by saltires and pellets:

Obv. +ROBERTVS.D.G.REX.SCOTTORV
 Rev. +DNS.P / TECTOR / MS[] / BATORM
 VILL / A.DA / PER / Th+

Acknowledgments. I wish to express my gratitude to Nick Holmes of the National Museum of Scotland and to Dr Barrie Cook of the British Museum for their diligence in confirming that neither museum possessed an example of the coin. I also wish to thank Lord Stewartby for his encouragement to write this short article.

In style and size of lettering this new coin corresponds to the earliest round face groats of Perth listed by Burns,¹ which are of a different character from that usually met with on the groats and halfgroats of the second issue. Burns notes that the lettering is very similar to that found on some of the coins of Robert II,² although the composite letter 'T' with large drooping top bar is similar to that found on some of the coins of David II. Like coins of the first issue, the diameter of the beaded inner circle measures 15 mm, some 2 mm larger than later second issue halfgroats. On the obverse this results in a large neat bust of the king with broad shoulders and deep arcs to the tressure. Burns begins his classification of the second issue halfgroats of Perth with his Fig. 363 and a group of coins with words divided by saltires and pellets, and continues with a second group having words divided by two crosses.³ Like this new coin, the first group with words divided by saltires and pellets also has the larger inner circle and larger bust. Burns Fig. 363 also has the large lettering on the reverse and appears to be from the same die as the new coin.



Fig. 2. Robert III heavy coinage halfgroat of Perth, second issue.

It is only in Burns's second group, with words divided by two crosses, that the characteristics associated with the second issue – a neat bust with small neat letters – are found. This second group has the smaller beaded inner circle. Fig. 2 features a halfgroat of Perth from the second group. This exceptional coin with three pellets on the cusps of the tressure would precede Burns Fig. 363, and is probably the very earliest of Perth. At present no other example is known, though in time further examples may come to light and the possibility of a similar groat of Perth cannot be ruled out. Both coins featured are in the author's collection.

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DANDYPRATS AGAIN

LORD STEWARTBY

SINCE 1972, when Grierson published a discussion of the term dandyprats, as used in the early Tudor period for small coins of inferior quality, the identity of the first dandyprats has been a matter of keen debate. Their earliest recorded occurrence was in connection with Henry VII's expedition to Boulogne in October–November 1492, when the town was besieged by an English force until a peace was concluded with the French king Charles VIII. Grierson correctly interpreted the documentary sources to mean that Henry had arranged for halfgroats of inferior weight (or fineness) to be struck for use in France, in the hope that they could be passed off during the campaign on foreigners unfamiliar with the proper standard of the English coinage.¹

¹ Burns 1887, I, 295; III, pl. XXVI, figs. 360–1.

² Burns 1887, I, 293.

³ Burns 1887, I, 332.

¹ Grierson 1972.

The latest contribution to the debate about the identity of the dandyprats is contained in an important article by Cavill in volume 77 of this *Journal*.² In this he has published the text of a royal proclamation issued not long after the end of the Boulogne campaign. The document sets out candidly why Henry, in order to defray the local expenses of the expedition, had ordered the coinage of a certain sum of 'penys of ijd more feble and of less value' than his coinage in England 'and yet somewhat better in value' than the money of Picardy. However, some of the light coins had been received by soldiers and victuallers of the king's army, who brought them back to England. These were therefore to be redeemed at face value, by exchange for good coin, by Candlemas (2 February), having ceased to be legal tender on 14 January 1493.

'What the proclamation does not resolve', remarks Cavill, 'is what these coins looked like'. One idea has been that the original dandyprats might be coins of Henry VII already familiar to numismatists. In his *Sylloge* of the coins of this reign Metcalf observed in 1976 that the weights of most of the London and York halfgroats with mintmark lis in the Oxford collection fell in a range of 14–16 gr., against the proper weight for a halfgroat at this period of 24 gr.³ Apart from their weight, these light halfgroats were notable also for an unusual feature of their reverse design, namely a lozenge enclosing a small pellet on the centre of the cross. It would be natural to associate an actual group of light halfgroats with the documentary evidence for the dandyprats; however, in noting this suggestion in 1978 Challis accepted that such an attribution was at odds with notions of the numismatic chronology of Henry VII then current, a position now reiterated by Cavill.⁴ But is that still the case?

It is now ninety years since Lawrence published the first systematic account of the coinage of Henry VII.⁵ In it he argued that the first gold sovereign struck pursuant to the commission for this new coin of October 1489 was the early type with reverse mintmark cross fitchy; further, he suggested that this supplied a dating for other coins of the period with the same mintmark, which included not only the gold ryal but also some of the early groats with an open crown. Potter and Winstanley (PW) in their study of the coins of Henry VII accepted Laurence's dating of the cross fitchy groats, which implied that the open crown groats (group I) continued until 1491.⁶ They then allocated three years (1491–94) to the arched crown groats with no mintmark or mintmark cinquefoil (PW groups II–IIIA), two years (1494–96) to the groats with mintmark escallop (PW group IIIB), and three years (1496–99) to those with mintmark pansy (PW group IIIB–C).

As argued in 1974, these PW dates are in my view too late.⁷ Group I groats of Henry VII are significantly scarcer in hoards than the groats of Richard III that immediately preceded them (in a ratio of around 3:5), and measuring this against the mint output figures indicates that the issue of open crown groats probably came to an end in 1488, giving a group I bracket of 1485–88. A likely date for the cross fitchy groats, which come early within the IB phase, would thus be not later than 1487. This would then have the effect of taking back the dates for the start of subsequent mintmarks in the 1490s, an adjustment for which other evidence has subsequently been adduced.

In a paper presented to the International Numismatic Congress of September 1986 in London, Miss Marion Archibald suggested that a medallion jeton,⁸ then supposed to have been produced for Perkin Warbeck and manufactured in the Netherlands,⁹ was in fact struck from dies made with punches in use for Henry VII's coinage at the Tower mint. The date of 1494 that it carries in its inscription is thus applicable to contemporary English coins. Miss Archibald

² Cavill 2007.

³ *SCBI* 23, p. xix.

⁴ Challis 1978, 52–4; Cavill 2007.

⁵ Lawrence 1918.

⁶ Potter and Winstanley 1962–64.

⁷ Stewart 1974; see now also Stewartby 2009, 342 and 396, and for chronology, 385.

⁸ Archibald 1986.

⁹ Blunt 1949–51.

observes that the latest varieties of groats with mintmark pansy display the same punches as on the jeton but with flaws in a more advanced state. The implication of all this is that the introduction of the pansy mark may have occurred several years earlier than PW supposed.

Reverting now to the lightweight lozenge-marked halfgroats, we find that the earliest of them, PW IIIBa, have trefoil stops and lettering of style D, comparable to groats with mintmark escallop, while later varieties, IIIBb and IIIC, have rosette stops and lettering of style E, as on groats with mintmark pansy. If, as now seems evident, the lozenge halfgroats are to be identified with the dandyprats of 1492, this would suggest that pansy replaced escallop during that year, by no means a difficult proposition to accept, and one that is anyway compatible with the case for a new chronological framework as a result of the earlier dating of mintmark cross fitchy. Unfortunately it is not practicable to define a scheme of dates for the early coinage of Henry VII with any precision because there are no mint accounts for 1489–94 against which the numbers of examples of each type and mintmark could be measured; but a postulated transition from mintmark escallop to mintmark pansy in late 1492, as signalled by the dandyprats, would fall comfortably within that bracket.

As to the dandyprats in circulation, Cavill wondered how ‘those who were simply offered these coins in transactions in England might have been expected to identify them’ – possibly by weight alone. However, it could have been supposed that lightweight halfgroats would carry some identifiable mark of difference, and such is indeed the case. The addition of the lozenge on these coins is the only occurrence of such a material typological variation on halfgroats during the whole period from 1351 until the cross-and-pellets reverse design was finally superseded by a shield in 1504, and it therefore serves to strengthen the supposition that these are indeed the dandyprats of the records.

Cavill gives the figure of £17,392 15s., or more than two million halfgroats, for the sum total of this issue as minted by John Shaw at the Tower of London. No separate total is known for the coinage at York which constituted a parallel issue, based presumably on funds collected in the North of England. This was evidently the only instance of coinage at York for the king’s account during all the reign of Henry VII, again an indication of the exceptional nature of this whole episode.

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A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD OF SILVER COINS FROM BARDNEY, LINCOLNSHIRE

ADAM DAUBNEY AND MARTIN ALLEN

INFORMATION on a hoard of silver coins from Bardney in Lincolnshire has recently been found in the 10 May 1844 edition of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*.¹ The short article reads as follows:

Very recently, on ploughing some swarth land in the occupation of Mr. Marshall of Bardney Fen, a number of old English coins were turned up: upwards of 150 were obtained by riddling the earth. They had been placed upon a kind of slab, and have undoubtedly been hidden for two or three centuries. All that have been found are silver, and comprise some of the small coins of the Edwards, and large pieces of Henry VIII.

The Bardney hoard has so far escaped publication and the newspaper article appears to be the only record of the discovery. The find spot of the hoard and the identity of the landowner are elusive. The 1841 census returns for Bardney contains an entry for one Mrs Marshall who lived four doors away from John Dawson, Innkeeper at the Nag's Head Inn. Mr Marshall is not listed however, and by the 1851 census there are no Marshalls listed in Bardney at all.

The reference to 'large pieces of Henry VIII' suggests the presence of groats in the name of that monarch in the hoard, issued between Henry VIII's accession in 1509 and the end of his posthumous coinage in 1551. The inclusion of 'small coins of the Edwards' would be difficult to reconcile with this if it is supposed that these were coins of Edward I, II and III struck before 1351, which seem to be completely absent from English hoards deposited after 1500, but this phrase might be no more than a generalized reference to coins of Edwardian type with the facing bust obverse and cross and pellets reverse abandoned on the penny in 1489. In the Maidstone hoard (deposited c.1535–40) 109 (47 per cent) out of 233 identifiable pence were of the pre-1489 type, but these coins were rapidly eliminated from circulation after the beginning of the open debasement of the English coinage in 1544, and the pre-1489 percentage falls to only eight per cent in the Little Wymondley hoard (c.1547).² An alternative possibility is that the 'small coins of the Edwards' were halfgroats and pence of Edward IV. The Maidstone hoard had 19 halfgroats of Edward IV in a total of 130 identifiable coins (15 per cent) and 97 Edward IV pence in a total of 154 (63 per cent), but the figures fall to four halfgroats (2 per cent) and two pence (also 2 per cent) in the Little Wymondley hoard.³ The report in the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* fails to mention the distinctive Sovereign type pence of Henry VII and Henry VIII, which constituted 76 per cent of the identified pence in the Little Wymondley hoard,⁴ but this is perhaps not surprising in a brief newspaper article. On the basis of the available evidence it seems to be most likely that the Bardney hoard was deposited at some time between the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 and the 1540s.

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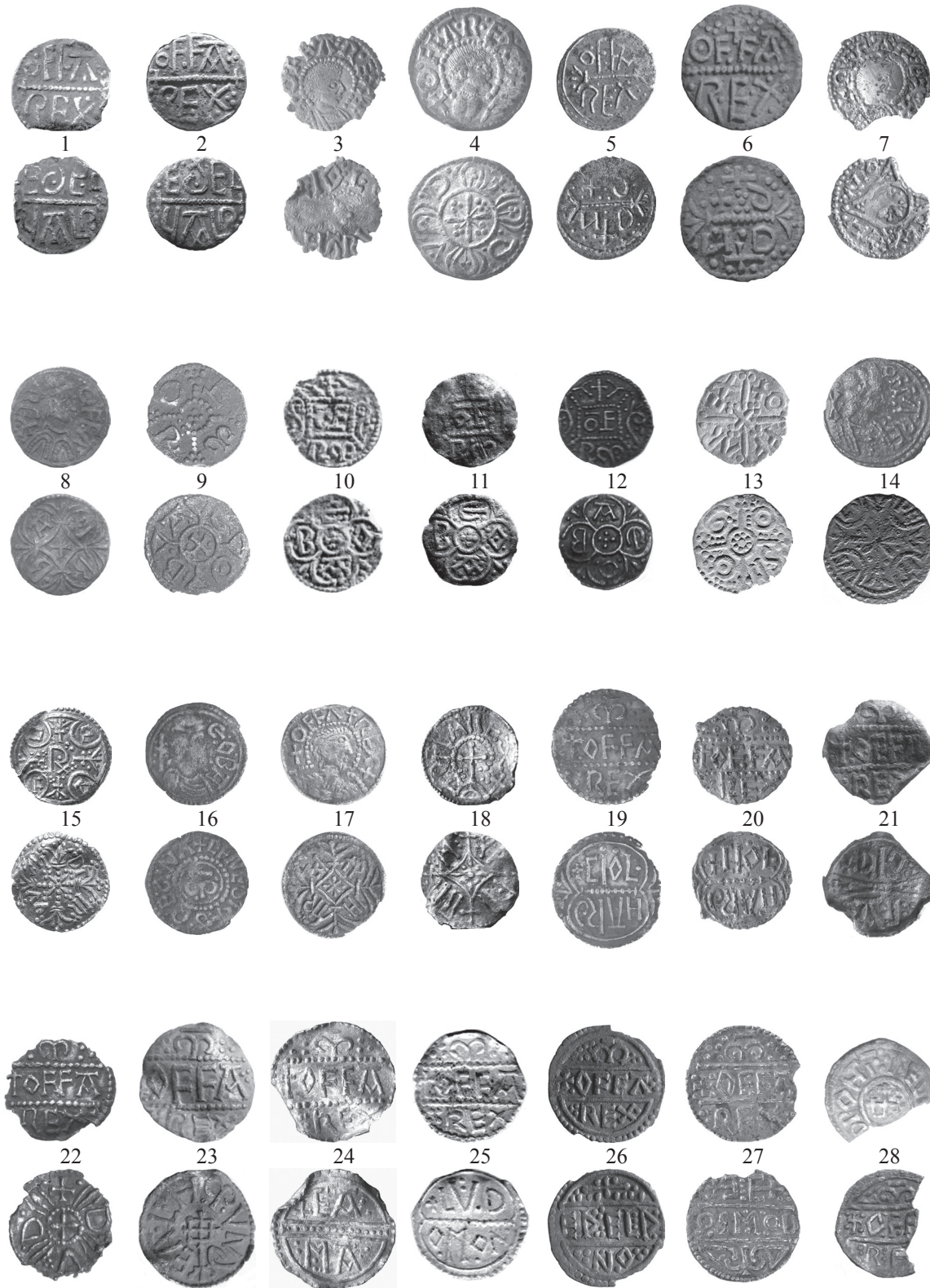
Acknowledgements. The authors would like to thank Dr Barrie Cook for his helpful comments on a draft of this article.

¹ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, 10 May 1844, 3 (column 3).

² Allen 2005, 51–3; Dolley and Winstanley 1952–54; *Coin Hoards* 1 (1975), 98–9, no. 383.

³ Allen 2005, 52–3.

⁴ See n.3.



COIN HOARDS FROM THE BRITISH ISLES 2012

EDITED BY RICHARD ABDY, MARTIN ALLEN, ROGER BLAND,
ELEANOR GHEY AND JOHN NAYLOR

BETWEEN 1975 and 1985 the Royal Numismatic Society published summaries of coin hoards from the British Isles and elsewhere in its serial publication *Coin Hoards*, and in 1994 this was revived as a separate section in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In recent years the listing of finds from England, Wales and Northern Ireland in *Coin Hoards* has been principally derived from reports originally prepared for publication in the *Treasure Annual Report*, but the last hoards published in this form were those reported under the 1996 Treasure Act in 2008. It has now been decided to publish summaries of hoards from England, Wales, Scotland, the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and the Channel Islands in the *British Numismatic Journal* on an annual basis. This first annual listing principally consists of hoards from England and Wales reported as Treasure between 2009 and 2011, with some earlier English and Welsh hoards and three finds from the Isle of Man.

The hoards are listed in two sections, with the first section consisting of summaries of Iron Age and Roman hoards, and the second section providing more concise summaries of medieval and post-medieval hoards. In both sections the summaries include the place of finding, the date(s) of discovery, the suggested date(s) of deposition, and (for English and Welsh hoards) the number allocated to the hoard when it was reported under the terms of the Treasure Act. For reasons of space names of finders are omitted from the summary of medieval and post-medieval hoards. Reports on most of the English and Welsh hoards listed are available online from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) website (finds.org.uk/treasure/cases).

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Abbreviations

ABC	E. Cottam, P. de Jersey, C. Rudd and J. Sills, <i>Ancient British Coins</i> (Aylsham, 2010).
BMC	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , 6 vols (London, 1923–62).
BMCI	R. Hobbs, <i>British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum</i> (London, 1996).
Brown and Dolley	I.D. Brown and M. Dolley, <i>Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967</i> (London, 1971).
Dep.	Deposited
RBCH	A.S. Robertson, <i>An Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards</i> , edited by R. Hobbs and T.V. Buttrey, RNS Special Publication 20 (London, 2000)
RIC	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , 10 vols (London, 1923–2007)
t.p.q.	<i>terminus post quem</i>
Woytek	B. Woytek, <i>Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)</i> , <i>Moneta imperii romani</i> 14 (Vienna, 2010).

Iron Age and Roman hoards**1. Stansted area, Essex, 7 Feb. 2011 (2011 T119)**

Dep.: Mid to late-second century BC.

Contents: 2 'Gallo-Belgic' Aa class 4 AV staters (7.28 g, 6.95 g).

Note: Gallo-Belgic A staters were struck in the Somme valley area of northern France and are traditionally attributed to the Ambiani. Class 4 staters are relatively rare as British finds, with just three or four others securely provenanced, all from south-east England. The present examples are quite light (full-weight specimens are around 7.6–7.7 g) and thus were probably in circulation in Britain for several decades before they were buried.

Finder: Richard Gibson with a metal detector.

Disposition: Saffron Walden Museum has expressed interest.

J.W./J.S./I.L.

2. Tisbury, Wilts., 5 Dec. 2010 (2011 T105; addenda to 2010 T646)

Dep.: Late first century BC or later.

Contents: 50 AR uninscribed British Iron Age staters, including one fragment: *ABC* 2157/*BMCI*A 2525 (6); *ABC* 2163/*BMCI*A 2647 (26); *ABC* 2157 or 2163/*BMCI*A 2525 or 2647 (17); AR stater fragment (unidentified) (1).

Note: The coins were collected in three groups: 20 coins from the same location as 2010 T646; 25 coins from a location around 80 m away (group 2); and 5 found in a line between the first group and a point about 65 m away (4 of which were non-joining fragments of different coins) (group 3). Three of the group of 25 were removed from a block of soil later excavated at the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum and thought to contain traces of wood. X-radiography of the block did not reveal a container for the hoard. With 2010 T646 the hoard now comprises seven AV and 211 AR uninscribed staters.

Finder(s): Information withheld; metal detector finds.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

E.G.

3. Gotherington, Glos., 16 Feb.–1 Mar. 2010 (2011 T169)

Dep.: Late first century BC or later.

Contents: 2 Iron Age coins: Early uninscribed 'British QC' AV quarter stater (attributed to the Atrebates), c.50–20 BC (1.56 g; *BMCI*A 478); Uninscribed Western 'Dobunnic B' AR unit (attributed to the Dobunni), c.30–10 BC (0.97 g; *BMCI*A 2953).

Finders: John Bromley and Martin Robinson with metal detectors.

Disposition: Cheltenham Museum has expressed interest.

K.A./I.L.

4. Stoke Orchard, Glos., 21–31 Sept. 2009 (2011 T170)

Dep.: Late first century BC or later.

Contents: 2 Iron Age coins: Early uninscribed 'British QC' AV quarter stater (att. to the Atrebates), c.50–20 BC (1.24 g; *BMCI*A 478); Uninscribed Western 'Dobunnic B' or 'Dobunnic C' AV unit, c.30–10 BC (0.7 g; *BMCI*A cf. 2953–2067).

Finder: John Bromley with a metal detector.

Disposition: Cheltenham Museum has expressed interest.

K.A./I.L.

5. Brighstone, Isle of Wight (addenda), 19 May 2010 and 17 Apr. 2011 (2010 T323; 2011 T286)

Dep.: Late first century BC or later.

Contents: 23 base AR uninscribed staters, of types associated with the Durotriges (i.e. all cf. *BMCI*A 2555 ff.)

Note: The discovery was made in the same place as a find of 968 Iron Age AR coins made in 2005 (2005 T443).

Finders: Twelve members of the Isle of Wight metal-detecting club with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.

I.L.

6. Bedworth, Warks. (addenda), 27 Mar. 2011 (2011 T189)

Dep.: Mid-first century AD.

Contents: 3 Iron Age North Eastern AV inscribed staters: VEP CORF stater, *BMCI*A 3274 (5.33 g); VEP CORF stater, *BMCI*A 3302 (5.24 g); fragment of a VEP CORF stater, *BMCI*A 3302 (0.79 g).

Note: An initial group of eleven Iron Age AV staters was discovered in 1994 by Mr David Morris. Four of these coins and a fragmentary fifth coin were VEP CORF staters similar to the types listed above. The remaining six coins were earlier uninscribed coins belonging to the same regional coinage tradition. All eleven coins were acquired by Warwickshire Museum Service. A high-resolution image of the fragmentary coin in the 1994 hoard shows clearly that it is part of the same coin as fragment (3) listed in the recently published reconstruction of the Bedworth hoard (I. Leins, 'Fragments reunited: reconstructing the Bedworth Iron Age hoard', *NC* 171 (2011), 81–6).

Finder: Paul Wilson with a metal detector.

Disposition: Warwickshire Museum Service has expressed interest.

I.L.

7. Bury St Edmunds (near), Suffolk, 2 Oct. 2011 (2011 T658)

Dep.: Mid-first century AD.

Contents: 4 Iron Age AR units: Uninscribed East Anglian Boar/Horse unit; Inscribed East Anglian unit of ANTED; Inscribed East Anglian unit of ECEN; Inscribed East Anglian unit, ECE series.

Note: The uninscribed 'Boar/Horse' type was produced in about 20 BC–AD 20. The three inscribed types were struck between about AD 20 and 50.

Finder: Sam Smith with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

I.L.

8. Brailes, Warks., 1 and 13 Sept. 2011 (2011 T726)

Dep.: Mid-first century AD.

Contents: 2 Iron Age AV quarter staters: Quarter stater of the uninscribed Western series (CCI 11.1092); Quarter stater of Cunobelin (CCI 11.1093).

Finder: Andrew Gardner with a metal detector.

Disposition: Warwickshire Museum has expressed interest.

I.L.

9. Stokenchurch, Bucks., 20 Mar. 2011 (2011 T270)

Dep.: After 82 BC.

Contents: 2 Republican Roman AV *denarii*: L ANTES GRAG (136 BC); Q ANTO BALB (c.83–82 BC).

Finders: Paul Willis and Rose Gray with metal detectors.
Disposition: Buckinghamshire County Museum has expressed interest.
 R.A.

10. Boxted, Suffolk, 6 Aug. 2011 (2011 T472)

Dep.: After c.46 BC.

Contents: 2 Roman AR Republican *denarii*: Q. Antonius Balbus (c.83–82 BC); C. Considius Paetus (c.46 BC).

Finder: Robin Davidson with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

A.B.

11. Ashburnham, E. Sussex (addenda), 3 Oct. 2010 (2011 T138)

Dep.: After c.31 BC.

Contents: 2 Republican Roman AR *denarii*; addenda to 2008 T460.

Note: The total for this hoard now stands at four Republican Roman and four unidentifiable *denarii*.

Finder: Alan Charman with a metal detector.

Disposition: Donated to the British Museum.

E.G.

12. Yscir, Powys, Feb. 2009 (2009 W20)

Dep.: AD 79–81 or later.

Contents: 4 AR *denarii*: Vespasian, 2; Domitian Caesar (under Vespasian), 1; Titus Augustus, 1.

Note: Found close to the site of Brecon Gaer Roman fort.

Finder: John Pugh with a metal detector.

Disposition: Brecknock Museum.

E.B.

13. Mattishall (near), Norfolk, May and Dec. 2009, Sept. 2010 (2009 T318)

Dep.: After AD 114–17.

Contents: 38 AR coins, Iron Age and Roman: *Iron Age silver units* (15): Early Boar/horse (EBH) type (CCI 10.0995), 1; Boar/horse C (BHC) type (CCI 10.0991), 1; Late Face/horse (LFH) type, portrait without moustache (CCI 10.0986, 10.0994), 2; Inscribed, ANTED type (CCI 10.1334), 1; Inscribed, ECEN type, *ABC* 1657 (CCI 10.0982–10.0985), 4; Inscribed, ECE A type (CCI 10.0987, 10.0988), 2; Inscribed, ECE B type (CCI 10.0990, 10.0993), 2; Inscribed, ECE B retrograde type (CCI 10.0989), 1; Uncertain late pattern horse type (CCI 10.0992), 1; *Roman Republican silver denarii* (13): P. Maenius Antias, 132 BC, 1; P. Porcius Laeca, 110–109 BC, 1; P. Servilius Rullus, 100 BC, 1; C. Vibius Pansa, 90 BC, 1; C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 BC, 1; M. Plaetorius Cestianus, 69 BC, 1; C. Vibius Pansa, 48 BC, 1; T. Carisius, 46 BC, 2; L. Livineius Regulus, 42 BC, 1; M. Antonius, 42 BC, 1; Brutus and Casca Longus, 43–42 BC, 1; M. Antonius, 32–31 BC, 1; *Roman Imperial silver denarii* (10): Augustus, 3; Tiberius, 5; Claudius, 1; Trajan, 1.

Finder: Ray Jenkins with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum and the British Museum have expressed interest.

I.L.

14. Wendlebury, Oxon, 14 Oct. 2000

Dep.: AD 117–38 or later.

Contents: 63 AR *denarii* and 26 *aes*: *Denarii* (63): Galba (AD 68–9), 2; Vitellius (AD 69), 1; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 14; Titus Caesar, 1; Domitian Caesar, 1; Titus (AD 79–81), 3; Divus Vespasian, 1; Domitian Caesar, 1; Domitian

(AD 81–96), 12; Trajan (AD 98–117), 18; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 8; Irregular, 1; *Aes*: Caligula (AD 37–41), 1 *as*; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1 *as*; Domitian (AD 81–96), 2 *dupondii*, 2 *asses*; Nerva (AD 96–98), 1 *as*; Trajan (AD 98–117), 5 *sestertii*, 1 *dup.*, 4 *asses*; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 6 *sestertii*, 1 *dupondii*, 2 *asses*.

Note: Fragments of a pottery container found with the coins were of an Oxford region fine greyware jar, of Young type R.24 (J. Young, *The Roman Pottery of the Oxford Region*, BAR British Series 43 (Oxford, 1977)).

Finder: Michael Whitford with a metal detector.

Disposition: Oxfordshire County Museum Store.

C.K.

15. Kendal area, Cumbria, 23 Aug. 2011 (2011 T496)

Dep.: AD 117–38 or later.

Contents: 2 AR and 3 *Æ*: Domitian (AD 81–96), 1 *denarius*, 1 *dupondius*; Trajan (AD 98–117), 1 *sestertius*; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1 *sestertius*; Irregular, 1 plated *denarius*.

Note: Alongside the coins was found a key that appears to be Roman in date and has a copper alloy handle with an iron shaft.

Finder: Ivan Trimingham with a metal detector.

Disposition: Not treasure; returned to finder.

E.G.

16. Kings Cliffe, Northants., Oct. 2011 (2011 T688)

Dep.: AD 141–61 or later.

Contents: 16 AR *denarii*: Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Titus Caesar, 2; Domitian (AD 81–96), 2; Nerva (AD 96–98), 2; Trajan (AD 98–117), 6; Hadrian (AD 119–38), 2; Diva Faustina I (under Antoninus Pius, AD 138–61), 1.

Finder: Radoslaw Runowski with a metal detector.

Disposition: Oundle Museum has expressed interest.

R.A.

17. Newton Valence, Hants., 13 Apr. 2011 (2011 T371)

Dep.: AD 145–61 or later.

Contents: 8 AR *denarii*: Trajan (AD 98–117), 3; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 2; Diva Faustina I, 2; Faustina II (under Antoninus Pius, AD 138–61), 1.

Finder: Paul Stevens with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

R.W.

18. Charlwood, Surrey, May 2011 (2011 T297)

Dep.: AD 148–61 or later.

Contents: 2 *Æ* Iron Age and 13 Roman AR coins, and 6 *Æ* votive artefacts: Iron Age, 2 (1 Southern uninscribed British QC gold quarter stater struck c.50–20 BC, and 1 gold quarter stater of Tasciovanos struck c.25/20 BC–AD 10); Roman Republican, 1 (D SILANVS L F); Otho (AD 69), 1; Titus Caesar (AD 69–79), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 5; Hadrian (AD 119–38), 1; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 2; Diva Faustina I, 2.

Note: The votive objects comprise four miniature brooches, a fragment of a miniature socketed axe and a spindle whorl. Although the spindle whorl is of a type which is not closely datable, the remaining objects are consistent with the date of the coins. The brooches imitate types produced in the late first or early second century AD, while the miniature axe can be tentatively dated to the late Iron Age or early Roman period. Miniature Roman brooches are not common finds, particularly examples which could not have been functional. Kiernan notes several examples from the temple at

Jublains, Mayenne, but concludes that these were worn to 'fasten lighter garments or to support the clothing of small children and babies' (P. Kiernan, *Miniature Votive Offerings in the North-West Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Mainz and Wiesbaden, 2009), 180). However, the presence of miniaturized objects in conjunction with Iron Age and Roman coinage suggests a votive element to activity at the site.

Finders: Steve Cole, Andy Coombes, Mark Davison, Fred George, Christine Hipkiss, Albert Maier, Shaun Sexton, and Jack Sheen with metal detectors.

Disposition: Guildford Museum has expressed interest. R.A./I.L./P.W.

19. Urchfont, Wilts., July 2011 (2011 T533)

Dep.: After AD 161.

Contents: 2 Roman AR *denarii*: Domitian (AD 81–96), 1; Divus Antoninus Pius (AD 161), 1.

Finder: Keith Palmer with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. K.H./D.A.

20. Hebden area, N. Yorks., 29 May 2011 (2011 T365)

Dep.: After AD 172.

Contents: 33 AR *denarii*: Vespasian (AD 69–79), 5; Domitian (AD 81–96), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 5; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 11; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 1; Aurelius Caesar, 3; Faustina the Elder, 4; Faustina the Younger struck under Pius, 1; Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), 2.

Finder: Mick Wilson with a metal detector.

Disposition: Craven Museum, Skipton, has expressed interest. R.M.

21. Vindolanda, Northumberland, 14 Apr. 2011 (2011 T408)

Dep.: After AD 180.

Contents: 21 AR *denarii*: Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Nerva (AD 96–8), 2; Trajan (AD 98–117), 5; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 4; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 2; Faustina I, Diva, 2; Marcus Aurelius, Caesar, 2; Lucius Verus (AD 161–69), 1; Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), 1; Divus Marcus Aurelius (AD 180), 1.

Note: Found during the archaeological excavation of a clay floor in a centurion's apartment of the late Antonine period (c. AD 180–200) at Vindolanda. The small hoard had been buried, possibly in a purse or some similar organic package which had rotted away, in a shallow pit within the foundation material of the floor of the structure (in context VII–06A) in the middle of the room. The coins were tightly packed together and several had corroded onto one another, held together as a group by the foundation clay of the building or a surrounding packaging that had rotted away.

Finder: Andrew Birley, Director of Excavations for the Vindolanda Trust, during an archaeological excavation.

Disposition: Site archive.

R.B./R.J.B.

22. Selby area, E. Yorks., 7 Mar. 2010 (2010 T11)

Dep.: After AD 181.

Contents: 201 AR *denarii* in two greyware beakers: Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 3; Nero (AD 54–68), 3; Otho (AD 69), 1; Galba (AD 69), 1; Vitellius (AD 69), 1; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 23; Domitian Caesar, 2; Titus (AD 79–81), 3; Domitian Caesar, 1; Domitian (AD 81–96), 8; Nerva (AD

96–98), 4; Trajan (AD 98–117), 33; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 35; Sabina, 2; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 29; Faustina I, 16; Faustina II, 1; Marcus Aurelius Caesar, 7; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (AD 161–69): Marcus Aurelius, 8; Lucius Verus, 6; Faustina II, 1; Lucilla, 3; Divus Antoninus, 3; Marcus Aurelius sole reign (AD 169–80), 5; Faustina II, 1; Commodus (AD 180–92), 1.

Note: The pots contained 201 coins in total, 102 in Pot I (a broken pot, including scatter) and 99 in Pot II (a complete pot). Pot I included the latest coin in the hoard, a *denarius* of Commodus dated to AD 181 at the beginning of his reign. The complete pot was selected to be examined by Microtomographic Volume Imaging at the μ -VIS Centre for Multidisciplinary, Multiscale, Microtomographic Volume Imaging at Southampton University. On their return to the British Museum, the contents were excavated in the Department of Conservation (Pippa Pearce, Hayley Bullock, Rachel Berridge, Duygu Çamurcuoğlu, Alexandra Baldwin and Jamie Hood) and the coins removed for identification. There was no apparent internal stratigraphy within the pots. The beakers contained a significant amount of cereal chaff spread throughout their contents. This has been analysed by the Department of Scientific Research at the British Museum.

Notable coins in the hoard include: an early coin of Trajan Woytek type 1 (not in *RIC* or currently in the BM); bust varieties of Hadrian (*BMC* 41 with a draped and cuirassed bust, right), Antoninus Pius (*RIC* 240 with drapery on the bust; and a variety of *BMC* 169 with the bust of Marcus Aurelius Caesar on the reverse bare-headed, draped and cuirassed), and Marcus Aurelius (*BMC* 216 but with a laureate bust and Concordia resting her arm on a cornucopia).

Finder: Bryan Pattison with a metal detector.

Disposition: British Museum has expressed interest. E.G.

23. Brading, Isle of Wight, 2003 and 2010 (2011 T181)

Dep.: Second century AD.

Contents: 20 *Æ sestertii*/fractions: Flavian (AD 69–81), 2; ?Domitian (AD 81–96), 2; Hadrian (AD 119–38), 3; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 2; Faustina I, 3; Faustina II under Pius, 1; Antonine (AD 138–92), 3 (incl. 2 *sestertii*); uncertain emperor, 4.

Note: A few coins were found before 2003, but were not recorded. The site is situated on the chalk downs several hundred metres northwest of Brading Roman Villa. Two coins were probably Antonine period *sestertii*; the rest appear to be lower denominations, *dupondii* or *asses*. There is one Antoninus Pius Britannia *as* of AD 154–55, a familiar type in such hoards as a coin of British association apparently deliberately supplied to the province.

Finder: Tom Winch with a metal detector.

Disposition: Isle of Wight Heritage Service, Brading Roman Villa, has expressed interest.

R.A./F.B.

24. Gresham Street, City of London, 27 Jan. 2006 (2011 T349)

Dep.: First or second century AD.

Contents: 13 completely illegible *Æ dupondii*/*asses*, a copper alloy disc, and two pottery sherds from two other vessels, within an amphora.

Note: The amphora containing the coins is almost complete, although the handles, rim and most of the neck are missing and may have been deliberately removed to aid the secondary use of the vessel. It belongs to a form known as Cam 186C made in southern Spain especially in the area around Cadiz, and originally used to carry fermented fish sauces (particularly *garum* and *muria*) across the western empire (D.P.S. Peacock and D.F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: an Introductory Guide* (London, 1986), 122–3, class 18). In London, this type occurs in first- and second-century AD contexts, although its distribution peaks in c. AD 60/61–75 (B. Davies, B. Richardson and R.S. Tomber, *The Archaeology of Roman London. Vol. 5. A Dated Corpus of Early Roman Pottery from the City of London*, CBA Research Report 98 (York, 1994), 14, fig. 6). A sherd from a second, similar amphora, together with a rim sherd from a London-type sandy greyware carinated bowl, were found inside the vessel.

Finders: Wessex Archaeology during an archaeological excavation.

Disposition: Site archive.
N.C./R.S.S.

25. Kingsnorth, Kent, 2010 (2011 T352)

Dep.: AD 193–211 or later.

Contents: 9 AR *denarii* and 30 *aes sestertii*/fractions: *Denarii*: Mark Antony (32–31 BC), 1; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 2; Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 2; Faustina I, 1; Septimius Severus (AD 193–211), 1; *Aes*: Trajan (AD 98–117), 1 (*sestertius*); Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1 (*sestertius*), 1 (*dupondius*); Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 1 (*sestertius*), 21 (*dupondius*); Faustina II, 1 (*dupondius*); Commodus (AD 180–92), 1 (*sestertius*); Uncertain Antonine empress, 1 (*sestertius*); Uncertain, 13 (*sestertius*), 9 (*dupondius*).

Note: The assemblage is possibly a dispersed hoard (there were also nine seventeenth- to nineteenth-century coins mixed into the group).

Finder: Joe Rainsbury with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
S.M.

26. Attleborough, Norfolk (addenda), Sept. 2009–Mar. 2010 (2009 T637)

Dep.: After AD 217.

Contents: 11 Roman AR *denarii*: Vitellius (AD 69), 1; Vespasian (AD 69–79), 1; Diva Faustina I, 1; Commodus (AD 180–92), 1; Septimius Severus (AD 193–211), 2; Clodius Albinus Caesar, 1; Julia Domna, 4.

Note: This area had previously yielded five *denarii* of similar date and one radiate of Caracalla, undoubtedly part of the same hoard (2009 T295, see NC 170 (2010), 414–15, no. 25).

Finder: Mark Dover with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum.
A.B.M.

27. Kedington, Suffolk, Mar. 2011 (2011 T259)

Dep.: After AD 224.

Contents: 14 AR/base AR *denarii*: *Republic*: Uncertain (211–170 BC), 1; L. Cassius Longinus (c.60 BC), 1; *Empire*: Vespasian (AD 69–70), 1; Trajan (AD 98–117), 2; Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), 1; Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), 1; Diva Faustina II, 1; *Severus and Caracalla*,

AD 198–209: Septimius Severus, 1; Caracalla Augustus, 1; Geta Caesar, 1; Julia Domna, 1; Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), 1 (type of c. AD 222–24); Irregular, 1.

Finders: Peter Lovell and Jim Greenwood with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
A.B.

28. Ripley area, Derbys., 3 Aug. 2010 (2011 T495)

Dep.: AD 253–60 or later.

Contents: 3 base-AR radiates: Philip I (AD 244–47), 1; Valerian I (AD 253–60), 1; Salonina, 1.

Finder: David Beard with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.
E.G.

29. East Staffordshire area, 26 Sept. 2011 (2011 T903)

Dep.: AD 260–69 or later.

Contents: 34 *Æ sestertii*: Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1; Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), 1; Lucius Verus (AD 161–9), 2; Diva Faustina II, 1; Septimius Severus (AD 193–211), 1; Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), 1; Maximianus I (AD 235–38), 1; Decius (AD 249–51), 1; Postumus (AD 260–69), 2; Illegible, 23.

Note: Although this hoard has a small ‘tail’ of third-century types down to Postumus, other hoards and Walker’s analysis of the Bath assemblage demonstrate the reliance on the continuing circulation of the increasingly worn coins of the previous century (D.R. Walker, ‘The Roman coins’, in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, II: Finds from the Sacred Spring*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 16 (Oxford, 1988), 281–358). Thus most of the large group of illegible coins probably comprised earlier types that had become much worn. Identification was also hampered by corrosion, and the fragmentary nature of the illegibles make their identification as *sestertii* (as opposed to lower denominations) quite subjective in some cases.

Finders: Stephen Fisher and Anthony Rushton with metal detectors.

Disposition: No museum has expressed an interest in acquisition.
E.G./R.A.

30. Colchester Barracks, Essex, 23 Feb. 2011 (2011 T129)

Dep.: c. AD 271.

Contents: 1,247 base silver/copper alloy radiates in a greyware flask: Trebonianus Gallus (AD 251–53), 1; Valerian I, Gallienus and family (AD 253–60), 117; Gallienus and Salonina (AD 260–68), 81; Gallienus and Salonina (AD 253–68), 9; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 10; Quintillus (AD 270), 4; *Gallic Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 557; Laelian (AD 269), 7; Marius (AD 269), 14; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 278; Illegible, 169.

Note: The coins were packed into a greyware flask (of type Cam 281) and then buried in the fill of the ditch of the Berechurch Dyke, close to the slope of the rampart. An empty flask of the same form as that containing the coins had been buried upright and intact close by. It may have held a recovered hoard, or been buried as a reserve container for additional coins. This therefore originally was, or could have developed into, a two-container hoard.

Finders: Colchester Archaeological Trust during archaeological excavations at the former Hyderabad Barracks site in advance of redevelopment by Taylor Wimpey.

Disposition: As the developer has disclaimed the find, it will go to Colchester Museum with the rest of the site archive (artefacts and site records).

N.Cr.

31. Everton, Notts., Jan. 2011 (2011 T154)

Dep.: c.AD 271–74 or later.

Contents: 50 base metal radiates to AD 274 (also 2 *nummi* and 1 *as*): *Gallienus and Salonina* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 17; Salonina, 2; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 25; Divus Claudius, 1; Quintillus (AD 270), 2; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 1 (mint of Rome earlier in reign); *Gallie Empire*: Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 1; Irregular, 1.

Note: Two *nummi* of the House of Constantine (dated to AD 319 and 324–25) and one *as* of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (c.AD 161–63) included in the group are considered to be stray finds. It has been brought to the Coroner's attention that detectorists searching in the area found coins from the hoard but have not come forward; they could amount to at least c.60 further coins.

Finders: Paul Banks and Shane Buchanan (and see Note) with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

E.G.

32. Alciston, E. Sussex, Apr. 2011 (2011 T522)

Dep.: c.AD 271–74 or later.

Contents: 15 base metal radiates: Claudius II (AD 268–70), 1; Irregular (near full size): 'Victorinus' or 'Tetricus I', 1; 'Tetricus I', 1; 'Tetricus II', 1; Irregular (reduced size 'minims'): 'Victorinus', 1; 'Victorinus' or 'Tetricus I', 5; 'Tetricus II', 3; Uncertain, 2.

Finders: Peter Kifford and Alfred Briscoe with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.

R.A.

33. Montgomery, Powys, 28 June 2011 (2011 W11)

Dep.: c.AD 273–74.

Contents: 1 base AR *denarius* and 4,853 base AR radiates, in a red ware pot: Gordian III (AD 238–44), 9 (incl. 1 counterfeit); *Reign of Philip I* (AD 244–49): Philip I, 12; Philip II, 8; Otacilia Severa, 4; *Reign of Trajan Decius* (AD 249–51): Decius, 4; Herennia Etruscilla, 3; Herennius Etruscus, 3; Hostilian, 1; Divus Pius, 1; *Joint reign of Gallus and Volusian* (AD 251–53): Trebonianus Gallus, 11; Volusian, 7; Aemilian (AD 253), 2; *Joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus* (AD 253–60): Valerian, 129; Gallienus, 118; Diva Mariniana, 4; Salonina, 63; Valerian II, 26; Divus Valerian II, 23; Saloninus Caesar, 34; Saloninus Augustus, 1; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 553 (incl. 1 *denarius*); Salonina, 73; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 401; Quintillus (AD 270), 51; Divus Claudius (c.AD 270), 22; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 7; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 1,220; Laelian (AD 269), 5; Marius (AD 269), 14; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 1,489; *Reign of the Tetricks* (AD 271–74): Divus Victorinus, 1; Tetricus I, 412; Tetricus II, 90; Uncertain, mainly Gallic, 26; Irregular, 27.

Notes: The bulk of the hoard was recovered intact within its pottery container and excavated in laboratory

conditions at the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff. The totals above are provisional, in advance of conservation and detailed listing. From its consistent composition throughout, the hoard appears to form a single sum deposited on one occasion (or over a very short period) towards the end of the period of the Tetricks. Fieldwork and a survey by Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust demonstrated the presence of ditches representing two successive sub-rectangular enclosures; the vessel appears to have been placed just inside the later enclosure and adjacent to the line of the ditch of the earlier.

Finder: Adrian Simmons with a metal detector; the hoard was excavated by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust.

Disposition: Powysland Museum or National Museum of Wales, to be determined.

E.B.

34. Cotswold area, Glos., 16 Sept. 2010 (2010 T566)

Dep.: AD 282 or later.

Contents: Cremation urn with 10 base metal radiates (to AD 274) and associated globular pot with 1,435 radiates: *Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign)* (AD 253–60): Salonina, 1; *Sole reign of Gallienus* (AD 260–68): Gallienus, 127; Salonina, 5; *Sole or joint reign*: Salonina, 2; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 114; Divus Claudius, 50; Quintillus (AD 270), 7; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 5; Tacitus (AD 275–76), 2; Probus (AD 276–82), 7; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 15; Laelian (AD 269), 2; Marius (AD 269), 1; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 275; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 402; Tetricus II, 210; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 79; Uncertain empress, 2; Uncertain emperor, 85; Contemporary copies, 54.

Note: A stray Valentinianic *nummus* was also found in the trench but was unlikely to be associated with the main find. Conservation was by P. Pearce and B. Finn. 3D tomography of the cinerary urn showed that it contained eight coins in its base (two additional coins from the urn context were found during excavation). It was decided that the urn should not be disturbed before acquisition; thus identification imaging was carried out by the University of Southampton (μ-VIS Centre for Multidisciplinary, Multiscale, Microtomographic Volume Imaging, using Nikon Microtomographic Volume Imaging).

Pottery report by B. Finn and J. Timby: The cremation urn (diam. 165 mm) could be Severn Valley ware (SVW). It is pink/grey in colour with fairly thick walls, 5–6 mm thick. Unfortunately it is missing the rim, which is a crucial component for identification. The globular flask (diam. 142 mm) is of the 'New Forest' type with painted decoration but minus the top; it could be one of ten of Fulford's types (M.R. Fulford, *New Forest Roman Pottery: Manufacture and Distribution, with a Corpus of the Pottery Types*, BAR British Series 17 (Oxford, 1975). The painted motif is a slight variant on those published in Fulford, on whose dating most appear to belong to c.AD 300–30.

Finder: D. Morris with a metal detector.

Disposition: Corinium Museum.

E.G.

35. Wiveliscombe, Somerset, 19 July 2006 (2006 T355)

Dep.: AD 298 or later.

Contents: 2,118 base metal radiates with pottery container (a local, oolitic-tempered coarse-ware vessel):

Valerian and Gallienus (joint reign) (AD 253–60); Valerian, 5; Salonina, 4; Valerian II, 1; Gallienus (sole reign) (AD 260–68), 236; Salonina, 18; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 205; Divus Claudius (AD 270–71), 44; Quintillus (AD 270), 6; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 6; Severina, 2; Tacitus (AD 275–76), 12; Probus (AD 276–82), 26; Divus Carus (AD 283), 1; Magnia Urbica (AD 283–85), 1; Numerian (AD 282–84), 1; Diocletian (AD 284–305), 2; *Gallie Empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 22; Marius (AD 269), 4; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 401; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 481; Tetricus II, 265; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 197; *Britannic Empire*: Carausius (AD 286–93), 27; Contemporary copies, 26; Illegible, 125.

Note: The excavator's site assessment reports that the hoard was recovered from the south side of a pit with maximum dimensions of 0.95 m x 0.75 m located within the footprint of a possible rectangular building. The pit was 0.35 m deep, with near-vertical sides and a flat bottom. Several other concentrations of coins were recorded against the wall of the pit and elsewhere, possibly suggesting burial in separate organic containers, such as fabric or leather pouches. Further coins were recovered from the fill of the pit. Conservation was carried out at the British Museum by M. van Belleghem, E. van Bork, H. Bullock, D. Çamurcuoğlu, J. Hood, P. Pearce, F. Shearman, C. Storey, A. Tam and V. Ternisien.

Finders: Context One Archaeological Services during an archaeological excavation.

Disposition: Somerset County Museum.

E.G.

36. Bredon Hill, Worcs., 18 June 2011 (2011 T378)

Dep.: Fourth century AD.

Contents: 3,874 base metal radiates and one *Æ sester-tius* in a Severn Valley ware jar: Hadrian (AD 117–38), 1 (*sestertius*); Philip II Caesar (AD 244–47), 1; Valerian and Gallienus (AD 253–60): Valerian I, 2; Gallienus, 2; Salonina, 10; Saloninus Caesar, 2; Valerian II (Divus), 3; Gallienus (sole reign AD 260–68), 437; Salonina, 40; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 338; Divus Claudius II, 73; Quintillus (AD 270), 30; Aurelian (AD 270–75), 21; Tacitus (AD 275–76), 15; Florian (AD 276), 3; Probus (AD 276–82), 36; *Gallie empire*: Postumus (AD 260–69), 61; Laelian (AD 269), 7; Marius (AD 269), 11; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 811; Divus Victorinus, 3; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 1,230; Tetricus II, 573; Uncertain Gallic emperor, 85; Irregular, 78; Illegible, 2.

Note: Excavation around the findspot revealed that the hoard was buried within the destruction layers of a Roman stone building, apparently deposited in a pit cut through a layer containing coins and pottery dating to the mid-fourth century AD. This is significant given the considerably earlier date of the coins in the hoard. C. Jane Evans has identified the pottery vessel as a narrow-mouthed Severn Valley ware jar, WHEAS Fabric 12 (J.D. Hurst and H. Rees, 'Pottery fabrics: a multi-period series for the county of Hereford and Worcester', in S. Woodiwiss (ed.), *Iron Age and Roman Salt Production and the Medieval Town of Droitwich*, CBA Research Report 81 (London, 1992), 200–9). Coin cleaning was by the metals conservators in the British Museum Department of Conservation and Scientific Research.

Finders: Jethro Carpenter and Mark Gilmore with metal detectors.

Disposition: Worcestershire Museums has expressed interest.

E.G./R.H.

37. Plympton, Devon, 16–18 Sept. 2011 (2011 T579)

Dep.: c. AD 324.

Contents: 81 base metal Constantinian *nummi*: AD 318–24, 80 (36 London, 25 Trier, 1 Siscia, 18 uncertain mint); Irregular, 1.

Finders: Graham and Mark Bryce with metal detectors.

Disposition: British Museum has expressed interest in one unpublished coin of Trier, RIC 306var (*STR mint-mark).

R.A.

38. Shrewsbury area, Salop, Aug. 2009 (2009 T450)

Dep.: c. AD 335.

Contents: 9,315 base metal radiates and *nummi* with fragments of pottery container: *Radiates*: Gallienus (sole reign: AD 260–68), 3; Claudius II (AD 268–70), 3; Divus Claudius, 2; Victorinus (AD 269–71), 3; Tetricus I (AD 271–74), 1; Probus (AD 276–82), 1; Carausius (AD 287–93), 3; Uncertain emperor, 1; 'Barbarous' radiate, 1; *Constantinian nummi (by period)*: AD 307–13, 1; AD 313–17, 27; AD 317–24, 4,551; AD 324–30, 1,795; AD 330–35, 2,809; Illegible, 12; Irregular, 102.

Note: The conservation of the hoard was funded by grants from the Roman Research Trust and the Haverfield Trust and carried out by E. Van Bork, P. Pearce and colleagues. The jar in which the hoard was contained has been identified by the archaeologists as a 'Severn Valley' ware vessel (generally found throughout western Britain between the second and fourth centuries AD). It has an orange-coloured fabric and is relatively thin-walled. Two Roman iron nails and textile fragments were found with the coins.

Finder(s): Metal detectorist(s) in the area of a scheduled ancient monument without permission from English Heritage. There was a subsequent archaeological excavation of an area 2.5 m by 2.0 m around the area of the hoard.

Disposition: Shropshire County Museum Services; small selection of specimens at the British Museum.

E.G.

39. Tendring district, Essex (addenda), 23 Sept. 2010 (2010 T643)

Dep.: AD 353 or later.

Contents: 8 Magnesian base metal *nummi*, AD 350–53; addenda to 2009 T614 and 2010 T382: see NC 170 (2010), 422, no. 43 and NC 171 (2011), 420, no. 49. The total for the whole hoard now stands at 18 *nummi*.

Finders: Dennis Jones and Robert Bachmann with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders.

L.M.

40. Womersley II, N. Yorks., Aug.–Sept. 2011 (2011 T646)

Dep.: AD 354 or later.

Contents: 445 base metal Constantinian-Magnesian *nummi*: AD 318–24, 1 (uncertain mint); AD 330–35, 71 (38 Trier, 17 Lyon, 7 Arles, 1 Rome, 1 Siscia, 1 other eastern and 4 uncertain mint); AD 335–40, 113 (60 Trier,

8 Lyon, 8 Arles, 1 Siscia, 1 Aquileia, 1 other eastern and 34 uncertain mint); AD 341–48, 163 (123 Trier, 9 Lyon, 11 Arles, 7 Rome, 13 uncertain mint); AD 348–50, 8 (4 Trier, 1 Arles, 3 uncertain mint); AD 350–53, 40 (12 Amiens, 6 Trier, 3 Lyon, 1 Arles, 18 uncertain mint); AD 353–54, 4 (1 Amiens, 3 uncertain mint); Illegible, 6; Irregular, 39.

Note: This hoard (in the parish of Cridling Stubbs) appears to be slightly later than Womersley I (1967) (*RBCH* 1241), from the same findspot. There was one unpublished variety: *GLORIA EXERCITVS* (1 standard) of Constans at Lyon with *PLG* mintmark, absent from *RIC* VII, p. 140. In addition to the coins the assemblage includes a small collection of structural ironwork and lead waste. Although all these objects could be Roman in date, their lack of diagnostic features mean that they cannot be assigned to this period with any certainty. The only object of interest is a possible Roman lead alloy phallus, the identification of which remains tentative. If the identification is correct, it may point to a possible votive context for the hoard.

Finders: Stephen Hutchinson and Brendon Griffin with metal detectors.

Disposition: Wakefield Museum has expressed interest. R.A./P.W.

41. Huntingdon district, Cambs., 24 Nov. 2011 (2011 T873)

Dep.: AD 355 or later.

Contents: 214 *nummi*, mostly of large module and all post-dating AD 348: Constantinian: Fel Temp, AD 348–50, 30; Magnentian, AD 350–53, 141; Post-Magnentian, AD 354–63, 8 (*t.p.q.* 355); Imitations, 35.

Note: This Magnentian hoard had a surprisingly large number of the Christogram types, which made up around half of the contents.

Finder: David Rauchfleisch with a metal detector.

Disposition: The British Museum has expressed interest in one bust variety: *RIC* 8, Constantinople, 114 var. E.G.

42. Tisbury, Wilts., Dec. 2010–Feb. 2011 (2011 T6)

Dep.: AD 378 or later.

Contents: 19 light AR *miliarenses* and 1 AR *siliqua*: AD 337–50, 2 (both Thessalonica); AD 350–61, 2 (1 Arles, 1 uncertain); AD 360–63 (Julian Augustus), 1 (Sirmium); AD 364–67, 4 (all Rome); AD 364–78, 4 (2 Trier, 1 Arles, 1 uncertain); AD 378–83, 2 (both Trier); Irregular *miliarenses*, 4; Irregular *siliqua*, 1.

Note: The condition of the coins was poor, all being in a more or less fragmentary state.

Finder: Alan White with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. D.A.

43. Methwold, Norfolk, June–July 2010 (2011 T224)

Dep.: c.AD 388.

Contents: Two unclipped AR *siliquae*: Jovian, AD 363–64, 1 (Constantinople); Magnus Maximus, AD 383–88, 1 (Trier).

Finder: David Wortley with a metal detector.

Disposition: Norwich Castle Museum has expressed interest. A.B.M.

44. Kingston Deverill, Wilts., Sept. 2010 (2011 T685)

Dep.: c.AD 388.

Contents: Two AR *siliquae* (the second coin is heavily clipped): AD 360–63, Julian Augustus, 1 (Trier); AD 378/9–88, 1 (uncertain mint).

Finder: Brian Read with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. R.A.

45. Frome II, Somerset (addenda), 1 Mar. 2011 (2011 T233)

Dep.: c.AD 388–95.

Contents: 11 AR *siliquae*: AD 367–75, 5 (all Trier); AD 375–78, 2 (all Trier); AD 378–88, 3 (2 Trier, 1 Rome); AD 388–95, 1 (Trier).

Note: Many of the coins were in fragmentary condition. Addenda to the 2010 find of a hoard of 61 *siliquae* and 1 half *siliqua* (2010 T278, see *NC* 171 (2011), 421, no. 52).

Finder: David Crisp with a metal detector.

Disposition: Somerset County Museum Service has expressed interest. L.B.

46. Chaddlesworth, Berks., Jan. 2011 (2011 T69)

Dep.: After AD 402.

Contents: 1 *sestertius*, 2 radiates and 131 *nummi* (total 134): Uncertain Antonine *sestertius*, AD 138–92, 1; Radiates AD 268–70, 2; Early *nummus*, AD 310–12, 1; Constantinian: Gloria Exercitus (2) etc. AD 330–35, 7; Gloria Exercitus (2) etc. AD 335–40, 5; Two Victories etc. AD 347–48, 8; Magnentian, AD 350–53, 1; Post-Magnentian, AD 354–63, 7; Valentinianic, AD 364–78, 66; Theodosian, AD 387–402, 11; Irregular, 10; Illegible, 15.

Finder: Unknown metal detectorist; the coins were brought to the attention of a PAS Finds Liaison Officer (Anni Byard) by the farmer (Alistair Cooper).

Disposition: West Berkshire Museum has expressed interest. E.G.

47. North Dalton, E. Yorks., Sept.–Oct. 2010 and earlier (2011 T117)

Dep.: After AD 402.

Contents: 8 AR *siliquae*: AD 360–63 (Julian Augustus), 1 (Arles); AD 364–67, 2 (1 Lyon, 1 Antioch); AD 388–95, 2 (1 Trier, 1 uncertain); AD 395–402, 3 (all Milan).

Note: Three of these coins were found in previous years before it was realised that there was a hoard (PAS: NCL-536972, NCL-533222, YORYM-96CE04).

Finder: David Scott with a metal detector.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finder. F.M.

48. Calbourne, Isle of Wight, Mar. and May 2011 (2011 T182)

Dep.: After AD 402.

Contents: 2 AV *solidi* and 2 clipped AR *siliquae*: Gold: AD 379–88, 1 (Milan); AD 388–92, 1 (Trier); Silver: AD 395–402, 2 (both Milan).

Finders: Stephen Chater, Fred Cook, John Parker and Stewart Thompson with metal detectors.

Disposition: Disclaimed and returned to finders. F.B./S.M.

49. Pewsey, Wilts. (addenda), Apr.–July 2011 (2011 T545)*Dep.*: After c.AD 402.*Contents*: 3 AR *siliquae*: AD 360–63, Julian Augustus, 1 (Arles); AD 395–402, 2 (Milan); addenda to 2009 T233 (25 coins) and 2010 T746 (2 coins); see NC 171 (2011), 422, no. 55.*Finder*: Nick Barrett with a metal detector.*Disposition*: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

K.H./D.A.

50. Bury St Edmunds (near), Suffolk, Aug. 2009–Nov. 2011 (2011 T660; 2011 T749)*Dep.*: After c.AD 402.*Contents*: 9 AR *siliquae*: AD 355–60, Constantius II, 2 (Arles); AD 360–63, Julian Augustus, 1 (Arles); AD 378/9–88, Theodosius I, 1 (Trier); AD 383–88, Magnus Maximus, 2 (1 Trier, 1 Milan); AD 395–402, Arcadius, 1 (Milan); Irregular, 2.*Finder*: Sam Smith with a metal detector.*Disposition*: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

A.B.

51. Mildenhall area, Suffolk (addenda), 12 Oct. 2011 (2011 T682)*Dep.*: After c.AD 402.*Contents*: 1 AV *solidus* and 15 clipped AR *siliquae*: AD 355–60, 1 (Lyon); AD 367–75, 1 (uncertain mint); AD 375–78/9, 1 (Trier); AD 378/9–88, 4 (3 Trier, 1 uncertain mint); AD 388–95, 1 (Lyon); AD 395–402, 7 (all Milan); Irregular *solidus*, 1.*Note*: Fourth addendum. Original find and first two addendum published in *CHRB* XII, 355–7; second addendum = 2007 T165; third addendum = 2010 T73; see NC 171 (2011), p. 421, no. 53).The irregular *solidus* (PAS: SF-FE5FC7) is a very unusual find (not a single such coin appeared in the great Hoxne treasure). Non-destructive X-ray fluorescence analysis by Duncan Hook at the British Museum(Conservation and Scientific Research) shows it to be 98% gold, 2% silver and 0.1% copper. However, it is likely that the SG result (of between 79–86% gold) is closer to the true gold content of the coin, and that the surface metal of the coin is depleted in both silver and copper. As it is too early to be part of the Pseudo-Imperial Gallic series, it perhaps represents a gold counterpart to the good quality silver *siliquae* imitations of the period. It has a sharp notch in the edge: possibly an ancient metal test?*Finders*: Steve Foster and Nick Foster with metal detectors.*Disposition*: Mildenhall and District Museum has expressed interest.

R.A.

52. Steeple Bumstead, Essex (addendum), Nov. 2010 (2011 T828)*Dep.*: After c.AD 402.*Contents*: 1 AR *siliqua* of Honorius, mint of Milan, AD 395–402.*Note*: Addendum to 2008 T447 (see NC 169 (2009), 345 no. 44). The new find extends the *t.p.q.* (from AD 395) and the total now stands at four *siliquae*.*Finder*: Andrew Allen with a metal detector.*Disposition*: Disclaimed and returned to finder.

J.B.

53. Middleton, E. Yorks., 8 Oct. 2011 (2011 T829)*Dep.*: After c.AD 402.*Contents*: 7 AR *siliquae*: AD 360–63, Julian Augustus, 1 (Arles); AD 364–67, 2 (1 Rome; 1 Antioch); AD 367–75, 1 (Trier); AD 375–78/9, 1 (Trier); AD 378/9–88, 1 (Trier); AD 395–402, 1 (Milan).*Finders*: David Jackson, David Bryden, Alan Chapman, Gary Parkin, and Ron Lewis with metal detectors.*Disposition*: Disclaimed and returned to finders.

R.C.

Medieval and post-medieval hoards

No.	Find-spot and county/unitary authority	Date(s) of discovery	Description	Dep.	Treasure no(s).
54	Colchester district, Essex	21–22 Mar. 2010; Apr. 2011	2 AV Merovingian <i>tremissis</i> + 1 AV <i>tremissis</i> cut fragment	c.580–670	2010 T254; 2011 T202
55	near Swaffham, Norfolk	Apr. 2011	1 AV Merovingian <i>tremissis</i> fused with 1 AV fragment	c.580–670	2011 T199
56	near Woodbridge, Suffolk	1 Sept. 2011	1 AV Merovingian <i>tremissis</i> fused with 1 AV <i>tremissis</i> fragment	c.580–670	2011 T704
57	Effingham, Surrey	c.2005–2008?	3 AR <i>sceattas</i>	c.680–710	2009 T488
58	near Woodbridge, Suffolk	Apr. 2010	3 AR fused <i>sceattas</i>	c.680–710	2010 T249
59	Pleshey, Essex	15 Apr. 2008 and 13–14 Apr. 2011	3 AR <i>sceattas</i>	c.695–710	2011 T306
60	Arreton, Isle of Wight	18 May 2011	3 AR <i>sceattas</i>	c.700–15	2011 T356
61	Wingham, Kent	2 May 2009	6 AR <i>sceattas</i>	c.700–15	2009 T313

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
62	Aldborough, Norfolk ¹	Feb. 2010 and Feb. 2011	65 AR <i>sceattas</i>	c.710–15	2010 T234
63	near Woodbridge, Suffolk	1 Sept. 2011	2 AR fused <i>sceattas</i>	c.725–50	2011 T706
64	Tower Hamlets, Kent ²	Summer 2006	10 AR partly fused <i>sceattas</i>		c.730–40
65	Bamburgh, Northumberland	Summer 2009	125 <i>Æ stycas</i>	c.850s	2009 T721
66	near Mildenhall, Suffolk	Oct. 2010; Sept. 2011	2 AR pennies (Eadmund of East Anglia); addenda to 2004 T115 and 2008 T1382011 T632	855–69	2010 T720; 2011 T632
67	Uncertain findspot	before 2010	c.25–30 AR fused coins (<i>Lunettes</i> type?)	860s/870s?	2010 T516
68	Little Chesterford, Essex	14 Nov. 2008	2 AR fused pennies (<i>Orsnaforda</i> imitation and St Edmund coinage)	c.900	2010 T790
69	near Silverdale, Lancs.	14 Sept. 2011	27 AR coins + 174 AR objects	c.910	2011 T569
70	Furness area, Cumbria	Apr. 2011	79 AR coins and fragments + 13 AR ingots	c.955–57	2011 T283
71	Farningham, Kent	1 July 2004 and 23 Mar. 2009	2 AR pennies (<i>Æthelred II Crux</i> type)	990s	2009 T245
72	Beachamwell, Norfolk	Dec. 2008	2 AR fused pennies (<i>Æthelred II Crux</i> type)	990s	2009 T031
73	near Preston, Lancs.	14 Mar. 2010	7 AR pennies (<i>Æthelred II Crux</i> type)	990s	2010 T210
74	near Hastings, E. Sussex	2 Mar. 2009	16 or more AR coins (<i>Æthelred II Crux</i> type (only?)) + AR disc, fused together	990s?	2009 T122
75	Wattisfield, Suffolk	June 2011	4 AR pennies (<i>Æthelred II Long Cross</i> type)	c.1000	2011 T376
76	Tibberton, Glos.	Sept. 2008–May 2009	4 AR pennies (William I)	early/mid-1070s	2009 T537
77	near Attleborough, Norfolk	Sept. 2009	2 AR pennies (Henry I)	c.1119–21	2009 T675
78	Grange de Lings, Lincs.	19 Sept. 2010	15 AR (<i>Tealby</i>)	1158–80	2010 T549
79	Ivinghoe, Bucks.	July 2011	2 AR pennies (<i>Tealby</i>)	1158–80	2011 T401
80	near Fakenham, Norfolk	May/June 2008 and Jan. 2009	5 AR pennies (<i>Tealby</i>)	c.1160–80	2009 T71
81	Isley cum Langley, Leics.	22 Aug. 2010	5 AR fused coins (all (?) French <i>deniers</i>)	1180–13th century	2010 T518
82	Skidbrooke, Lincs.	24 Oct. 2010	2 AR pennies (Short Cross)	1st half of 13th century	2010 T695
83	Backwell, N. Somerset	16 May 2010	3 AR pennies (Short Cross)	c.1200–04 or later	2010 T316
84	Shillingstone, Dorset	12 Feb. 2011	4 AR pennies	c.1206–47 (Short Cross)	2011 T230
85	Oswestry, Salop	Dec. 2010	3 AR cut halfpennies (John; William I of Scotland)	c.1210–47	2011 T37
86	North Cave, Norfolk	1 Feb. 2009	30 AR pennies (Short Cross; William I of Scotland)	c.1215	2009 T59

1 Marsden 2012.

2 Lyne 2009.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
87	Walsoken, Norfolk	Sept. 2009	5 AR (Short Cross)	late 1210s or 1220s	2009 T660
88	Foulsham, Norfolk	24 Oct. 2010; Feb.–Mar. 2011	5 AR pennies (Short Cross)	1220s/1230s	2010 T728
89	Wendover, Bucks.	13–15 Aug. and 2 Nov. 2009	18 AR (Short Cross; John as lord of Ireland)	mid-1230s	2009 T427
90	Tewkesbury Abbey, Glos. ³	1992	6 AR pennies (Short Cross)	c.1240–47	
91	near Dereham, Norfolk	Nov. 2009	24 AR pennies (Short Cross; William I of Scotland)	c.1242–47	2009 T704
92	Wandsworth area, London	June 2009	c.15 AR fused coins (Short Cross pennies?)	1180–1247?	2009 T437
93	Cheriton area, Hants.	18 July 2010	12 AR (Long Cross; Alexander III of Scotland)	c.1250–79	2010 T452
94	Oakley, Bucks.	3 Oct. 2010	60 AR (Long Cross; Irish and Scottish)	early 1250s	2010 T626
95	Callaly, Northumberland	2011	4 AR pennies (Long Cross)	c.1253–79	2011 T553
96	Duffield area, Derbys.	Aug. 2011	17 AR pennies (Long Cross; Alexander III of Scotland)	c.1253–79	2011 T497
97	Baschurch area, Salop	Dec. 2008; Sept. 2010	10 AR pennies + 5 AR penny fragments (Long Cross); addenda to Baschurch area hoard (NC 169 (2009), 359–61, no. 74)	1260s	2009 T289; 2010 T613
98	Belbroughton area, Worcs.	Apr. 2011	18 AR (Long Cross; Irish)	c.1262–79	2011 T225
99	Tyringham, Bucks.	May 2011	20 AR (Long Cross)	c.1272–79	2011 T328
100	Grange de Lings, Lincs.	19 Sept. 2010	c.6–8 AR fused pennies (Edwardian)	1279–14th century	2010 T548
101	Unknown location	July 2003	c.200–250 AR pennies	1279–1351	2009 T756
102	Oxborough, Norfolk	Feb. 2010	4 AR pennies (Edward I)	1280s	2010 T129
103	Wigton, Cumbria	Nov. 2010	20 AR pennies (Edward I; Irish and Scottish; Continental sterling)	c.1290	2010 T745
104	Preston Capes, Northants.	6–9 Nov. 2010; Oct. 2011	9 AR pennies (Edward I; Continental sterling)	1290s	2010 T792; 2011 T662
105	Great Witley, Worcs.	Apr. 2011	4 AR pennies (Edward I)	c.1300 or later	2011 T280
106	Biddulph, Staffs.	Oct. 2010	5 AR pennies (Edward I)	c.1302–10	2010 T667
107	Malew, Isle of Man	11 Feb. 2011	66 AR (Long Cross; Edward I; Irish and Scottish)	c.1302–10?	
108	Kilkenny, Isle of Man	Nov.–Dec. 2008 and Apr. 2009	81 AR (Edward I (and Edward II?); Irish and Scottish)	c.1305–10	
109	Deopham area, Norfolk	Sept. 2009	2 AR pennies (Edward I); addenda to Deopham area hoard 2007 (NC 169 (2009), 361–2, no. 75).	c.1306–10	2009 T642
110	Maryport area, Cumbria	15 Dec. 2009	c.307 AR (Edward I and Edward II; Irish and Scottish; Continental sterling)	c.1310	2010 T20

3 Information from Mrs Yvonne Harvey.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
111	Freeby, Leics.	June 2011	8 AR coins (Edward I and Edward II; John Baliol of Scotland)	c.1310 or later	2011 T361
112	Cramlington, Northumberland	12 Sept. 2009	122 AR pennies (Edward I and Edward II; Alexander and John Baliol of Scotland)	c.1310–14	2009 T539
113	Tadcaster area, N. Yorks.	10 Aug. 2010	9 AR pennies (Edward I and Edward II)	c.1310–20	2010 T496; 2010 T496A
114	Shorwell, Isle of Wight	28 June 2009	2 AR groats (Edward III)	1351 or later	2009 T379
115	Penllyn, Vale of Glamorgan	7 Mar. 2010	2 AR groats (Edward III)	1351 or later	2010 W3
116	North Lancashire area, Lancs.	20 Feb. 2009; 8 Jan. and 24 Mar. 2010	21 AR (Edward I to Edward III)	late 1350s/early 1360s	2009 T105; 2010 T30
117	Bagillt, Flintshire	1 May 2010	4 AR fused coins (Edward III and ?Richard II)	1361 or later	2010 W7
118	Taynton, Glos.	Nov. 2008	2 AV (Edward III) + 9 AR (Edward III and David II of Scotland)	1360s	2009 T136
119	South Lakeland area, Cumbria	7–9 Mar. 2009	13 AR (Edward I to Edward III)	mid/late 1360s	2009 T119
120	North East Morecambe Bay area, Cumbria	7 Apr. 2009	4 AR (Edward I and Edward III)	1360s/1370s	2009 T197
121	Felixstowe area, Suffolk	15 Oct. 2009; Mar. 2011	14 AR (Edward I to Edward III)	1360s/1370s	2009 T663; 2011 T180
122	Ticknall, Derbys.	Mar. 2011	10 AR pennies (Edward I–III)	1370s/1380s	2011 T153
123	Winterbourne, Wilts.	late April 2009	9 AR (Edward I, Edward III and Richard II)	late 1370s or 1380s	2009 T263
124	Presteigne area, Powys	7 Apr. 2011	5 AV + 4 AR (Edward III to Henry IV)	c.1400–02 or later (after 1412?)	2011 W5
125	Glyn Tarell, Powys	8 May 2011	4 AR groats (Edward III)	after 1412	2011 W15
126	Winterbourne Kingston, Dorset	Mar. 2011	83 AR (Edward to Henry IV) + 1 papal <i>bull</i>	c.1412–13	2011 T184
127	Slapton, Devon	Feb. 2011	2 AV quarter nobles (Edward III and Henry V)	1413–65	2011 T415
128	Oswestry area, Salop	Apr. 2010	21 AR (Edward I to Edward III and Henry V)	c.1415	2010 T321
129	Kingston Russell, Dorset	June 2009	1 AV fragment + 31 AR (Edward I to Henry VI)	1422–late 1420s	2009 T476
130	Clitheroe area, Lancs.	7 Sept. 2009	10 AR (Edward I to Henry VI; Continental sterling)	1422–64	2009 T481
131	Gurnard, Isle of Wight	July 2011	2 AR groats (Henry VI)	1422–64	2011 T451
132	Ilam area, Staffs.	20, 23 and 29 Dec. 2009; 28 Mar. 2010	30 AR (Edward II to Henry VI); addenda to Ilam area hoard 2004 (NC 167 (2007), 68–9, no. 68)	c.1430	2010 T5; 2010 T214
133	Fornsett, Norfolk	Aug. 2011	2 AR groats (Henry VI)	c.1430–64	2011 T617

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
134	Huntington, Cheshire	18 Mar. 2010	1 AR groat (Henry VI) + 1 AV finger-ring; addenda to Huntington hoard 1986 (<i>NCirc</i> 94 (1986), 263)	early/mid-1430s	2010 T209
135	near Eye, Suffolk	30 Apr. 2010	477 AR (Edward I to Henry VI; Continental sterling)	early/mid-1430s	2010 T314
136	Farnham, Essex	Apr. 2011	29 AR (Edward I to Henry VI)	early/mid-1430s	2011 T242
137	Coney Weston, Suffolk	Oct. 2010	10 AR (Henry VI; James I of Scotland)	c.1460	2010 T663
138	Wragby area, Lincs.	29 July 2010	3 AR pennies in AR-gilt reliquary pendant	1464–1544	2010 T561
139	Charing, Kent	28 Sept. 2009	2 AV + 8 AR (Edward IV; Burgundian and French)	c.1475–1480s	2009 T604
140	Andover area, Hants.	12 Mar. and 3 Oct. 2011	2 AV angels (Henry VI and Henry VII)	c.1489–1544	2011 T142
141	Carhampton, Somerset	2 Dec. 2010; Sept. 2011	8 AR (Edward III to Henry VII)	c.1490s	2010 T833; 2011 T608
142	Stapleford, Lincs.	Feb. 2010	16 AR (Edward IV and Henry VII; Burgundian and Portuguese)	c.1490–1504	2010 T84
143	Ston Easton, Somerset	28 Mar. 2010	7 AR (Edward IV and Henry VII; Burgundian)	c.1490–1504	2010 T217
144	Richard's Castle, Herefords.	Aug.–Sept. 2010; Feb. 2011	11 AR (Edward IV and Henry VII; Burgundian)	c.1501–04	2010 T612; 2011 T102
145	Kings Langley area, Herts.	28 Feb. 2009	16 AR (Henry VI to Henry VIII)	1509–26	2009 T125
146	Eastling, Kent	9 and 15 Oct. 2009	3 AV (Edward IV and Henry VIII)	1509–44	2009 T631
147	Brompton, N. Yorks.	7 June 2011	3 AV (Henry VII, Henry VIII; Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain)	1509–44	2011 T409
148	Iwerne Minster, Dorset	19 Mar. and 9 Apr. 2011	6 AR (Henry VII, Henry VIII; Burgundian)	1526–44	2011 T777
149	Longbridge Deverill, Wilts.	Feb. 2011	10 AR groats (Edward IV to Henry VIII; Burgundian)	1526–44	2011 T107
150	Battersea, Wandsworth	Oct. 2011	3 AR groats (Henry VI to Edward IV)	1526–44?	2011 T628
151	German, Isle of Man	2007	23 AR (Edward IV to Henry VIII)	1532–44	
152	Charing, Kent	2009 and 2010	1 AV crown (Henry VIII) + 15 AR (Henry VII and Henry VIII; Burgundian)	1532–44	2010 T197
153	Cranworth, Norfolk	27–29 Dec. 2008	32 AR groats (Henry VII and Henry VIII); addenda to Cranworth hoard 1996 (<i>NC</i> 158 (1998), 301–2, no. 46)	c.1544–45	2009 T70
154	Souldrop, Beds.	1 Dec. 2008	2 AV half sovereigns (Edward VI)	1551 or later	2009 T29
155	Mepal, Cambs.	20 Apr. 2010	6 AR fused coins (Elizabeth I (only?))	1559 or later	2010 T273
156	Chester area, Cheshire	Apr. 2011	3 AR (Elizabeth I)	1560 or later	2011 T271
157	Goveton, Devon	Mar. 2009	2 AR (Elizabeth I and Manuel I of Portugal)	1560 or later	2010 T374
158	Appleby area, Cumbria	before 8 Jan. 2009	4 AR fused three-farthings (Elizabeth I)	1561 or later	2009 T128

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159	Spixworth, Norfolk	Sept. 2009	11 AR (Mary and Elizabeth I)	c.1562	2010 T161
160	Dundry, N. Somerset	Aug. 2010	4 AR (Mary and Elizabeth I)	1565–66 or later	2010 T797
161	Cumberworth, Lincs.	c. July 2011	2 AR (Elizabeth I)	1566 or later	2011 T593
162	Hoxne, Suffolk	18–24 June 2009	11 AR (Mary to Elizabeth I)	late 1560s	2009 T331
163	Sedburgh, Cumbria	22 Apr. 2009	73 AR (Mary to Elizabeth I)	mid/late 1570s	2009 T213
164	Oldbury-on-Severn, Glos.	Dec. 2011	2 AR sixpences (Elizabeth I)	1576 or later	2011 T899
165	Coychurch, Bridgend	May 2009	3 AR sixpences (Elizabeth I)	1583 or later	2009 W8
166	Kingston Russell, Dorset	10 Oct. 2009	3 AR (Elizabeth I)	1583 or later	2009 T650
167	Charhampton, Somerset	30 Mar. 2009	5 AR (Elizabeth I)	1584–87 or later	2009 T165
168	Berkeley, Glos.	June 2009	5 AR (Elizabeth I)	1594 or later	2011 T897
169	Lancaster area, Lancs.	18 Feb. 2009; 8 Jan. 2010	18 AR (Mary to Elizabeth I)	late 1590s/ early 1600s	2009 T104; 2010 T29
170	Thorverton, Devon	Oct. 2011	4 AR (Elizabeth I)	1601–early 17th cent.	2011 T638
171	Oakley, Bucks.	15 Oct. 2009	1 AV (James I) + 4 AR (Elizabeth I)	1612–13 or later	2009 T655
172	Oswestry area, Salop	26 June 2010	6 AR (Elizabeth I to Charles I) + 1 AR-gilt medal	1632 or later	2010 T418
173	Drayton Bassett, Staffs.	8 Apr. 2009	2 AR shillings (Charles I)	1636–38 or later	2009 T230
174	Ston Easton, Somerset	May 2011	4 AR (Elizabeth I and Charles I)	1639–40 or later	2011 T342
175	Quarley, Hants.	late July 2009	7 or more AR fused coins	1630s–1690s	2009 T452
176	Lapley Stretton and Wheaton Aston, Staffs.	Sept. 2011	4 AR (Elizabeth I and Charles I)	1640–41 or later	2011 T544
177	Bedale area, N. Yorks.	28 Aug. 2009; mid-Oct. 2010	731 AR (Mary to Charles I; Spanish Netherlands)	c.1641–43	2009 T459; 2010 T743
178	Sheepy, Lincs.	20 Apr. 2010	5 AR (Elizabeth I to Charles I)	1641–43 or later	2010 T282
179	near Bromsgrove, Worcs.	Sept. 2011	5 AR (Elizabeth I to Charles I)	1641–43 or later	2011 T539
180	Bitterly, Salop	17 and 23 Feb. 2011	1 AV + 137 AR (Edward VI to Charles I)	1643–44	2011 T89
181	Willand, Devon	6 Nov. 2011	4 AR (Edward VI to Charles I)	1643–45 or later	2011 T794
182	Ackworth, W. Yorks.	21 July 2011	52 AV and 523 AR coins (Edward VI to Charles I; Scottish, Irish and Spanish Netherlands) + 1 AV ring	1645–46 or later	2011 T428
183	Solihull, W. Midlands	28 Dec. 2009	5 AR halfcrowns (Charles I)	1645–46 or later	2010 T45
184	Trellech United, Monmouthshire	Oct. 2010	7 AR (Charles I)	1645–46 or later	2011 W14
185	West Lavington, Wilts.	June 2009	2 AR fused coins (Charles I)	1645–46 or later	2009 T565
186	near Wells, Somerset	Apr. 2011	2 AR (Charles I)	1646 or later	2011 T274
187	Kimbolton, Salop	Apr. 2009	4 AR (Mary and Elizabeth I) + 7 Æ farthings (Charles II)	c.1680s	2009 T291

<i>No.</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date(s) of discovery</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Dep.</i>	<i>Treasure no(s).</i>
188	Boroughbridge, N. Yorks.	29 Aug. 2009	4 AR coin clippings (Elizabeth I)	17th century	2009 T466
189	City of London	Nov. 2009	2 AR (Elizabeth I)	17th century	2009 T725
190	Great Holland area, Essex	late 2009; Dec. 2010	11 AR (Elizabeth I and Charles I)	mid-late 17th century	2010 T627; 2011 T114
191	Broughton, Hants.	17 Oct. 2010	c.16–17 AR fused coins	16th–17th century	2010 T711
192	Westerleigh, S. Glos.	9 Sept. 2008	3 AR (William III)	1696 or later	2009 T138
193	East Pennard, Somerset	Dec. 2009	2 AR shillings (William III)	1696 or later	2010 T83
194	Llanbedrog/Penrhos, Gwynedd	Apr. 2011	7 AR (Charles II and William III)	1696 or later	2010 W4
195	Llanbradach, Caerphilly	Apr. and Sept. 2008	8 AR (Elizabeth I to William III)	1697 or later	2009 W2
196	Llanrhidian Higher, Swansea	Apr. and May 2009	2 AR sixpences (William III)	1697 or later	2009 W18
197	Winterborne, S. Glos.	20 Aug. 2011	3 AR (William III)	1697 or later	2011 T900
198	Duhnnow, Powys	10 Sept. 2010	255 Æ (Charles II to William III; Irish)	1699–early 1700s	2010 W11
199	Church Stoke, Powys	Aug. 2009	10 Æ halfpennies (William III)	1699 or later	2009 W13
200	Stanmore area, Salop	Mar. 2010	10 Æ (William III and Mary II)	after 1699	2010 T457
201	St Cuthbert Out, Somerset	Sept. 2009	4 AR (William III)	18th century– c.1817	2009 T731
202	Backwell, N. Somerset	12 Apr. 2010	3 AR (William III)	18th century– c.1817	2010 T317
203	Market Drayton area, Salop	31 Jan. 2010	2 AR (William III)	18th century– c.1817	2010 T737
204	Sheriff Hutton, N. Yorks.	Feb. 2010	5 AR (William III) + 3 Æ (William III and George I)	1719 or later	2010 T329
205	Much Hadham, Herts.	20 Nov. 2009	7 AR tokens made from ‘milled’ shillings	1723 or later	2010 T25
206	Ripple, Worcs.	23 May 2010	58 AR (William III and Anne; Louis XIV of France) + 630 Æ (William III to George III)	1775–c.1817	2010 T606
207	South East Lincoln area, Lincs.	11 and 25 Apr. 2010; 25 and 27 Nov. 2011	8 AV (Spanish-American); addenda to Branston hoard 1928 (Brown and Dolley GD9).	c.1802–03	2010 T271; 2011 T868
208	Twinstead, Essex	27 Nov. 2011	more than 214 AV (Victoria to George V)	1911 or later	2011 T827
209	North Petherton, Somerset	1 Nov. 2009	5 AR (Victoria to George V)	1922 or later	2010 T59

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COIN REGISTER 2012

EDITED BY MARTIN ALLEN, IAN LEINS, JOHN NAYLOR and PHILIPPA WALTON

Coin Register is an annual survey of single finds of Iron Age, Roman, medieval and post-medieval coins and tokens found in England and Wales, using data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), Coin Index (CCI), and Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC), and other sources. The editors would be very grateful to be notified of any finds that might be included in Coin Register. All Celtic, pre-conquest Roman, Roman silver prior to AD 64, Roman gold and late Roman silver coins from the fourth century onwards are welcomed, as are Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coins and their continental contemporaries (down to and including the *Cross-and-Crosslets* (*Tealby*) type of Henry II), and most later medieval continental coins. However, coins outside these categories will still be considered for their numismatic interest. As always, the essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from archaeological excavations may be included if it seems that there would otherwise be a considerable delay in publication.

Celtic material should be sent in the first instance to Ian Leins, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG (ileins@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Finds of Greek and Roman coins should be notified to Sam Moorhead, Finds Adviser, Iron Age and Roman coins, Portable Antiquities Scheme, c/o Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London WC1B 3DG (smoorhead@thebritishmuseum.ac.uk). Other material should be sent to Dr Martin Allen, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge CB2 1RB (mra25@cam.ac.uk).

The Iron Age coins have been edited by Ian Leins, the Greek and Roman coins by Philippa Walton, and Martin Allen and John Naylor are responsible for the surveys of medieval and post-medieval finds. An Appendix lists additional finds recorded by EMC during the year, and illustrations of these coins are available as pdf-files on the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org).

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| BMC | D. Allen, <i>Catalogue of the Celtic Coins in the British Museum. Volume III Bronze Coins of Gaul</i> , edited by M. Mays (London, 1995). | LRBC | P.V. Hill, J.P.C. Kent and R.A.G. Carson, <i>Late Roman Bronze Coinage AD 324–498</i> (London, 1960). |
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| BMCI | R. Hobbs, <i>British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum</i> (London, 1996). | MEC | <i>Medieval European Coinage</i> |
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Abbreviations

- CCI Celtic Coin Index (www.finds.org.uk/CCI)
- cuir. cuirassed
- diad. diademed
- dr. draped
- EMC Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds AD 410–1180 (www.fitmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc)
- ex. exergue
- helm. helmeted
- HER Historic Environments Record
- l. left
- laur. laureate
- M/d Metal detector
- PAS Portable Antiquities Scheme (www.finds.org.uk)
- r. right
- rad. radiate
- SMR Sites and Monuments Record
- std seated
- stg standing
- wnr weight not recorded

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Greek coin

1. Philip II of Macedon (359–36 BC) *drachm*, Pella or Amphipolis, cf. Rider, Pl. 22, no. 537, 323–315 BC
Obv. Laur. head of Apollo r.
Rev. Horse and rider galloping r.
 Weight: 1.8 g (pierced).
 Edgcott, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, 2011. Found by Clint Barker.
 (PAS: BERK-4267C8) A.By./P.W.

Iron Age coins

2. Central Gaulish potin attributed to the Aedui (c. 125–50 BC), Delestrée and Tache, Series 890, Class II or III, no. 3202 or 3203
Obv. Abstract diad. bust l.
Rev. Abstract design possibly based on hippocamp.
 Weight: 3.63 g.
 Gatcombe, Isle of Wight. M/d find, September 2011. Found by Roy Atkinson.
 This coin has features of both Class II and Class III.
 (PAS: IOW-F04D31) F.B./P.W.

3. Belgic cast copper alloy coin attributed to the Suessiones (c. 100–60 BC), Delestrée and Tache, p. 61, no. 210
Obv. Two goats facing, with a pellet between.
Rev. ΑΓΗΑ, wolf and boar facing, with a pellet in ring between.
 Weight: 5.18 g.
 Uttlesford, Essex. M/d find, November 2011. Found by Barry Knee.
 (PAS: ESS-13C8C0) L.M.

4. Belgic cast copper alloy coin attributed to the Suesiones (c.100–60 BC), Delestrée and Tache, p. 61, no. 210

Obv. Two goats facing, with a pellet between.

Rev. ΑΓΗΑ, wolf and boar facing, with a pellet in ring between.

Weight: 3.92 g.

Little Maplestead, Essex. M/d find, August 2011. Found by Mark Litterick. Donated to the British Museum (2012, 4025.1).

(PAS: SUR-9E2D47)

D.W./S.M.

5. Gaulish copper alloy coin attributed to the Ambiani (c.60–40 BC), unpublished

Obv. Two horses.

Rev. Face.

Weight: 1.6 g.

Weybridge, Surrey. M/d find, June 2011. Found by Tony Burke.

This coin is not published in Delestrée and Tache, but two examples have been offered for sale by Chris Rudd: *Chris Rudd List* 75, May 2004 (CCI 04.0393) and a recent low grade example in *Liz's List* 45, February 2010. Donated to the British Museum (2012, 4024.1).

(PAS: SUR-B636A3)

D.W./I.L./S.M.

6. Gaulish copper alloy coin, 'Rameau Type, 1st century BC, *BMC Celtic III* S551

Obv. Cross of pellets, with two wavy lines in each quarter.

Rev. Horse r., with pellets and a crescent in the field.

Weight: 5.12 g.

Ickleton, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 26 December 2006.

A.P.

7. Belgic copper alloy coin (c.60–25 BC), Delestrée and Tache, p. 89, no. 406 var.

Obv. Facing head.

Rev. Swastika pattern.

Weight: 3.12 g.

Moulsford, Oxfordshire. M/d find, April 2011. Found by Colin Hennell.

On this example the terminals of the swastika are curled in on themselves.

(PAS: SUR-AFF157)

D.W.

8. Uninscribed Eastern gold quarter stater (c.60–20 BC), *ABC*, p. 115, no. 2231 var.

Obv. Wreath, cloak and crescent.

Rev. Horse r. with two pellets in annulets above and below.

Weight: 1.22 g.

Wickham St Paul, Essex. M/d find, August 2011. Found by Angus Taylor.

This coin is closely related to the 'Essex Wheels' gold quarter stater (cf. VA 260, *BMCIA* 485; *BMCIA* 496), but not closely enough to class it as the same type. There is a ringed-pellet below the horse, not a spoked wheel as with 'Essex Wheels' and there is a different treatment of the horse's tail and the onion-like motif above.

(PAS: SUR-9EBB47)

D.W./S.M.

9. Early uninscribed British 'MB' gold stater (c.50–20 BC), cf. *ABC* p. 107, no. 2091

Obv. Blank.

Rev. Horse r., spiral decoration above.

Weight: 4.54 g.

Charlton, Wiltshire. M/d find, September 2011. Found by Nick Croker.

(PAS: WILT-3E3165)

K.H./D.A./C.R.

10. Southern uninscribed silver unit (50–20 BC) cf. *ABC*, p. 53, no. 644

Obv. Head r.

Rev. Triple-tailed horse r. with human head behind.

Weight: 1.36 g.

Alfriston, East Sussex. M/d find, February 2011. Found by Darren Simpson.

(PAS: SUSS-A60822)

G.C./S.M.

11. Eastern silver unit of Tasciovanus (c.20 BC–AD 10), *ABC*, p. 131, no. 2649

Obv. Griffin r.

Rev. [TAS], Pegasus l.

Weight: 1.22 g.

Whitchurch, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, October 2011. Found by Matthew Guest.

(PAS: SUR-7E7967)

D.W./P.W.

12. East Anglian silver half-unit attributed to the Iceni (c.20 BC–AD 20), *ABC*, p. 85, no. 1597

Obv. Boar-standard, with ears of corn above and behind.

Rev. Horse r., with ear of barley above.

Weight: 0.71 g.

Foulsham area, Norfolk. M/d find, December 2011. Found by Andrew Carter.

(PAS: NMS-160CF0)

G.C.

13. Northern gold of Cunobelin (c.AD 8–41), 'Plastic Series A', *BMCIA* 1818

Obv. Corn ear, to l. CA, to r. MV

Rev. Horse r., above pellet, in front of head pellet, below pellet and CVNO

Weight: 5.44 g.

Sawston, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, June 2003.

A.P.

Roman coins

In 2011, 19,707 Roman coins were recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (www.finds.org.uk), bringing the total number of Roman coins to 180,762. The map (Fig. 1) shows the distribution of Roman coin finds in England and Wales using PAS data recorded between 1997 and 2011. Each dot represents a site where a coin has been found: some dots in outlying regions represent one coin; dots in areas of prolific coin loss can represent many hundreds. Eleven Greek and Roman provincial coins have also been recorded in 2011, alongside five Byzantine coins.

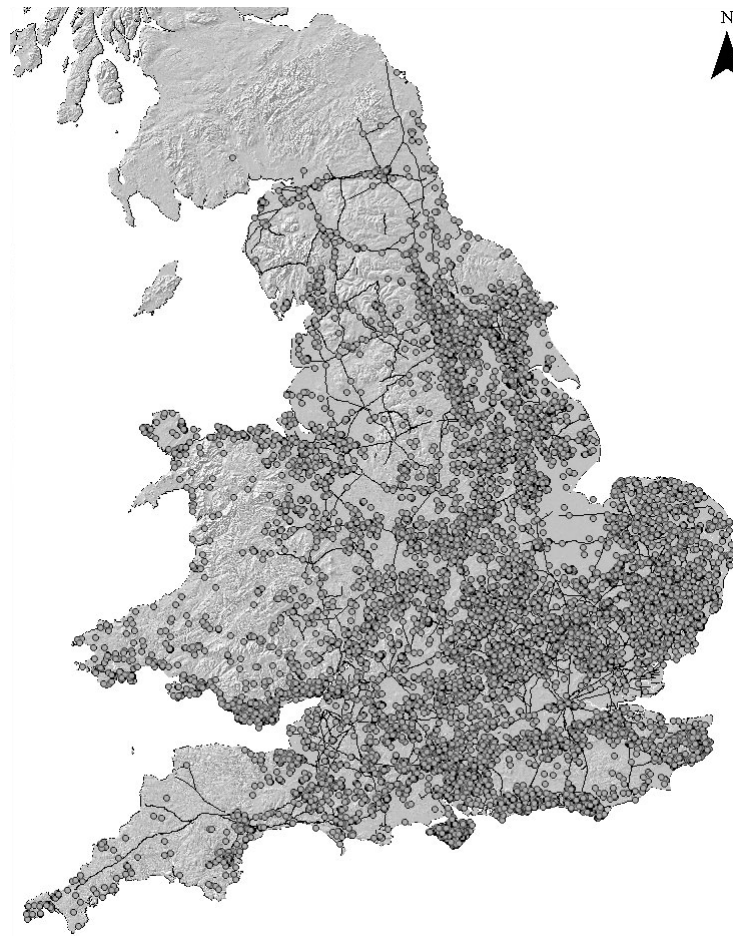


Fig. 1. The distribution of Roman coinage recorded by PAS, 1997–2012.

Since 2008, when data for the first national study of the PAS Roman coin data were collected (P.J. Walton, *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*, Moneta 137 (Wetteren, 2012)), a further 80,000 coins have been recorded on the PAS database, whilst the 53,165 coins recorded by the *Iron Age and Roman coins of Wales* project have also been incorporated. These data continue to increase our understanding of the distribution and chronology of coin loss throughout the province. For example, it is increasingly clear that there is significant variation in the number of coins recorded in different regions of the province. Table 1 summarizes the total number of Roman coins recorded for each English county. It highlights the fact that the majority of coins are found to the south-east of the Fosse Way and in a few outlying regions, such as Warwickshire, the East Ridge of Yorkshire and North Yorkshire. Even within the region south of the Fosse Way, the density of coin finds varies, with Suffolk and the Isle of Wight being particularly productive. Table 1 also summarizes the range in size of assemblages at a parish level within individual counties. It is notable that there are nine parishes with totals of more than 1,000 coins and a further 225 parishes with more than 100 coins. Many of these large assemblages come from sites previously unknown to archaeologists. The PAS finds also continue to include a significant number of coins of numismatic interest.

TABLE 1. A summary of Roman coins recorded by the PAS from England by county and parish

Note: Table 1 uses data as of 4 May 2011. There are some small hoards within the dataset which will be removed when more precise analysis is carried out; however, given the size of the dataset, they are unlikely to affect the overall picture presented significantly.

<i>County</i>	<i>Total no. of coins</i>	<i>No. of parishes</i>					
		<i>less than 20 coins</i>	<i>20–49 coins</i>	<i>50–99 coins</i>	<i>100–499 coins</i>	<i>500–999 coins</i>	<i>1000 + coins</i>
Avon	447	34	1	1	1	0	0
Bedfordshire	1,984	48	8	2	6	1	0
Berkshire	1,162	38	4	0	0	1	0
Buckinghamshire	4,971	78	13	9	7	3	0
Cambridgeshire	3,533	67	10	12	8	1	0
Cheshire	582	83	5	1	1	0	0
Cleveland	32	9	0	0	0	0	0
Cornwall	296	37	2	0	1	0	0
Cumbria	775	45	12	0	0	0	0
Derbyshire	207	41	0	2	0	0	0
Devonshire	449	60	1	1	2	0	0
Dorset	1,463	78	7	7	2	0	0
County Durham	1,245	17	0	1	0	0	1 ¹
East Yorkshire	6,358	44	12	6	12	1	1
East Sussex	1,094	40	9	4	1	0	0
Essex	2,742	128	14	7	6	0	0
Gloucestershire	1,334	59	8	4	4	0	0
Greater London	540	29	5	2	1	0	0
Greater Manchester	35	6	1	0	0	0	0
Hampshire	8,356	96	24	17	14	1	1
Herefordshire	324	45	2	1	0	0	0
Hertfordshire	3,760	56	7	2	8	1	1
Isle of Wight	1,290	13	5	4	2	1	0
Kent	3,506	142	15	6	8	1	0
Lancashire	123	40	1	0	0	0	0
Leicestershire	3,155	106	8	7	5	1	0
Lincolnshire	10,544	140	30	22	28	1	1
Merseyside	77	11	1	0	0	0	0
Norfolk	7,913	223	47	30	12	1	0
North East Lincolnshire	62	4	1	0	0	0	0
North Lincolnshire	1,324	26	3	5	3	0	0
North Yorkshire	2,445	222	23	7	3	0	0
Northamptonshire	4,862	83	15	10	7	0	1
Northumberland	198	21	1	0	1	0	0
Nottinghamshire	2,736	90	7	3	6	1	0
Oxfordshire	2,758	96	7	4	11	0	0
Rutland	84	13	1	0	0	0	0
Shropshire	329	74	1	0	0	0	0
Somerset	1,947	72	8	10	3	0	0
South Yorkshire	145	42	0	0	0	0	0
Staffordshire	586	53	3	2	1	0	0
Suffolk	15,469	163	51	31	23	4	2
Surrey	1,666	49	9	3	1	1 ²	0
Warwickshire	4,537	74	11	9	2	0	0
West Midlands	35	11	0	0	0	0	0
West Sussex	1,493	61	7	3	6	0	0
West Yorkshire	276	36	3	1	0	0	0
Wiltshire	4,285	100	14	9	8	0	1
Worcestershire	922	58	9	4	1	0	0
Totals	114,456	3,161	426	249	205	20	9

Source: P.W.

¹ Only 703 coins from the votive assemblage at Piercebridge have been recorded in the database. However, the remaining 594 coins are currently being catalogued as part of the Treasure process and will be added in due course.

² These 736 coins from an important Surrey site are about to be uploaded on to the database.

14. Augustus (27 BC–AD 14), *denarius*, Lyon, *RIC* I, p. 54, no. 199, 8–7 BC
Obv. [AVGVSTVS DIVI F], laur. head r., countermarked [C]AES behind head.

Rev. Caesar galloping r. holding reins, sword and shield; behind, eagle between two standards.

Weight: 3.2 g.

Crewe, Cheshire. M/d find, 2011.

(PAS: HESH-23F8D7)

P.R./P.W.

15. Claudius (AD 41–54), *aureus*, Rome, *RIC* I, p. 123, no. 38, AD 46–47

Obv. TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P VI IMP XI, laur. head r.

Rev. PACI AVGVSTAE, Pax-Nemesis advancing r., holding caduceus pointing down at snake.

Weight: 7.81 g.

Colchester area, Essex. M/d find, 2011. Found by Mark Slinkman.

(PAS: FASAM-D2D5A4)

S.M.

16. Nero (AD 54–68), *aureus*, Rome, *RIC* I, no. 48, AD 64–65

Obv. NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS, laur. head r.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVGVSTA, Concordia std l.

Weight: 7.09 g.

Great Moulton, Norfolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by J. Clark.

(PAS: NMS-CCD9E2)

A.M.

17. Vitellius (AD 69), *denarius*, Rome, *RIC* I, p. 272, no. 86

Obv. A VITELLIVS GERMAN IMP TRP, laur. head r.

Rev. XV VIR SACR FAC, tripod with raven below and dolphin above.

Weight: 2.8 g.

Newby Wiske, North Yorkshire. M/d find, September 2011. Found by David Jackson.

Coins of Vitellius are generally rare as finds in Britain.

(PAS: NCL-3C2114)

R.C./S.M.

18. Vitellius (AD 69), *denarius*, Spanish mint, *RIC* I, p. 269, no. 24

Obv. A VITELLIVS IMP GERMAN, laur. head l., globe at point of bust; palm in front.

Rev. CONSENSVS EXERCITVVM, Mars, helm. and naked but for cloak, advancing l., r. hand holding spear, left, *aquila* and *vexillum*.

Weight: 3.58 g.

Huntingdon area, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, October 2009.

This is a particularly rare coin and there is no example in the British Museum collection.

(PAS: CAM-5B48E3)

H.F./P.W.

19. Vespasian (AD 69–79), *aureus*, Antioch, *RIC* II, 2nd ed., p. 176, issue as of no. 1543, AD 72–73

Obv. IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG, laur. head r.

Rev. IVSTITIA AVG, Justitia std r., holding vertical sceptre in r. hand and branch in l. hand; possibly a perched bird on bar of chair under seat.

Weight: 7.53 g.

Winteringham, North Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2011. Found by Peter Knight.

The reverse, *IVSTITIA AVG*, is unpublished, apart from a coin published in *RBN* 1882, 403. However, that coin was from a large collection housed in Lyon which

was largely melted down during the French Revolution, c.1793. This recent discovery appears to confirm the veracity of the original example. More recent research shows that portrait on the coin is very similar to an *aureus* in the Didcot hoard which was published in R. Bland and J. Orna-Ornstein, *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain X* (London, 1997), 95, 97, no. 30. Furthermore, another Eastern Mint (Judaea) *aureus* was found at Finstock in Oxfordshire in the nineteenth century (Bland and Lorient no. 490). This means that three Eastern mint *aurei* of Vespasian have been found in Britain.

(PAS: FASAM-2CD627)

S.M.

20. Domitian (AD 81–96), *denarius*, contemporary copy, as Rome, cf. *RIC* II, 2nd edition, nos. 739 and 836

Obv. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XII, laur. head r.

Rev. IMP XIII, Sow l. with three piglets.

Weight: 3.26 g.

Mansfield Woodhouse area, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, September 2010. Found by Craig Betts.

A silver-plated contemporary copy of a denarius of Domitian with a reverse of Titus as Caesar. The obverse is taken from a silver denarius of Domitian as Augustus, struck at Rome in AD 92–93. The reverse is taken from a silver denarius struck for Titus as Caesar under Vespasian, at Rome in AD 77–78. Plated copies with obverses and reverses from different issues are not unusual.

(PAS: DENO-A25285)

C.B./S.M.

21. Trajan (AD 98–117), *dupondius*, contemporary copy, as Rome. *RIC* II, p. 274, no. 411

Obv. [IMP CAE]S NERVA TIAIAN AVG GE[RM P M], rad. head r.

Rev. TR PO[T C]OS III P P SC, Abundantia std l. on chair made of two cornucopiae, holding sceptre.

Weight: 9.9 g.

Therfield, Hertfordshire. M/d find, October 2010. Found by Paul Smith.

A crude contemporary copy. There is a copy of the same issue in the British Museum collections. However, it is of a far higher quality than this example.

(PAS: BH-9EEE11)

J.W./P.W.

22. Hadrian (AD 117–38), *denarius*, Rome, *RIC* II, p. 350, cf. 80; *BMC* 152

Obv. [IMP CAE]S AR TRAI[AN HADRIANVS AVG], laur. head r.

Rev. ?[PM TR P COS III], Aequitas stg l., holding scales and cornucopia.

Weight: 2.45 g.

Leatherhead (Hawk's Hill), Surrey. Excavation find, 2010. Found by Surrey County Archaeology Unit.

A pierced silver Roman *denarius* from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The piercing is visible on an X-ray image. The site, which forms part of a larger burial ground spreading across Hawk's Hill, was excavated in 2010 and contained 18 graves, most of which were furnished with an iron knife. The burial from which the denarius was recovered was a badly degraded burial of an unsexed adult lying supine with largely only the long bones and skull surviving. Associated with the burial were an impressive array of finds: sixteen complete, or fragments of, rings or loops of copper alloy wire, one

coral and four glass beads, and the pierced Roman coin. Together these are thought to have formed a necklace. Also in the grave was a shale spindlewhorl found at the feet and an iron knife beneath the right shoulder and upper humerus.

(2011 T296: PAS: SUR-3DDC68) D.W./T.M.

23. Antoninus Pius (AD 138–61), *sestertius*, contemporary copy, AD 152–56

Obv. ANT[...]*S AV*[...], laur. head r.

Rev. [LIBE]RTAS C[...], Libertas stg r. holding pileus in l. hand, r. hand extended.

Weight not recorded.

Inkberrow, Worcestershire. M/d find, 2011. Found by Paul Hamilton.

Numerous copies of Antonine *dupondii* have been recorded by the PAS. See Coin Register 2011, nos. 24–7, for a discussion of copies of Antonine *dupondii*.

(PAS: WAW-CAC9A6) P.W./R.H.

24. Unattributed *quadrans*, uncertain mint, cf. *RIC* II, no. 32, AD 81–161

Obv. Winged Petasus.

Rev. SC, winged Caduceus.

Weight not recorded.

Haversham cum Little Linford, Buckinghamshire. M/d find, 2011. Found by Mark Schollar.

A Claudian *quadrans* was reported as being found nearby, some years previously.

(PAS: FASAM-9084F4) S.M.

25. Commodus (AD 180–92), *sestertius*, Rome, AD 183–84

Obv. COMMODVS ANTON[...], laur. head r.

Rev. [TR] P VIII IMP [VI/VIII COS III P P] S C, Annona stg l. holding corn ears and cornucopiae; to the l., a modius.

Weight: 17.89 g.

Gillingham, Dorset, M/d find, January 2010. Found by Peter Barker.

(PAS: HAMP-466F28) R.W./S.M.

26. Caracalla as Caesar (AD 196–98) *sestertius*, Rome, *RIC* IV, p. 276, no. 401, AD 196–97

Obv. [M AVR ANTONINVS CAES], bare-headed dr. bust r.

Rev. [SPE] PERPETVAE SC, Spes advancing l. holding flower and raising skirt.

Weight: 18.02 g.

Ringmer, East Sussex. M/d find, November 2011. Found by Lochlan Smyth.

This is a rare coin: there is no example in the British Museum collections.

(PAS: SUSS-C20B87) S.S./P.W.

27. Clodius Albinus (AD 193–97), *denarius*, Rome, *RIC* IV, Part I, p. 45, no. 7 *var.*, AD 193

Obv. D CLOD SE[PT ALBIN CAES], bare-headed bust r.

Rev. MINER [PACIF COS II], Minerva stg l., holding branch and shield; spear rests on arm.

Weight: 2.37 g.

Barnby in the Willows, Nottinghamshire. M/d find between 2007 and 2010. Found by Maurice Richardson.

The obverse legend is not recorded for this type.

(PAS: DENO-1DF098) S.M./C.B.

28. Postumus (AD 260–69), *sestertius*, Gallic mint, Cf. *RIC* V, Part II, p. 355, no. 230 *var.*

Obv. IMP C[...]*AVG*, bust r.

Rev. VICTORIAE AVG, two Victories attaching shield to palm tree.

Weight: 12.04 g (fragment).

Frisby and Kirby, Leicestershire. M/d find, 2011. Found by Chris Burnsall.

This coin is unpublished and the *RIC* reference is for a *dupondius* with the same reverse type. The coin possesses a central rectangular perforation suggesting that it was originally affixed to another object. Such coins are frequently found in votive contexts.

(PAS: LEIC-F622E1) P.W./W.S.

29. Carausius (AD 286–93), *radiata*, uncertain mint

Obv. IMP CARAVS[...], rad. and dr. bust r.

Rev. [V]ICTORIA [...], Victory stg l. holding baton and cornucopiae; mintmark: -I/[...]

Weight: 3.3 g.

Stanford in the Vale, Oxfordshire. M/d find, March 2011. Found by Geoff Slingsby.

Although the style of the bust is quite good, the lettering on both sides of the coin, and the reverse type, suggest that this is either a very poorly produced early issue or a contemporary copy. It is certainly an unrecorded type.

(PAS: HAMP-557324) R.W./S.M.

30. Carausius (AD 286–93), *radiata*, uncertain mint, cf. *RIC* V, Part II, no. 1038

Obv. IMP CAR[...], rad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG, emperor galloping r.

Weight not recorded.

Chelveston cum Caldecott, Northamptonshire. M/d find.

The coin has been double-struck, rendering the legends illegible in places. This is a very rare coin; there is not a specimen in the British Museum.

(PAS: FASAM-2A4F73) P.W.

31. Carausius (AD 286–93), *radiata*, uncertain mint

Obv. IMP[...]*SIS P F AV*, rad. bust r.

Rev. [...]ABON(N/A), female figure stg l. holding uncertain object and cornucopiae; altar or modius to l.

Weight: 2.1 g.

Wragby, Lincolnshire. M/d find, January 2010. Found by Dave Arveschoug.

Probably a contemporary copy or a very early issue. The remains of the reverse inscription suggest Abundantia or Annona. This coin might therefore be inspired by pieces of Gallienus and/or Claudius II. Research for the new volume of *RIC* might turn up another similar specimen.

(PAS: DENO-507624) C.B./S.M.

32. Allectus (AD 293–95/6) *radiata*, London, cf. *RIC* V, Part 2, 33

Obv. IMP C ALLECTVS P F AVG, rad. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. PAX AVG, Pax l. holding olive branch and sceptre.

Weight: 3.98 g.

Eaton, Leicestershire. M/d find, 1980s. Found by Dennis Wells.

Cf. *RIC* V, Part 2, 33, in the Elvedon hoard (no. 120) at the British Museum, but the portrait is more that of Carausius than Allectus, making this a very early piece from the reign of Allectus.

(PAS: LEIC-F6F4C8) W.S./S.M.

33. Diocletian (AD 284–305), *nummus*, contemporary copy, 'Trier', post c.AD 300
Obv. IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F A, laur. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI, Genius stg l. holding patera and cornucopiae; mintmark: A Γ/(A or II)TR
 Weight: 7.91 g.

London. M/d find, 2010.

This copy conflates two issues. The mintmark is largely based on the A Gamma/TR issue of c.296–97 (cf. *RIC* VI, p. 182, no. 172a). However, the additional A or II in front of the TR leads one to issues from c.AD 300 to 302–03 (*RIC* VI, pp. 190–8).

(PAS: LON-A2FAA6)

K.S./S.M.

34. Constantine I (AD 306–37), *nummus*, London, cf. *RIC* VI, p. 136, no. 191

Obv. CONSTANTINVS AG, laur., dr. bust r., holding spear and shield.

Rev. COMITI AVGG NN, Sol stg l. holding globe and whip.

Weight: 3.39 g.

Wymeswold, Leicestershire. M/d find, 1980s.

The bust on this coin is not cuirassed making this a previously unrecorded type.

(PAS: LEIC-F50061)

W.S./S.M.

35. House of Constantine (AD 306–64), *nummus*, uncertain mint, *RIC* VIII, no. 8 var., AD 337–41

Obv. DIVO[...], laur. and veiled bust r.

Rev. [AETERNA] PIETAS, emperor stg r. holding spear and globe; mintmark: -/barred rho/[...]

Weight: 1.1 g.

Market Weighton area, East Yorkshire. M/d find, October 2009. Found by Bernard Ross.

This is a variant of *RIC* VIII, no. 8. The published coin has the barred-rho on the left hand side of the emperor, but this example has the barred-rho on the right.

(PAS: YORYM-FF29E6)

E.A.-W./S.M.

36. Magnentius (AD 350–53), *solidus*, Trier, *RIC* VIII, p. 155, no. 247

Obv. IMP CAE MAGNENTIVS AVG, bare-headed, dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VICTORIA AVG LIB ROMANOR, Victory, holding palm-branch over l. shoulder, stg r.; Libertas, holding transverse sceptre in l. hand, stg l.; they support between them a plain shaft carrying a trophy; mintmark: -/-/TR

Northallerton area, North Yorkshire. M/d find, November 2011. Not illustrated.

(UKDFD: Ref. 34981)

R.B.

37. Julian as Caesar (AD 355–60), *nummus*, Sirmium, *RIC* VIII, p. 390, no. 85

Obv. D N IVLIANVS NOB C, bare-head bust r.

Rev. SPES REI PVBLICE, emperor stg l. holding spear and globe; mintmark: S/[...SIR[...]

Weight: 2.11 g.

West Malling, Kent, M/d find, 2010. Found by Chris Hare.

The British Museum does not have an example of this coin in its collections.

(PAS: KENT-21C207)

J.B./S.M.

38. Gratian (AD 367–83), *solidus*, Trier, *RIC* IX, p. 24, no. 49b, AD 378–83

Obv. D N GRATIANVS P F AVG, pearl diad., dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VICTORIA AVGG, two emperors facing, together holding globe; between them the upper portion of a Victory with outspread wings and a palm branch below; mintmark: -/-/TROBT

Weight not recorded.

Harlow, Essex. M/d find, 2011.

(PAS: NCL-92DD96)

P.W.

39. Honorius (AD 393–423), *solidus*, Constantinople, *RIC* X, p. 240, no. 8, AD 397–402

Obv. D N HONORIVS P F AVG, diad, helm. and cuir. three-quarter facing bust, holding spear over shoulder and shield decorated with horseman spearing a fallen enemy.

Rev. CONCORDIA AVGGA, Constantinopolis std facing, head r., holding sceptre and Victory on a globe, prow to left; mintmark: -/-/CONOB

Weight not recorded.

Winterbourne, South Gloucestershire. M/d find, January to April 2011. Found by David Upton.

(PAS: GLO-0BB2D8)

P.W./K.A.

Coins of 410–1180

In 2011 EMC recorded 380 coins issued between 410 and 1180, and PAS recorded 384. The summary of these finds in Table 2 shows that non-Northumbrian 'sceattas' continue to be strongly represented, but that English and Scottish coins of 1066–1180 constitute an almost equally numerous category in both sets of data. Disparities between the two sets of data may reflect the differences between the sources of information for EMC, which is based solely at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, and PAS, which has a national network of Finds Liaison Officers (FLOs). There is some relatively limited duplication of the recording of individual finds by EMC and PAS, amounting to about sixteen records in 2011. Finds recorded by EMC in 2011 and not selected for full publication in Coin Register are listed in the Appendix. The editors are very grateful to Dr Arent Pol for his assistance with the identification of many of the Merovingian and Visigothic coins.

TABLE 2. Finds of coins of 410–1180 recorded by EMC and PAS in 2011

Period	EMC		PAS	
		%		%
Merovingian and Visigothic gold and silver	16	4.2	7	1.8
Anglo-Saxon gold shillings	5	1.3	2	0.5
Anglo-Saxon and continental early pennies or 'sceattas'	120	31.6	101	26.3
Northumbrian sceattas and stycas	21	5.5	61	15.9
Later Anglo-Saxon to Edgar's reform	46	12.1	27	7.0
Anglo-Scandinavian	1	0.3	9	2.3
Hiberno-Scandinavian	1	0.3	0	0.0
Post-Reform Anglo-Saxon	49	12.9	59	15.4
Post-Conquest English and Scottish to 1180	119	31.3	100	26.0
Carolingian and later continental to 1180	1	0.3	0	0.0
Byzantine	0	0.0	6	1.6
Islamic dirhams and fragments	1	0.3	5	1.3
Uncertain early medieval	0	0.0	7	1.8
Total	380		384	

Source: M.A./J.N.

Byzantine coin

40. Tiberius II Constantine (578–82), follis, Antioch, *MIBE* II, 47, AD 580–81
Obv. CO[...], facing bust, holding eagle-tipped sceptre.
Rev. ANNO[...].GI, large M; mintmark: THEVP
 Weight: 9.72 g.
 Isle of Wight. M/d find, April 2011.
 (PAS: IOW-0518E0)

F.B./S.M.

Merovingian and Germanic coins

41. Majorian (459–61) solidus, contemporary copy, uncertain mint, *RIC* X, p. 3473
Obv. [D N] (IV?)[LIVS MAIORIANVS?] PF AVG, diad. bust r.
Rev. [VICTO](RI)A AVGG[G], emperor stg facing, holding long cross and Victory on globe; mintmark: [R]A/[...]
 Weight not recorded.

Lakenheath (RAF Lakenheath, Suffolk. Found unstratified in excavations of an inhumation cemetery dating to the fifth to seventh centuries AD by Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service in 1997. Not illustrated.

This coin, which is partially melted, is a crude copy of *RIC* X, p. 3743.

(Site Find ref. ERL 104 1469)

J.P./S.M.

42. Visigothic solidus, pseudo-Imperial type in the name of Severus III (461–66) cf. *MEC* I, 176, plated imitation on a silver core

Obv. DNLIBVSSEV-RVSP[], pearl diad. dr. and cuir. bust r.

Rev. VICTORI- []CCC, CO[]OB in ex., emperor, std facing, holding long cross, r. foot on human-headed serpent, R to l., V to r.

Weight: 1.06g (two fragments). Die axis 180°.

Isle of Wight. M/d finds, one fragment found in September 2006 and the other in October 2011.

(PAS SUR-5B13A4; EMC 2012.0154)

J.N./D.W.

43. Germanic tremissis, pseudo-imperial type in the name of Justinian II (527–65), after an Ostrogothic prototype

Obv. OVCTNANI ANVFPFVC, diad. bust r.

Rev. VICORICAVAV>NOTDIA, facing Victory holding wreath and cross on globe, in ex. COIIIO

Weight: 1.50 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Alan Smith.

(EMC 2011.0146; Suffolk HER RLM 044)

F.M..A.R.W.

44. Germanic tremissis, pseudo-imperial 'Klepsau' type (c.550–600), cf. Belfort 5196, *MEC* I, 377–80

Obv. DNIASTI ANVSPAVC, diad. bust r.

Rev. VCIOIRIAAVOV-TOO, facing Victory holding wreath and cross on globe, in ex. AOO

Weight: 1.38 g.

Petham, Kent. M/d find, 17 July 2011. Found by John Guild.

(EMC 2011.0162)

M.A.

45. Merovingian solidus, ?Sigebert III (639–56), Marseille

Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r.

Rev. Inscription, cross on step, M in field l., T in field r.

Weight: 3.61 g. Die axis 330°.

Salisbury, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, October 2011.

Found by Don Price.

(EMC 2011.0256)

M.A.

46. Merovingian tremissis, Orléans, Augiulfus, cf. Belfort 530–1. Prou 636

Obv. +VA[]N[] (VA ligated), diad. bust r.

Rev. A/GI[]FVS (L inverted?), cross ancrée.

Weight: 1.35 g. Die axis 0°.

Waveney Valley, Suffolk. M/d find, c.2008.

(EMC 2011.0282)

D.G./M.A.

47. Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Dutta.

Obv. XIXVVICOST, diad. bust r.

Rev. +DVTTA MOVETA around cross, AXA in field.

Weight: 1.30 g.

Ipswich, near, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Mr M. Mayhew.

Cf. J. Lafaurie, 'Vvic in Pontio: les monnaies mérovingiennes de Vuicus', *RN* 1996, 130–6, no. 8406 (EMC 2011.0127; PAS SF-A6A601) A.B.

48. Merovingian tremissis, Quentovic, Dutta

Obv. **†VVICCOEIT**, diad. bust r.

Rev. **DVTA MONET**, cross on steps.

Weight: 1.10 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Rob Atfield.

(EMC 2011.0145; Suffolk HER RLM 044)

F.M./A.R.W.

49. Merovingian tremissis, Rennes

Obv. **REDONAS CIVE**, diad. bust r.

Rev. [**HLDOALD**], cross chrismée with a cross suspended from both side limbs.

Weight: 1.23 g. Die axis 0°.

Waveney Valley, Suffolk. M/d find, c.2009.

A previously unrecorded type and moneyer for the Rennes mint; see Benjamin Leroy, *Les monnayages mérovingiens armoricains* (Paris, 2008).

(EMC 2011.0283)

D.G./R.N.

50. Merovingian tremissis

Obv. Cross with curved ends and annulet in each quarter, border of stars.

Rev. Cross ancrée, two annulets in field, cabled border.

Weight: 1.31 g.

Birch, Essex. M/d find, 2011.

This type was represented in the Crondall hoard.

(EMC 2011.0044)

C.M./M.A.

51. Merovingian tremissis, cut fraction

Obv. [**JEFIT**], bust r.

Rev. **XI** [**ERSMON**], cross on steps, **A** and **G** in field.

Weight: 0.87 g (cut fraction of more than half of the coin).

Birch, Essex. M/d find, 2011. Found by Brad Crisler.

A notable example of a Merovingian gold coin deliberately cut, probably in England.

(EMC 2011.0059)

C.M./M.A.

52. Merovingian tremissis

Obv. **RO** [**V**] **XFITVRX**, diad. bust r.

Rev. **†[M?]** [**A**] **.VVVI** [**IVS**], cross on globe, **A** and **II** in field.

Weight: 1.29 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Alan Smith.

(EMC 2011.0147; Suffolk HER RLM 044)

F.M./A.R.W.

53. Merovingian tremissis

Obv. **IIITIIAA XIT**, diad. bust r.

Rev. **HLOVITNITIVOLH**, cross fourchée.

Weight: 1.34 g.

Kingsdown, near, Kent. M/d find, by 2011.

(EMC 2011.0166)

W.M.

54. Merovingian tremissis

Obv. Inscription, bust r.

Rev. Inscription, cross ancrée on globe.

Weight: 1.3 g.

Sheperdswell, Kent. M/d find, 18 September 2011. Found by Fred Cooper.

(EMC 2011.0193)

M.A.

55. Merovingian tremissis

Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r.

Rev. Inscription, cross with line of pellets in each angle.

Weight: 1.4 g.

Brigg, North Lincolnshire. M/d find, 18 October 2011.

Found by Adam Staples.

(EMC 2011.0223)

M.A.

56. Merovingian denier, Lyon, cf. Belfort 2464–5, Prou 98–110

Obv. [**V**], bar of contraction above.

Rev. Cross chrismée, [**E**] / **P** / **S** in angles.

Weight not recorded.

Papworth, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 5 March 2011.

Found by Wayne Davies.

(EMC 2011.0060)

M.A.

57. Merovingian denier

Obv. **†VVODECZELV**, bust l.

Rev. **†ZENIDCIA** [], cross pattée with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.13 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Alan Smith.

(EMC 2011.0156; Suffolk HER RLM 013)

F.M./A.R.W.

Anglo-Saxon shillings

58. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Two Emperors type, Sutherland II.v, North 20

Obv. Pseudo-inscription, diad. bust r.

Rev. Stylised figure of Victory with wings enfolding two facing busts.

Weight: 1.22 g.

Elmswell parish, Suffolk. M/d find, Found by David Workman.

(EMC 2011.0128; PAS SF-84A6C8)

A.B.

59. Shilling ('thrymsa'), London-derived type, Sutherland III.ii, North 22

Obv. Bust r.

Rev. Inscription, cross in beaded circle.

Weight: 1.26 g.

Horncastle, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, November 2011. Found by Michael O'Bee.

From the same dies as Sutherland 53.

(EMC 2011.0275)

M.A.

60. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Witmen type, Sutherland IV.ii, North 25

Obv. Bust r., trident on forked base before face.

Rev. Inscription, cross fourchée in beaded double inner circle.

Weight: 1.31 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Roy Damant.

From the same dies as Sutherland 60–2. Sutherland seems to have been in error in identifying three separate reverse dies from the coins of his die-combinations 60, 61 and 62.

(EMC 2011.0148; Suffolk HER RLM 044)

F.M./A.R.W.

61. Shilling ('thrymsa'), Witmen type, Sutherland IV.ii, North 25

Obv. Bust r., trident on forked base before face.

Rev. Inscription, cross fourchée in beaded double inner circle.

Weight: 1.31 g.

Woodnesborough, Suffolk. M/d find, 2 October 2011. Found by John Gould.

From the same dies as Sutherland 60–2.

(EMC 2011.0206) M.A.

62. Shilling ('thrymsa'), York Group, Sutherland V, North 27, York

Obv. Aisled building(?) with cross above, cross each side.

Rev. Inscription, cross in beaded circle.

Weight not recorded.

Middleham, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 16 April 2011.

Found by Stephen Smith.

(EMC 2011.0105) M.A.

Pennies ('Sceattas'): Primary and Intermediate

63. Series BII (Type 27b), North 127

Obv. Diad. bust r. (portion of face only visible).

Rev. Bird (not visible) on cross, cross and annulet in field.

Weight: 0.51 g (cut half). Die axis 120°.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Terry Marsh.

This coin has been cut twice. The first cut appears to have been that needed to divide the coin in half whilst the second cut removed a small portion of the edge parallel to the other cut.

(EMC 2011.0049) F.M.

64. Series B (Type 27b) derivative, cf. North 126

Obv. Bust r., two annulets before face.

Rev. Bird on cross potent, pellet in each angle of cross.

Weight: 1.23 g.

Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk. M/d find, October 2011.

Found by Mark Turner.

(EMC 2011.0286; Norfolk HER 31803) A.B.M.

65. Series D (Type 8Z)

Obv. Standard.

Rev. Cross pommée with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.18 g

Sheffield, near. M/d find, by 2011.

(EMC 2012.0046) A.A.

66. Series E Plumed Bird/Series G

Obv. 'Plumed bird', annulet and pellets in field.

Rev. Four crosses pommée around annulet with central pellet in standard, pellets in field.

Weight: 1.12 g.

Pocklington, near, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011.

A further mule Plumed Bird/Series G mule argues for an early (i.e. Primary phase) date for Series G.

(EMC 2012.0044) A.A.

67. Series E, var. G derivative

Obv. Porcupine.

Rev. Standard.

Weight: 1.13 g.

Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2011. Found by John Daley.

The concentration of finds of Series E var. G in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire might suggest that var. G is an English emission.

(EMC 2012.0045) A.A.

68. Runic Æthilræd (Type 105), North 155

Obv. Porcupine.

Rev. Æthilræd (runic) in double beaded circle.

Weight: 1.12 g.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, by 2011.

This type is an English emission and it should be classed as a minor Primary type not as part of Continental Series E.

(EMC 2012.0032) A.A.

69. SEDE type, North 47

Obv. Porcupine curled around central cross pommée.

Rev. SEAE and four crosses around central cross.

Weight: 1.18 g.

Garton-on-the-Wolds, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011. Found by Craig Best.

There are now sufficient specimens for this to form a distinct group of English origin.

(EMC 2012.0033) A.A.

70. Saroaldo Group (Type 11)

Obv. Diad. bust r., annulet and two crosses around.

Rev. FIT / RV in standard, pseudo-inscription around.

Weight: 1.19 g.

Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2010.

The growing body of finds is sufficient for this to form a separate sub-group of 'Saroaldo'.

(EMC 2012.0030) A.A.

71. Saroaldo Group (Type 11)

Obv. Diad. bust r., annulet before face.

Rev. Saltire cross in standard, pellets in field, pseudo-inscription around.

Weight: 1.14 g.

Lincoln, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, by 2011.

(EMC 2012.0031) A.A.

72. Series W derivative, cf. North 148

Obv. Pattern of lines resembling a standing figure, annulet and pellets in field.

Rev. Eight lines radiating from a central pellet, pellets in field.

Weight: 0.96 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Rob Atfield.

(EMC 2011.0143; Suffolk HER RLM 044)

F.M./A.R.W.

Pennies ('Sceattas'): Secondary

73. Series H, Metcalf var. 1b (Type 49), North 103

Obv. Facing head surrounded by eleven roundels.

Rev. Bird r. with wing raised over back.

Weight: 0.90 g.

Sutton Scotney, Hampshire. M/d find, 20 December 2011. Found by Mark Duell.

An unusual variant of Metcalf var. 1b with eleven roundels instead of the more normal seven to ten.

(EMC 2011.0292) M.A.

74. C ARIP Group (Type 63)

Obv. Inscription, diad. bust l.

Rev. Curled creature l.

Weight not recorded.

Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk. M/d find, October 2011.
Found by Mark Turner.

A variant of the C ARIP eclectic group with the bust facing l. and not r., as is usual.
(EMC 2011.0288; Norfolk HER 31803)

A.B.M./M.A.

75. C ARIP Group (Type 63)

Obv. Inscription, diad. bust r.

Rev. Standing figure holding two crosses.

Weight: 1.02 g. Die axis 90°.

Wisbech, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, by 2011.

(EMC 2012.0048)

A.A.

76. Series Q, Bust of Christ type

Obv. Facing bust of Christ, cross potent behind, pellets in field.

Rev. Bird l., pellets in field.

Weight: 0.84 g.

Rendlesham survey, Suffolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Roy Damant.

The second known specimen of this type, from the same dies as a coin published by Lord Stewartby and D.M. Metcalf, 'The bust of Christ on an early Anglo-Saxon coin', *NC* 167 (2007), 179–82.
(EMC 2011.0142; Suffolk HER RLM 044)

F.M./M.A.

77. Series Q/R

Obv. Bust l., crosses in field.

Rev. Monster l. with legs folded under body, pellets in field.

Weight: 0.72 g. Die axis 270°.

Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, by 2010. Found by Warren Gemmell.

There are now sufficient specimens for this to constitute a new eclectic grouping ('Fleeing biped').
(EMC 2012.0047)

A.A.

78. Series Z derivative

Obv. Simplified porcupine r., cross above.

Rev. Cross pommée with pellet in centre and pellets in field.

Weight: 1.16 g.

Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. M/d find, 12 July 2011.

(EMC 2012.0029)

A.A.

Northumbrian sceattas and stycas

79. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), Booth class Bi, North 178, York

Obv. EOTBERHTVS

Rev. Quadrupe l., $\overline{\Lambda}$ beneath body.

Weight: 1.01 g. Die axis 315°.

Malton, near, North Yorkshire. M/d find, April 2010. Found by Gary Thompson.

Only the second recorded find of this variety (although there are replicas in circulation).
(EMC 2012.0034)

A.A.

80. Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58), North 177, York

Obv. EOTBERHTVS

Rev. Quadrupe r., pellets in field.

Weight: 0.90 g. Die axis 180°.

Fimber, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011. Found by Craig Best.

The third recorded specimen of this 'flying animal' variety (with BMC 9 and de Wit 429).

(EMC 2012.0035)

A.A.

81. Ecgberht, archbishop of York (732–66), with Æthelwald Moll (757/8–65), North –, York

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ EDILRHLD (Rh inverted).

Rev. EEGBERHT AR

Weight: 0.89 g. Die axis 0°.

Driffield, East Yorkshire. M/d find. 2008. Found by Gordon Thomlinson.

Possibly only the third recorded specimen of this type.
(EMC 2012.0036)

A.A.

82. Alchred of Northumbria (765–74), North 179, York

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ ALUHRD (reading outwardly).

Rev. Quadrupe r., cross pommée below.

Weight: 1.10 g. Die axis 120°.

Carthorpe, North Yorkshire. M/d find, March 2011. Found by Craig Best.

(EMC 2012.0041)

A.A.

83. Ælfwald I of Northumbria (778–88), North 181, York

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ FEEVA $\overline{\Lambda}$ DV2 (A inverted).

Rev. Quadrupe r.

Weight: 1.01 g. Die axis 225°.

Pocklington, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011.

(EMC 2012.0037)

A.A.

84. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign, 790–96), North 185, York, Ceolbald

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ ÆDILRED

Rev. $\overline{\Lambda}$ CEOLBALD

Weight: 1.15 g. Die axis 270°.

Sledmere, East Yorkshire. M/d find, c.2008.

(EMC 2012.0039)

A.A.

85. Æthelred I of Northumbria (2nd reign, 790–96), North 185, York, Hnifula

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ EDILRED

Rev. $\overline{\Lambda}$ HNIFVLA

Weight: 1.05 g. Die axis 0°.

Weaverthorpe, North Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011. Found by Craig Best.

The rarest of Æthelred I's moneyers.

(EMC 2012.0040)

A.A.

86. Eanbald I archbishop of York (780–96) with Æthelred I of Northumbria, North 185/1, York

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ ÆDILRED

Rev. $\overline{\Lambda}$ EANBALD

Weight: 1.07 g. Die axis 90°.

Hayton, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011. Found by Craig Best.

(EMC 2012.0038)

A.A.

87. Eardwulf of Northumbria (796–806), North –, York, Cuthheard

Obv. $\overline{\Lambda}$ EARDVVVF R (bar of contraction over R).

Rev. $\overline{\Lambda}$ EVDHEARD

Weight: 0.78 g. Die axis 180°.

Market Weighton, East Yorkshire. M/d find, 2010. Found by Ian Millington.

(EMC 2012.0042)

A.A.

88. Eanred of Northumbria (810–40), North 186, York, ?Edelhiah

Obv. **†EANREÐ**

Rev. **†EDELHIAH**

Weight: 0.64 g (chipped). Die axis 235°.

Hayton, East Yorkshire. M/d find, by 2011. Found by Craig Best.

An uncertain moneyer attribution. There are other apparent variations of this name (Edihech, Eadlkeh) but there is insufficient evidence to credit these to an identifiable moneyer. They are more likely to be blundered but with a degree of legibility.

(EMC 2012.0043)

A.A.

Later Anglo-Saxon

89. Cynethryth of Mercia, portrait type, Chick 147, North 339, Canterbury, Eoba

Obv. **EOBĀ**

Rev. **†CYNEÞRYȚ REGINĀ**, inner circle containing **Ṣ** with bar of contraction.

Weight: 1.17 g (chipped). Die axis 180°.

Torksey, Lincolnshire. M/d find, August 2011.

The style of the bust on this coin is unusually crude, and differs in detail from others of Chick 147.

(EMC 2011.0238)

W.M.

90. Beornwulf of Mercia (823–25), Naismith E22.1, North 396, East Anglian mint, Eadgar

Obv. **†BEORJ JEX**

Rev. **EAD / XXX / J JR**

Weight: 0.97 g. Die axis 135°.

Dorking, Surrey. M/d find, June 2011.

(PAS SUR-8B14B0; EMC 2012.0155)

D.W.

91. Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), portrait type, Naismith –, North –, Rochester, Ethelmod

Obv. **†ECGBEORHTREX**

Rev. **†EDELMODMONEȚ**

Weight: 1.17 g (chipped and cracked). Die axis 90°.

Chrishall, Essex. M/d find, January 2011.

This coin combines a 'late' obverse type (used here on the reverse) with an 'early' bust. Consequently it could be transitional, or an indication that some varieties of portrait and non-portrait designs were used side-by-side across the period 825–39.

(EMC 2011.0057)

J.W./R.N.

92. Ecgberht of Mercia (829–30), non-portrait type, Naismith –, North –, London, Redmund

Obv. **†ECGBER[]**, cross pattée.

Rev. **†[]D?JIMONETĀ**, cross pattée with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 0.80 g (fragment). Die axis 0°.

Long Stratton, Norfolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by John Kineavy.

A new variety of this extremely rare coinage with a cross pattée rather than a cross potent on the reverse.

(EMC 2011.0217)

R.N.

93. Ecgberht of Wessex (802–39), non-portrait type, Naismith W5, North –, West Saxon mint, Bosa

Obv. **†ECGBEORHT REX**, in centre **SAXON** in three lines.

Rev. **†BOSA MONETA**

Weight: 1.33 g. Die axis 270°.

Fulbourn, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2011.

Only the third known specimen of this moneyer, struck from dies of unusual 'scratchy' style.

(EMC 2011.0224)

D.G./R.N.

94. Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58), portrait type, Naismith –, North –, Rochester

Obv. **[]BE[]**

Rev. **[]ED[]**

Weight: 0.31 g (fragment). Die axis 270°.

Papworth, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 2 January 2011.

Found by Wayne Davies.

Based upon the partial surviving inscription and distinctive style of the obverse bust, this small fragment can be attributed to Æthelwulf's first coinage at Rochester, 839–c.844. The central design of the reverse is different from that of any other surviving coin, though it bears general comparison with other Rochester-made dies that combine two different forms of finial on the same cross (North 595, 600–1 and 607). The two surviving letters of the reverse inscription are not compatible with the names of any of the three known moneyers active at Rochester at this time (Beagmund, Dunn and Wilheah). One must presume that this fragment is the unique survivor of either another moneyer or, less probably, a continuation of the anonymous (possibly ecclesiastical) coinages which had been issued with various reverse inscriptions at Rochester under Ceolwulf I, Ecgberht and Æthelwulf. Without a fuller reading of the reverse legend, the identity of this coin's issuing authority remains debatable. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.44–2011).

(EMC 2011.0002)

R.N.

95. Æthelweard of East Anglia (845–55), Naismith –, North –, East Anglian mint, Twicga

Obv. **[]ARD[]**, cross pattée with crescent in each angle.

Rev. **†TV[]ET**, cross pattée with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 0.43 g (fragment). Die axis 90°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk. M/d find, April 2011. Found by Graham Sharpin.

A previously unrecorded type, with an obverse as North 452 and a reverse as North 454–5.

(EMC 2011.0114; PAS SF-793F43)

A.B./R.N.

96. Danelaw imitation of tenth-century Circumscription Cross type

Obv. **†SIPNORAN[?]IOEDTD**

Rev. **†IICIOAITIDNOIDET**

Weight: 1.2 g.

Chichester, near, West Sussex. M/d find, by 2011.

(EMC 2011.0133)

E.W./M.A.

97. Edgar (959–75), Circumscription Cross type, half-penny, cf. North 749/1, Wilton, Boiga

Obv. **†EADGARREXANGLO**

Rev. **†BOIGAMONETAPIL**

Weight: 0.52 g.

Salisbury, near, Wiltshire. M/d find, September 2011.

A new mint for a halfpenny of Edgar's Circumscription Cross issue (see W. MacKay, 'A Circumscription Cross halfpenny of Edgar from the Wilton mint', above, pp. 215–16.

(EMC 2011.0228)

W.M.

98. Edward the Martyr (975–78), North 763, York, Gunan

Obv. **†EADP[]ARD REX AI**

Rev. **+GVNAN M-O EFER.**

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 0°.

North Yorkshire. M/d find, 2010.

A previously unpublished moneyer for the York mint, but from the same reverse die as EMC 1998.0079 (which was formerly attributed to Gunar).

(EMC 2011.0093)

S.H./M.A.

Post-Conquest English and Medieval Scottish

99. William I (1066–87), Canopy type, *BMC* iii, North 843, Norwich, Manna

Obv. **+PILLEMVSRE[]**

Rev. **[]IINNII ON NOI[]**

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.

Isleham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 1995.

A new type for this moneyer, previously only known after the Norman Conquest in William I type i.

(EMC 2011.0081)

J.C./M.A.

100. William I (1066–87), Two Stars type, *BMC* v, North 845, Hastings, Eadwine

Obv. **+PILLEM REX III**

Rev. **+EIIDPINE ON IESI**

Weight: 1.24 g.

Sheperdswell, Kent. M/d find, 11 July 2011. Found by Julie Campbell.

A previously unrecorded moneyer for the Hastings mint.

(EMC 2011.0160)

M.A.

101. William I (1066–87), Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* vii, North 847, Thetford, Esbern

Obv. **+PILLELM REX**

Rev. **+ESBRNN ON ðTFR**

Weight: 1.05 g. Die axis 270°.

Hunstanton, Norfolk. M/d find, 11 July 2011. Found by David Cockle.

A new type for a moneyer previously recorded in William I types ii–v.

(EMC 2011.0159)

M.A.

102. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets type, *BMC* i, North 857, ?Salisbury, ?Osbern

Obv. **+H[]NRI REX[]**

Rev. **[]BERNONS[Æ?][]**

Weight not recorded (chipped). Die axis 180°.

Dunmow, Essex. M/d find, May 2011.

The Salisbury moneyer Osbern is previously unrecorded in Henry I type i, but he is known to have been active in Henry I types ii and x, and possibly also in type iv.

(EMC 2011.0110)

S.H./M.A.

103. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets type, *BMC* i, North 857, Thetford, Godric

Obv. **+HNRI REX I**

Rev. **+GO[]RIEON-Ð[]TFOD (OD ligated)**

Weight: 1.28 g.

Thetford area, Norfolk. M/d find, 2011. Found by Mr M. Wixey.

A previously unrecorded type for this moneyer.

(EMC 2011.0126; PAS SF-698C95)

A.B./M.A.

104. Henry I (1100–35), Annulets type, *BMC* i, North 857, Thetford, W(u)lsige

Obv. **HINRIR[]N**

Rev. **+PLSIGEONTIE[F?]:**

Weight: 0.94 g. Die axis 180°.

Holme next the Sea, Norfolk. M/d find, 8 October 2011.

Found by Roy Davis.

A new moneyer for the Thetford mint.

(EMC 2011.0213)

M.A.

105. Henry I (1100–35), Quatrefoil with Piles type, *BMC* vii, North 863, Romney, Chenestan

Obv. **+HENRI RE[]**

Rev. **+CHENESTAN:ON:RV:**

Weight: 1.33 g. Die axis 270°.

Burham, Kent. M/d find, 25 July 2011. Found by Jason Curd.

A previously unrecorded moneyer and type for the Romney mint.

(EMC 2011.0222)

M.A.

106. Henry I (1100–35), Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* ix, North 865, Canterbury, Winedei

Obv. **+HENRI REX**

Rev. **+PI[N?]EIDE[]N:CANP:**

Weight: 1.34 g. Die axis 90°.

Louth, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 9 August 2011.

A new type for this moneyer.

(EMC 2011.0173)

A.D./M.A.

107. Henry I (1100–35), Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* ix, North 865, Warwick, Elfwine(?)

Obv. **+H[]JEX**

Rev. **+ELFP[]AR[EP?]**

Weight not recorded (cut halfpenny). Die axis 180°.

Farningham, Kent. M/d find, 16 August 2011. Found by Douglas Keeling.

A previously unpublished type and moneyer for the Warwick mint. The moneyer's name is probably Elfwine.

(EMC 2011.0175)

M.A.

108. Henry I (1100–35), Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* x, North 866, uncertain mint and moneyer

Obv. **+I[]NR[]JREXÆ**

Rev. **+I[]ND:O[]AR:**

Weight not recorded (two fragments). Die axis 90°.

Vale of Glamorgan. M/d find, 2009.

A previously unrecorded moneyer in the type (possibly Hamund). The mint may be Cardiff, Wareham or Warwick.

(EMC 2011.0291)

E.B./M.A.

109. Stephen (1135–54), Cross Moline or Watford type, *BMC* i, Erased Die, North –, uncertain mint and moneyer

Obv. **[]JEFNE**

Rev. **+H[?]ELI[]O[N:][h or R?][]O[D or R]**

Weight: 1.18 g. Die axis 120°.

Arundel, near, West Sussex. M/d find, 2010.

A new variant of the Erased Die type with two crosses pommée superimposed over the design on the obverse. The dies are of irregular, non-Metropolitan style.

(EMC 2011.0097)

W.M./M.A.

110. William of Aumale, earl of York (1138–79), Ornamental York series, North –, York

Obv. **WILLEEM[V]S**, armed figure standing r.

Rev. **+I[]E[]JIDWÆ**, cross in quatrefoil.

Weight: 1.13 g. Die axis 90°.

Clayworth, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, by 2011. Found by John Tarbuck.

This is only the second recorded specimen of the coinage of William of Aumale, which is similar to and probably contemporary with the Armed Figure type of Eustace Fitzjohn, *c.* 1150–53. The first specimen, which is from different dies, was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 2005 (CM.692–2005; ex St James's Auction no. 3 (3 Oct. 2005), lot 176) and published by Mark Blackburn, 'Penny of William of Aumale, earl of York', *The Art Fund Review* 2005, 66. (EMC 2011.0025) M.A.

Continental

111. Charlemagne (768–814), *denier*, class I (768–71), obv. cf. MG 295 (uncertain mint), rev. cf. MG 152 (Chartres).

Obv. **KAR** (**AR** ligated).

Rev. Standing figure holding two long crosses with trifurcated bases, pellets in field.

Weight: 0.75 g (chipped). Die axis 270°.

Mundford, Norfolk. M/d find, February 2011. Found by Mr R. Humphrys.

(EMC 2011.0184; Norfolk HER 35133)

A.B.M./M.A.

112. Hiberno-Scandinavian (Hiberno-Norse), phase IVb, facing bust type, Dublin

Obv. Pseudo-inscription, facing bust.

Rev. Pseudo-inscription; long cross with cross, four pellets, hand, and two pellets in the four quarters.

Weight not recorded.

Blyth, near, Nottinghamshire. M/d find, 2010. Found by Doug Goddard.

This is only the eighth Hiberno-Scandinavian coin to be found in England in any context and represents the single-find latest in date amongst that material. Earlier Phase I coins are more common, due to their similarity to contemporary English coins. This find is a typical phase IV Hiberno-Scandinavian coin and was probably struck in the early 1060s. By this point, the legends are garbled and completely meaningless. A number of coins of this type and obverse die can be associated with the Clondalkin (1816) hoard, which was deposited *c.* 1065. (EMC 2011.0221) A.R.W.

113. Herbert I, count of Maine (1015–36), *obol*, Le Mans, immobilized type, late 11th to early 12th century
Obv. **[+COMES]CENOMANNIS**, monogram of Herbert.
Rev. **[+SIG]NVM DE VIVI**, cross with alpha and omega in two quarters.

Weight not recorded (fragment).

Ely, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, September 2011.

T.J./M.P.

114. Flanders, temp. Thierry or Philippe d'Alsace, *petit denier*, Ghysens 117, *c.* 1140–80

Obv. **ME** (ligated), annulet above and below.

Rev. **SIMON**, cross pattée with stalked annulet and stalked pellet in alternate quarters.

Weight not recorded.

Wingham, Kent, 2011.

R.P./M.P.

Islamic

115. Saminid, Ahmad II b. Ismail (AH 295–301, AD 907–14), *dirham*, al-Shash

Weight: 3.1 g.

Revesbury, Lincolnshire. M/d find, September 2011.

(PAS NCL-544D22)

L.T.

Coins of 1180–c.1800

Table 3 summarizes 7,725 finds of coins of 1180–c.1800 recorded by PAS in 2011. These data are subject to several caveats. The 'uncertain' categories include some coins with as yet incomplete records without images as well as coins too worn or corroded for precise identification, and it has not been possible to check all of the individual records for accuracy. The numbers of Irish coins are possibly higher than those listed, and coins post-dating *c.* 1700 are recorded in a much more selective manner than earlier coins due to the large number of finds and the limited resources of PAS.

TABLE 3. Finds of coins of 1180–c.1800 recorded by PAS in 2011

Category	Finds	%	Remarks
1180–1247	722	9.3	717 English + 5 Irish
1247–79	648	8.4	631 English + 17 Irish
1279–1377	1,766	22.9	1,731 English + 35 Irish
1377–1485	576	7.5	562 English + 14 Irish
1485–1547	294	3.8	
1547–1649	2,338	30.3	1,214 English + 24 Irish
1649–c.1800	575	7.4	
Scotland 1195–1286	117	1.5	
Scotland 1286–1488	1	0.01	
Uncertain Scottish 1195–1488	3	0.03	
Scotland 1488–1800	41	0.5	
Continental 1180–1500	139	1.8	

TABLE 3. *Cont.*

Category	Finds	%	Remarks
Continental 1500–1800	229	3.0	
Non-European 1500–1800	7	0.1	
Uncertain 1180–1500	172	2.2	
Uncertain 1500–1800	98	1.3	
Total	7,726		

Source: J.N.

116. Bohemond III of Antioch (1163–1201), 'helmet' *denier*, Metcalf class C

Obv. **†BOAHVNDVS**

Rev. **ANTIO[Ch]IA**

Weight: 1 g. Die axis 270°.

Whatcombe, Berkshire. M/d find, before August 2011.

(PAS BERK-891293) J.N./A.B.

117. Alexander III of Scotland (1249–86), cut half sterling, Long Cross and Stars coinage, class II, Roxburgh, Wilam

Obv. **[AL]EXANDER[EX]**

Rev. **[WIL]/AMON[ROCC]**

Weight: 0.70 g (cut halfpenny).

Sleaford, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 2011.

There is a die-duplicate of a formerly unique coin illustrated in the preliminary report on the 1969 Colchester Hoard (*BNJ* 44 (1974), pl. VI, 56).

P.S.

118. Enguerrand II de Créqui, bishop of Cambrai (1273–85), sterling, Cambrai, de Mey 79A

Obv. **†INGE[RRA]N[NEPC]**

Rev. **[MON/CAM]/ERA/CEN**

Weight: 0.58 g (fragment). Die axis 315°.

Goodnestone, Kent. M/d find, September 2009.

D.H.

119. Edward I (1272–1307) or Edward II (1307–27), cut halfpenny, Berwick, Blunt class 4b or 4c

Obv. **†EDWAR[]**

Rev. **[]REV/VICI**

Weight: 0.53 g.

Uttlesford, Essex. M/d find, 2010.

After the introduction of round halfpennies and farthings in 1279–80 finds of cut coins are extremely rare, although parliamentary petitions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries refer to the cutting or breaking of pennies to meet the need for small change. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.208–2011).

(PAS: CAM-E29A80)

M.A.

120. Edward III (1327–77), Anglo-Gallic demi-sterling, Aquitaine, Elias 57

Obv. **†EDWTRD[] REX A[NGL]**

Rev. **DVX/[AQV/IT]A/NIE**

Weight: 0.49 g. Die Axis 180°.

Isle of Wight. M/d find, December 2010.

(PAS IOW-057311)

F.B./J.N.

121. Edward III (1327–77), farthing, Berwick upon Tweed, class 8b, 1333–42

Obv. **†EDWRDV:D:G[R]A'**

Rev. **[VI]/LLA/BER/VIC**

Weight 0.3 g. Die axis 90°.

Thwing, East Yorkshire. M/d find, January to March 2011.

(PAS NCL-D6B492)

E.M.

122. William of Namur (1337–91), sterling, Namur, Mayhew 361

Obv. **†GVILELMVS CO[MES]**

Rev. **NAM/VRC/ENS/IS+**

Weight: 0.84 g. Die axis 0°.

Nonington, Kent. M/d find, 6 February 2011.

An unstratified spoil heap find during an excavation by the Dover Archaeological Group on the site of a medieval manor house.

D.H.

123. Genoa, Valerad of Luxembourg (1397), *soldino*, *CNI* III, 2–10

Obv. **†:I:IIV:A:Q:DE[V:PROTEGA]T**

Rev. **†:COIRADVS:RE[X:ROMA:A]**

Weight: 1.04 g (fragment). Die axis 90°.

Plumpton, East Sussex. M/d find, January 2011.

(PAS SUSS-A584F5)

J.N.

124. Flanders, Philip the Bold (1384–1405), half noble, fifth coinage, 1389–1404

Obv. **PHS DEI:G:DVX:BVRG:COM:Z:DNS:FLAND**

Rev. **†DOMINE:NE:IN:FVRORE:TVO:ARGVAS:ME**

Weight: 3.79 g.

Hook, Hampshire. M/d find, December 2011.

(PAS SUR-54DB38)

L.B./D.W.

125. Henry VI (1422–61), penny, Trefoil or Trefoil-Pellet issue, Calais

Obv. **†HENRICVS REX ANGLIE**

Rev. **VIL/LA/CALI/SIE**

Weight: 0.9 g.

Bedale, North Yorkshire. M/d find.

Until recently the last known coins of the Calais mint were groats and halfgroats of Henry VI's Trefoil issue, which should probably be dated to the early 1440s, and the latest recorded penny of Calais was a coin of the immediately preceding Leaf-Trefoil issue (Lord Stewartby, *English Coins 1180–1551* (London, 2009), 291, 293, 304–8, 325–6, 329; P. Woodhead, 'A new Calais penny of Henry VI', *BNJ* 46 (1976), 77). This would seem to conflict with the discovery that the recorded output of the Calais mint continues until 1448–50, and not to 1439/40 only, as was previously supposed, but it has been suggested that the output of 1448–50 may have involved old stocks of dies originally supplied in the early 1440s (M. Allen, 'The output and profits of the Calais mint, 1349–1450', *BNJ* 80 (2010), 131–9, at 136–7). The known corpus of the Calais mint's coinage has now been extended by this coin, which belongs to either the Trefoil issue or the immediately succeeding Trefoil-Pellet issue.

(PAS DUR-88FA74)

F.M./B.C./M.A.

Coin find evidence for the monetization of England and Wales, c.973–1279

Finds recorded by PAS in 2011 provide evidence of the progressive monetization of England and Wales between Edgar's reform of the English currency in about 973 and the introduction of new coinages in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1279. The three maps in Figs. 2, 3 and 4 show all of the finds from three periods (c.973–1180,

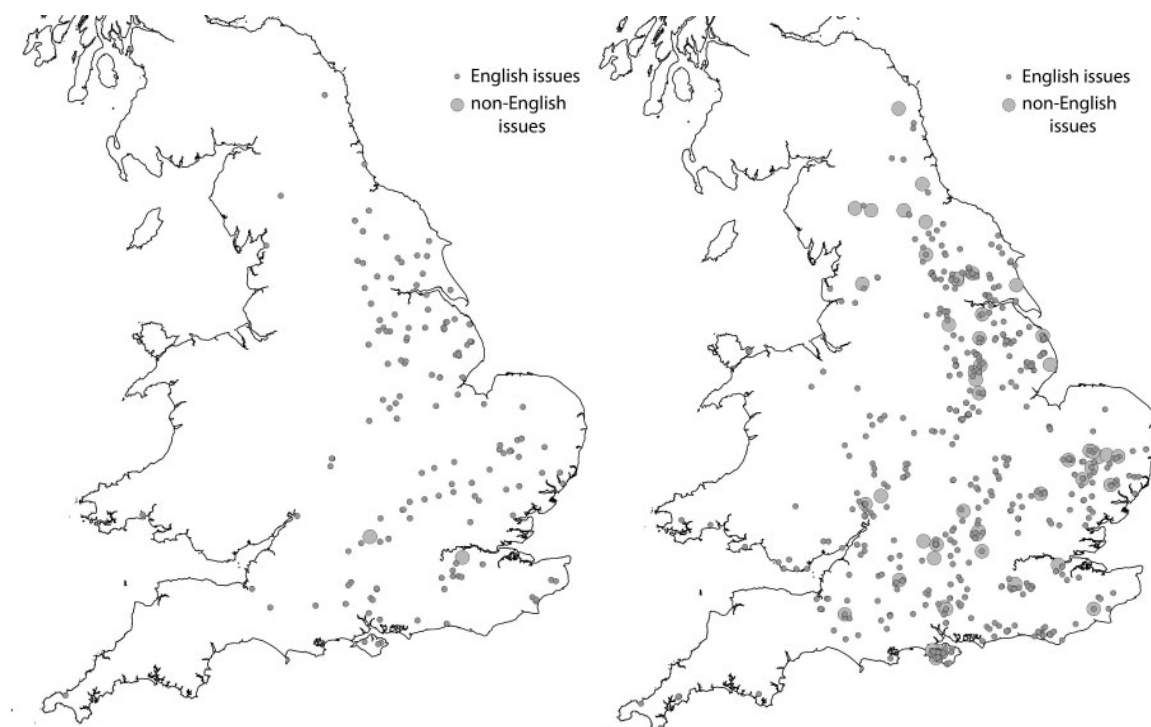


Fig. 2. Coins of c.973–1180 recorded by PAS in 2011 Fig. 3. Coins of c.1180–1247 recorded by PAS in 2011



Fig. 4. Coins of c.1247–79 recorded by PAS in 2011

c.1180–1247 and c.1247–79) recorded in 2011 with available Grid References, with non-English issues (shown as large circles) included in the period to which they most probably relate. There is a clear difference between the map for c.973–1180 and those of c.1180–1247 and c.1247–79, with a spreading of the distribution of finds into northern and western England and into Wales. Edward Besly, ‘Few and far between: mints and coins in Wales to the Middle of the thirteenth century’, in B. Cook and G. Williams (eds.), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World, c. AD 500–1200. Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 701–19, at 709–14, has argued that coin finds provide evidence of a substantial growth in the use of money in Wales in the early thirteenth century. The apparent changes in the geographical distributions may however be at least partly attributable to a sharp increase in the number of finds on the maps in each period, from 150 (0.7 *per annum*) in c.973–1180 to 711 (10.6 *per annum*) in c.1180–1247 and 635 (19.8 *per annum*) in c.1247–79. This increase can be connected with the rapid growth in the size of the English currency from an estimated c.£15,000–£60,000 in 1180 to c.£500,000–£800,000 in 1279 (M. Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2012), 322–8, 344). The maps also indicate a substantial increase in the circulation of non-English coins in England after 1180. The use of Irish coins in England was officially sanctioned in 1210, and Scottish coins entered circulation in relatively large numbers at about the same time, closely followed by German imitations of English Short Cross pennies (Allen, *op. cit.*, 349).

APPENDIX

Additional coins recorded by EMC in 2011

The 380 coins recorded by EMC in 2011 include 8 coins published in Coin Register 2011, 49 coins selected for publication in the main text of Coin Register 2012 above, and 2 coins published elsewhere (D. Palmer, ‘The earliest known type of Edward the Confessor from the Bury St Edmunds mint’, *BNJ* 81 (2011), 230–1 [EMC 2011.0064]; M. Allen, ‘The Cambridge mint after the Norman Conquest: addenda’, *NC* 171 (2011), 257–9 [EMC 2011.0189]). The remaining 321 coins are summarized in Table 4. For ease of reference these 321 coins have been given numbers with the prefix A (for Additional). Plates to accompany Table 4 are available as pdf-files on the Society’s website (www.britnumsoc.org).

TABLE 4. Additional coins recorded by EMC in 2011

Pennies (‘*sceattas*’): *Primary and Intermediate*

No.	Type	Wt. (g)	Die axis	Find-spot and county/ unitary authority	Date of find	EMC no.
A.1	Series A1	1.17	180	Swinderby, near, Lincs.	2006	2010.0176
A.2	Series A2	1.14		Outwell, Norfolk	Oct. 2010	2010.0352
A.3	Series A2	1.05		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0253
A.4	Series A2	0.86		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0262
A.5	Series A3	1.09		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0375
A.6	Series A3	1.21		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0374
A.7	Series A (contemporary copy)	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0390
A.8	Series BX	1.23	0	Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0393
A.9	Series BX	0.76		Diss, near, Norfolk	2009	2010.0293
A.10	Series BIa	1.13		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0377
A.11	Series BIa	1.17		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0385
A.12	Series BIa	1.13		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0389
A.13	Series BIa	1.14		White Colne, Essex	14 May 2008	2010.0354
A.14	Series BII	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0256
A.15	Series BII	1.12		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0146
A.16	Series BII	1.24		Great Shelford, Cambs.	31 Mar. 2009	2010.0415
A.17	Series BII	1.18		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0260
A.18	Series BIIIa	wnr		Eye, near, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0360
A.19	Series B (uncertain subtype)	wnr		Huttoft, Lincs.	10 Sept. 2010	2010.0349
A.20	Series C1	1.21		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0140
A.21	Series C2	1.21		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0391
A.22	Series D (Type 2c)	wnr		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	7 Nov. 2010	2010.0363
A.23	Series D (Type 2c)	1.26		Congham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0064
A.24	Series D (Type 2c)	1.22		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0388
A.25	Series D (Type 2c)	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0142
A.26	Series D (Type 2c)	1.36		Isle of Sheppey, Kent	2008	2010.0119
A.27	Series D (Type 2c)	1.15		Akenham, Suffolk	Apr. 2010	2010.0291
A.28	Series D (Type 2c)	1.02		White Colne, Essex	2009	2010.0356

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.29	Series D (Type 2c)	1.16		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0392
A.30	Series D (Type 2c)	1.10		Eyke, near, Suffolk	2010	2010.0261
A.31	Series D (Type 2c)	1.06		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0259
A.32	Series D (Type 8)	1.22		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0143
A.33	Series D (Type 8)	0.91		Holme Hale, Norfolk	2010	2010.0424
A.34	Series D (Type 8)	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0255
A.35	Series D (Type 8)	1.32		Wansford, Cambs.	c.2007–8	2010.0179
A.36	Series D (Type 8)	0.93		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0373
A.37	Series D (Type 8)	1.07		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0376
A.38	Series D (Type 8)	1.03		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0378
A.39	Series D (Type 8)	1.08		White Colne, Essex	2009	2010.0357
A.40	Series E	1.01		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0141
A.41	Series E	1.18		Hintlesham, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0245
A.42	Series E	1.06		Outwell, Norfolk	Nov. 2010	2010.0418
A.43	Series E	wnr		Papworth, near, Cambs.	7 Nov. 2010	2010.0365
A.44	Series E	wnr		Newark, near, Notts.	2010	2010.0215
A.45	Series E	1.00		Great Wakering, Essex	15 Aug. 2010	2010.0284
A.46	Series E	wnr		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	Aug. 2009	2010.0276
A.47	Series E	wnr		Wrotham, Kent	Aug. 2010	2010.0342
A.48	Series E	1.08		White Colne, Essex	4 Mar. 2008	2010.0355
A.49	Series E	1.14		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0381
A.50	Series E	1.07		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0257
A.51	Series E	1.02		Huntingdon, near, Cambs.	8 Aug. 2010	2010.0283
A.52	Series E, Plumed Bird var. K	wnr		Newark, near, Notts.	2010	2010.0214
A.53	Series E, VICO 1b	1.3		Newark, near, Notts.	Apr. 2010	2010.0209
A.54	Series E, var. G3	1.20		Birch, Essex	Mar. 2010	2010.0133
A.55	Series E, var. G3	1.14		East Harling, Norfolk	2010	2010.0325
A.56	Series E, var. G4	0.97		Papworth, near, Cambs.	14 Aug. 2010	2010.0286
A.57	Series E, var. D	wnr		Lincoln, near, Lincs.	4 Apr. 2010	2010.0174
A.58	Series E, Secondary var. A	1.11		Ely, near, Cambs.	by 2005	2010.0181
A.59	Series E, Porcupine/ Stepped Cross	wnr		Wistow, Cambs.	11 Dec. 2010	2010.0427
A.60	Series E runic Æthiliræd (Type 105)	wnr		Newark, near, Notts.	Aug. 2010	2010.0297
A.61	Series E runic Æthiliræd (Type 105)	wnr		Bassingbourne, Cambs.	16 Aug. 2010	2010.0288
A.62	Series F (Metcalfe b.iii)	wnr		Papworth, near, Cambs.	13 Nov. 2010	2010.0396
A.63	Series F (Metcalfe c.ii)	wnr	270	Bassingbourne, near, Cambs.	6 Aug. 2010	2010.0280
A.64	Vernus Group type 1	1.21		Hoxne, Suffolk	Apr. 2010	2010.0300
A.65	Vernus Group (uncertain subtype)	1.0		Ipswich, near, Suffolk	2010	2010.0294
A.66	Saroaldo	1.05		Carlton Grange, Lincs.	10 Feb. 2010	2010.0165
A.67	Saroaldo	1.14		Wansford, Cambs.	c.2008	2010.0177

Pennies ('sceattas'): Secondary

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.68	Series G (Type 3a)	0.95		Nettleton, Lincs.	2005	2010.0178
A.69	Series G (Type 3a)	wnr		Wingham, Kent	Oct. 2010	2010.0341
A.70	Series G (Type 3a)	1.01		Sutton Scotney, near, Hants.	12 Sept. 2009	2010.0086
A.71	Series H (Type 49), Metcalfe var. 5	wnr		Martinstown, Dorset	by 2010	2010.0350
A.72	Series H (Type 48)	0.88		Dover, near, Kent	late 1990s	2010.0292
A.73	Series J (Type 85)	wnr	90	Lincoln, near, Lincs.	4 Apr. 2010	2010.0156
A.74	Series J (Type 85)	wnr	90	Lincoln, near, Lincs.	4 Apr. 2010	2010.0155
A.75	Series J (Type 85)	wnr		Horncastle, near, Lincs.	2010	2010.0405
A.76	Series J (Type 85)	wnr	0	Lincoln, near, Lincs.	4 Apr. 2010	2010.0157
A.77	Series J (Type 85)	0.83		Papworth, near, Cambs.	14 Aug. 2010	2010.0285
A.78	Series J (Type 85)	1.1		Newark, near, Notts.	Apr. 2010	2010.0210

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/ unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.79	Series J (Type 37)	1.08		Ancaster, Lincs.	1999	2010.0182
A.80	Series J (Type 72)	wnr	0	Lincoln, near, Lincs.	24 Apr. 2010	2010.0175
A.81	Series K (Type 33)	wnr		Bassingbourne, near, Cambs.	27 Aug. 2010	2010.0295
A.82	Series K (Type 32a)	0.84		Cliffe, near, Kent	2010	2010.0219
A.83	Series K (Type 42), Metcalf var. b	1.1	0	Great Wakering, Essex	4 Apr. 2010	2010.0148
A.84	Series K (Type 42), Metcalf var. b	0.9		Great Wakering, Essex	20 July 2010	2010.0270
A.85	Series K (Type 42), Metcalf var. c	0.83		Fulbourn, Cambs.	2010	2010.0337
A.86	Series L (Type 12)	0.77		Fulbourn, Cambs.	2010	2010.0338
A.87	Series L (Type 12)	0.80		Long Melford, Suffolk	2009	2010.0266
A.88	Celtic Cross with Rosettes Group	0.65		Sutton Scotney, near, Hants.	20 Feb. 2010	2010.0084
A.89	'Hen' type	0.93		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0252
A.90	Series N (Type 41b)	1.13	20	Little Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0057
A.91	Series O (Type 40)	0.93		East Harling, Norfolk	by 2010	2010.0126
A.92	Series Q IVd	0.75		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0144
A.93	Series Q (uncertain subtype)	0.83		Eyke, near Woodbridge, Suffolk	2010	2010.0379
A.94	Series Q/R	0.87	0	Great Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0053
A.95	Series R1	1.5		Isle of Sheppey, Kent	2008	2010.0118
A.96	Series R5	1.03		Great Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0052
A.97	Series R8	0.93		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0382
A.98	Series R8	0.83		Stow Bedon, Norfolk	13 Nov. 2010	2010.0395
A.99	Series R8	0.82	180	Great Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0054
A.100	Series R10	0.91		Great Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0051
A.101	Series R10	1.0		Carlton Colville, Suffolk	Oct. 2010	2010.0324
A.102	Series R10	0.95		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0254
A.103	Series R (uncertain subtype)	0.94		Hoo, Kent	2010	2010.0218
A.104	Series R/type 51 (Saltire-standard) mule	0.42		Weybread, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0161
A.105	Series R: Double standard reverse	0.81		Beachamwell, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0063
A.106	Type 70	1.00		Claydon, Suffolk	Nov. 2009	2010.0242
A.107	Series S (Type 47)	wnr		Ely, near, Cambs.	3 Dec. 2010	2010.0414
A.108	Series T (Type 9)	1.05		Bythorn, Cambs.	2008	2010.0180
A.109	Series U (Type 23b)	1.09	0	Great Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0056

Northumbrian sceattas and stycas

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.110	Archbishop Ecgberht (732/4–66) with Eadberht of Northumbria (737–58)	York		0.90		Kilham, near, E. Yorks.	1990s	2010.0269
A.111	Eanred of Northumbria (c.810–40), styca	York	Brother	1.11		Nettleton, Lincs.	2004	2010.0183
A.112	Æthelred II of Northumbria, 1st reign (c.840–44), styca	York	Eanræd	1.01		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0101
A.113	Æthelred II of Northumbria, 2nd reign (c.844–48), styca	York	Fordred	0.90		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0108

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.114	Osberht of Northumbria (c.848–67), styca	York	Eanwulf	0.79		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0103
A.115	Archbishop Wigmund (837–54), styca	York	Ethelhelm	0.85		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0097
A.116	Irregular Northumbrian styca			1.20		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0099
A.117	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.74		Somersby, Lincs.	2005	2010.0184
A.118	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.66		Martin, near, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0094
A.119	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.74		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0095
A.120	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.60		Martin, near, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0096
A.121	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.83		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0105
A.122	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.75		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0098
A.123	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.83		Martin, near, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0100
A.124	Irregular Northumbrian styca			1.04		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0102
A.125	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.92		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0104
A.126	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.74		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0106
A.127	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.89		Martin, near, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0107
A.128	Irregular Northumbrian styca			0.76		Torksey, Lincs.	c.1970–90	2010.0109

Later Anglo-Saxon

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.129	Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light Coinage, Chick 18, Blunt 23, North 317	London	Ciolhard	1.03		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0384
A.130	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 13, Blunt 56, North 287	London	Ethelvald	1.02	270	Papworth, near, Cambs.	16 Aug. 2010	2010.0287
A.131	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 20, Blunt 31, North 310	London	Dud	1.25		Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0387
A.132	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 128, Blunt 75, North 295	Canterbury	Pehtvald	1.15	180	Tilbury, Thurrock	2007	2010.0110
A.133	Offa of Mercia, Light Coinage, Chick 179, Blunt –	East Anglian	Wihtræd	1.1		Diss, near, Norfolk	2010	2010.0339
A.134	Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821), North 342	Canterbury	Sigeberht	1.3		Sutton Scotney, near, Hants.	6 Nov. 2010	2010.0367
A.135	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 342	Canterbury	Sigeberht	1.3		Postwick, Norfolk	2008	2010.0072

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.136	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 342	London	Diola	wnr	90	Papworth, near, Cambs.	20 Nov. 2010	2010.0399
A.137	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 343/1	Canterbury	Seberht	1.16	90	Wingham, Kent	by 2010	2010.0138
A.138	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 363	East Anglian	Lul	wnr	180	Fakenham, near, Norfolk	2010	2010.0346
A.139	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 364	East Anglian	Hereberht	1.36	180	Fordingbridge, near, Hants.	21 Mar. 2010	2010.0135
A.140	Coenwulf of Mercia, North 368	East Anglian	Wodel	1.32	180	Great Cressingham, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0055
A.141	Archbishop Æthelheard (793–805) with Offa, North 227	Canterbury		wnr	120	Harlow, near, Essex	17 Jan. 2010	2010.0047
A.142	Archbishop Æthelheard with Coenwulf (796–821), North 232	Canterbury		1.3	180	Lincoln, near, Lincs.	Jan. 2010	2010.0045
A.143	Archbishop Æthelheard with Coenwulf, North 234	Canterbury		1.17	180	The Paxtons, Cambs.	Sept. 2010	2010.0309
A.144	Archbishop Wulfred (805–32), Transitional Monogram, North 240	Canterbury	Sæberht	1.4		Oxborough, near, Norfolk	5 Apr. 2010	2010.0149
A.145	Cuthred of Kent (796–807), non-portrait type, North 208	Canterbury	Eaba	1.18	0	Great Shelford, Cambs.	27 Feb. 2009	2010.0416
A.146	Baldred of Kent (c. 823–25), non-portrait type, North 213	Canterbury	Sigestef	wnr	0	Alfriston, East Sussex	Oct. 2010	2010.0340
A.147	Baldred of Kent, non-portrait type, North 214	Canterbury	Diormod	1.42	90	Warminster, near, Wilts.	2010	2010.0369
A.148	Beornwulf of Mercia (823–25), North 397	East Anglian	Eadnoth	wnr		Hereford, near, Herefordshire	11 July 2010	2010.0251
A.149	Burgred of Mercia (852–74), North 423		Osmund	1.10	180	Pyrton, Oxon	4 July 2010	2010.0250
A.150	Burgred of Mercia (852–74), North 426		uncertain	1.07		Orford, Suffolk	Nov. 2006	2010.0186
A.151	Æthelstan I of East Anglia (c. 825–45), Non-Portrait type, North 439	East Anglian			270	White Colne, Essex	2010	2010.0343
A.152	Æthelstan I of East Anglia, Non-Portrait type, North 439	East Anglian		1.12	90	Kedington, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0163
A.153	Eadmund of East Anglia (855–69), North 459	East Anglian	Beornferth	1.28		Worlington, Suffolk	Oct. 2010	2010.0366
A.154	St Edmund Memorial coinage, North 483		uncertain	0.74	90	Reepham, Norfolk	Feb. 2010	2010.0120
A.155	St Edmund Memorial coinage, North 483		uncertain	0.69		Newmarket, near, Suffolk	June 2010	2010.0273
A.156	St Edmund Memorial coinage, North 483		uncertain	0.87		Great Barton, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0162
A.157	Ecgbert of Wessex (802–39), North 576	Rochester	Dunun	1.11	240	Walesby, Lincs.	by 2010	2010.0048
A.158	Ecgbert of Wessex (802–39), North 589	West Saxon mint	Ifa	wnr		Basingstoke, near, Hants.	July 2010	2010.0267
A.159	Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58), North 610	Canterbury	Deiheah	wnr		East Kent	by 2010	2010.0081

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.160	Æthelwulf of Wessex, North 610	Canterbury	Manna	1.10	270	Watton, near, Norfolk	2010	2010.0290
A.161	Alfred (871–99), Lunette type, North 626	Canterbury	Luhinc	0.44	90	Cropwell Bishop, Lincs.	1999	2010.0185
A.162	Alfred, Cross-and-Lozenge type, North 629	London	Hereferth	1.26		Winchester, Hants.	1985–2010	2010.0241
A.163	Alfred, Two-Line type, North 649	Canterbury	Beorhtred	1.5		Cerne Abbas, near, Dorset	2010	2010.0279
A.164	Alfred, Two-Line type, North 649		Pitit	1.30	270	Melbourn, Cambs.	2010	2010.0401
A.165	Eadmund (939–46), Two-Line type, HT1, North 688		Ælfstan	1.58		Rothersthorpe, Northants.	2009	2010.0121
A.166	Eadmund, Two-Line type, HT1, North 688	York	Ingelgar	1.20	270	Rothersthorpe, Northants.	2009	2010.0122
A.167	Eadmund, Two-Line type, HT1, North 688		uncertain	1.40		Ancaster, Lincs.	2009	2010.0243
A.168	Eadgar (957/9–75) <i>Reform</i> type, North 752	Lincoln	Grind	wnr	180	Wickenby, Lincs.	2010	2010.0274
A.169	Edward the Martyr (975–78), North 763	Stamford	Iole	0.53 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	0	Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0289
A.170	Edward the Martyr, North 763	York	Iustun	wnr	0	Westwell, Kent	2010	2010.0088
A.171	Edward the Martyr, North 763	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Grantham area, Lincs.	Nov. 2010	2010.0398
A.172	Edward the Martyr, North 763	uncertain	uncertain	wnr	180	Cavenham, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0244
A.173	Æthelred II (978–1016), <i>First Hand</i> type, North 766	London	Ælfgar	1.39	90	Baylham, Suffolk	Nov. 2010	2010.0222
A.174	Æthelred II, <i>First Hand</i> type, North 766	London	Oscytel	1.14	90	Suffield, Norfolk	May 2010	2010.0228
A.175	Æthelred II, <i>First Hand</i> type, North 766	London	Wynsige	1.45		Sedgeford, Norfolk	19 July 2010	2010.0268
A.176	Æthelred II, <i>First Hand</i> type, North 766	Lympne	Eadstan	1.7		St Mary in the Marsh, Kent	2010	2010.0316
A.177	Æthelred II, <i>Second Hand</i> type, North 768	Canterbury	Lifinc	1.08	45	Weeley Bridge, Essex	2010	2010.0305
A.178	Æthelred II, <i>Crux</i> type, North 770	Southwark	uncertain	0.50	180	West Acre parish, Norfolk	July 2009	2010.0042
A.179	Æthelred II, <i>Long Cross</i> type, North 774	Lincoln	Osmund	1.36		Stow, Lincs.	by 2010	2010.0419
A.180	Æthelred II, <i>Last Small Cross</i> type, North 777	Canterbury	Leofnoth	1.28		March, near, Cambs.	2010	2010.0326
A.181	Æthelred II, <i>Last Small Cross</i> type, North 777	Winchester	Brunstan	wnr		Harston, Cambs.	31 July 2010	2010.0277
A.182	Æthelred II, <i>Last Small Cross</i> type, North 777	uncertain	Leofred	0.7	270	St Mary in the Marsh, Kent	2010	2010.0317
A.183	Æthelred II, <i>Last Small Cross</i> type, North 777	uncertain	Wulfnoth	0.61 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	0	Marlborough, near, Wilts.	by 2010	2010.0413
A.184	Æthelred II, <i>Last Small Cross</i> type, bust right, North 780	Canterbury	Leofstan	wnr		Chilham, Kent	Mar. 2010	2010.0134

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A.185	Cnut (1016–35), <i>Quatrefoil</i> type, North 781	Gloucester	Leofsige	1.38	270	Evesham, near, Worcs.	2009	2010.0264
A.186	Cnut, <i>Quatrefoil</i> type, North 781	Winchester	Ælfric	1.5		Harrogate, near, N. Yorks.	2009	2010.0069
A.187	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	London	uncertain	wnr (½d.)		Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex	Jan. 2010	2010.0049
A.188	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	London	uncertain	0.50 (½d.)	180	Biggleswade, near, Beds.	Sept. 2009	2010.0068
A.189	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	London?	uncertain	wnr (½d.)	90	Shalfleet parish, Isle of Wight	24 Feb. 2010	2010.0117
A.190	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	Stamford	Leofdæg	1.05	180	Cliffe, near, Kent	July 2010	2010.0282
A.191	Cnut, <i>Short Cross</i> type, North 790	Wallingford	Ælfwine	1.04		North Lopham, Norfolk	2009	2010.0085
A.192	Harthacnut, first reign (1035–37), <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 797	London	Wulfwine	0.96	180	Hacheston, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0159
A.193	Harold I (1035–40), <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	Malmesbury?	Leofthegen	1.07		Bourton-on- the-Water, Glos.	by 2010	2010.0227
A.194	Harold I, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	Norwich	Ælfwine	0.96		South Cambs.	by 2009	2010.0188
A.195	Harold I, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	Nottingham	Sæwine	0.96		Holme Hale, Norfolk	2010	2010.0425
A.196	Harold I, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	Stamford	Leofric	1.05		Castlethorpe, Lincs.	2002	2010.0187
A.197	Harold I, <i>Jewel Cross</i> type, North 802	uncertain	Leofwine	0.37 (½d.)	270	Dagnall, Bucks.	7 Nov. 2010	2010.0372
A.198	Harold I, <i>Fleur-de-Lis</i> type, North 803	Gloucester	Ælfsige	0.49 (½d.)	270	Ampney St Mary, Glos.	by 2010	2010.0403
A.199	Harold I, <i>Fleur-de-Lis</i> type, North 803	uncertain	uncertain	0.19 (¼d.)		Barton Bendish, Norfolk	by 2008	2010.0060
A.200	Harold I, <i>Fleur-de-Lis</i> type, North 803	uncertain	uncertain	0.59 (½d.)	0	Wereham, Norfolk	2010	2010.0313
A.201	Edward the Confessor (1042–66), <i>Pax</i> type, North 813	Wallingford	Ægelwig	wnr (½d.)	0	Ilchester, near, Somerset	28 Oct. 2010	2010.0353
A.202	Edward the Confessor, <i>Radiatel/Small Cross</i> type, North 816	Lincoln	uncertain	0.39 (½d.)	330	North Lincolnshire	by c.2005	2010.0189
A.203	Edward the Confessor, <i>Radiatel/Small Cross</i> type, North 816	Thetford	uncertain	0.46 (½d.)	270	Watton, Norfolk	2010	2010.0323
A.204	Edward the Confessor, <i>Small Flan</i> type, North 818	London	Eadwine	0.89	180	Rendlesham survey, Suffolk	2010	2010.0263
A.205	Edward the Confessor, <i>Small Flan</i> type, North 818	Stamford	Hæthcyn	0.76		Water Newton, Cambs.	Aug. 2007	2010.0190
A.206	Edward the Confessor, <i>Small Flan</i> type, North 818	uncertain	uncertain	0.49 (½d.)		Watton, Norfolk	Aug. 2010	2010.0302
A.207	Edward the Confessor, <i>Expanding Cross</i> , light issue, North 820	Canterbury	Ælfræd	wnr	270	East Hanney, near, Oxon	2010	2010.0310
A.208	Edward the Confessor, <i>Expanding Cross</i> , light issue, North 820	London	Ælfræd	0.98		Watton, Norfolk	May 2010	2010.0229

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A.209	Edward the Confessor, <i>Expanding Cross</i> , heavy issue, North 823	London	Beorhtsige	1.68		Boxford, Suffolk	c.1982	2010.0246
A.210	Edward the Confessor, <i>Sovereign/Eagles</i> type, North 827	uncertain	uncertain	0.25 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	0	Lincolnshire	by 2010	2010.0225
A.211	Edward the Confessor, <i>Hammer Cross</i> type, North 828	Canterbury	Ælfric	1.34		Wiltshire	2009	2010.0087
A.212	Edward the Confessor, <i>Pyramids</i> type, North 831	Winchester	Ælfwine	wnr		Dorchester, near, Dorset	22 Nov. 2010	2010.0402
A.213	Harold II (1066), <i>Pax</i> type	London	uncertain	0.55 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Shiptonthorpe, near, E. Yorks.	1983	2010.0191
A.214	Harold II, <i>Pax</i> type	Thetford	Godric	0.54 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Watton, Norfolk	Aug. 2010	2010.0303

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A.215	William I (1066–87), <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 842	Norwich	Edwine	1.11		Barnham Broom, Norfolk	2010	2010.0426
A.216	William I <i>BMC</i> type iii, North 843	Derby	Colbein	wnr	180	Ashbourne, Derbys.	28 May 2008	2010.0114
A.217	William I <i>BMC</i> type iii, North 843	Thetford	Godwine	0.51 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	300	Worlington, Suffolk	2009	2010.0089
A.218	William I <i>BMC</i> type v, North 845	Warwick	Lufinc	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	300	Merton, near, Oxon	13 Feb. 2010	2010.0076
A.219	William I <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 846	uncertain	Godwine	0.48 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Herringswell, Suffolk	2010	2010.0090
A.220	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 848	Lincoln	Ulf	1.50		Woughton, Milton Keynes	2009	2010.0071
A.221	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 848	London	Edric	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	0	Church Langton, Leics.	2010	2010.0216
A.222	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 848	Southwark	Ældoulf	1.40		Knaresborough, near, N. Yorks.	by 2010	2010.0070
A.223	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 850	Hythe	Edred	1.32		Gosberton, Lincs.	2008	2010.0193
A.224	William I <i>BMC</i> type viii, North 850	uncertain	uncertain	0.79	90	Hilborough, Norfolk	by 2009	2010.0058
A.225	William II (1087–1100), <i>BMC</i> type i, North 851	Lincoln	Ulf	0.65	0	North Lincolnshire	by c.1998	2010.0194
A.226	William II <i>BMC</i> type i, North 851	Southwark	Lifword	1.22	0	Swaffham Bulbeck, Cambs.	2010	2010.0408
A.227	William II <i>BMC</i> type i, North 851	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	180	Yapham, E. Yorks.	by 2010	2010.0231
A.228	William II <i>BMC</i> type iii, North 853	uncertain	uncertain	1.39	270	Chinnor, Oxon	2010	2010.0410
A.229	Henry I (1100–35), <i>BMC</i> type i, North 857	Canterbury	Wulfric	0.4 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Matching Green, Essex	19 Sept. 2010	2010.0334
A.230	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type i, North 857	Colchester	Ælfsi	0.49 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	Akenham, Suffolk	2010	2010.0397
A.231	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type i, North 857	London	Ælfwine	wnr		Wragby, near, Lincs.	2010	2010.0333
A.232	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type i, North 857	London	Brunic	1.33	90	Bletchley, near, Milton Keynes	2009	2010.0077

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A.233	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 858	London	Ælfwine	1.16		Stevenage, near, Herts.	2009	2010.0298
A.234	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type iii, North 859	Norwich	Howord	1.24	270	Thornham, Norfolk	2010	2010.0330
A.235	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type iii, North 859	Norwich	Howord	1.20	180	Thornham, Norfolk	2010	2010.0331
A.236	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type v, North 861	uncertain	uncertain	wnr	180	Market Lavington, Wilts.	2010	2010.0275
A.237	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type v, North 861	Canterbury	Winedi	wnr		Brook, Kent	Mar. 2010	2010.0150
A.238	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 862	London	Sigar	0.94	270	Market Weighon, near, E. Yorks.	2010	2010.0078
A.239	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type ix, North 865	Winchester	Wimund	0.97	270	Pilton, Northants.	2006	2010.0406
A.240	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type x, North 866	London	Sperling	1.35	90	Holme next the Sea, Norfolk	2010	2010.0332
A.241	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type x, North 866	London	Sperling	wnr	270	Salisbury, near, Wilts.	23 Mar. 1997	2010.0079
A.242	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type x, North 866	Winchester?	Sawulf	1.03	180	Winchester, Hants.	1985–2010	2010.0239
A.243	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xiii, North 869	London	Algar	1.1	200	Horncastle, near, Lincs.	July 2010	2010.0249
A.244	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xiii, North 869	Norwich	Ulfchitel	wnr		Soham, Cambs.	Sept. 2010	2010.0314
A.245	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Bury St Edmunds	Gilebert	wnr	0	Radwinter, Essex	2002	2010.0236
A.246	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Canterbury	Willelm	1.37	240	Baston, Lincs.	1992	2010.0196
A.247	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Carlisle	Erebald	wnr	0	Fillongley, Warks.	10 Nov. 2002	2010.0080
A.248	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Norwich	Godwine	1.28	270	Bottisham, Cambs.	2009	2010.0091
A.249	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Norwich	uncertain	wnr		Long Stratton, Norfolk	by 2010	2010.0359
A.250	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Winchester	Alfricus	wnr	0	Hampshire	by 2010	2010.0421
A.251	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	Winchester	uncertain	wnr		Horncastle, near, Lincs.	Oct. 2010	2010.0394
A.252	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	York	uncertain	0.67 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	180	Harmston Heath, Lincs.	c. 2002	2010.0198
A.253	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	uncertain	uncertain	0.60 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	270	Owthorpe, Notts.	2002	2010.0199
A.254	Henry I <i>BMC</i> type xv, North 871	uncertain	uncertain	0.72		Cropwell Bishop, Lincs.	c. 1998–9	2010.0197
A.255	Stephen (1135–5), <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Canterbury	Edward	0.60 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	330	Bottisham, Cambs.	2010	2010.0092
A.256	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Canterbury	uncertain	0.58 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	0	Wilsford, Lincs.	2002	2010.0200
A.257	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Exeter	Alfric	1.02	90	Stanfield, Norfolk	Apr. 2010	2010.0221
A.258	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	London	Smeawine	wnr		Deopham, near, Norfolk	2010	2010.0345
A.259	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	London	Tovi	1.29		Scarning, Norfolk	2010	2010.0322
A.260	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	London	uncertain	1.02	330	Ryton, Glos.	2010	2010.0167
A.261	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Thetford	Odde	wnr	180	Stowmarket, near, Suffolk	June 2006	2010.0075

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A.262	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Wilton	Falche	1.36	180	Morley, Norfolk	Feb. 2010	2010.0112
A.263	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Wilton	Thomas	1.41		Winchester, Hants.	1985–2010	2010.0240
A.264	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	Winchester	Saiet	wnr	90	Cardiff, near	2010	2010.0308
A.265	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 873	York	uncertain	wnr (½ <i>d.</i>)	60	London (River Thames)	by 2010	2010.0235
A.266	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, no inner circle, North 874	Bury St Edmunds	Gilebert	1.24		West Stow, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0164
A.267	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, no inner circle, North 874	Norwich	Hermer	1.0	270	Lydd, Kent	21 Mar. 2010	2010.0136
A.268	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, irregular	Bury St Edmunds	Hunfrei	1.11	180	East Anglia	by c. 2006	2010.0152
A.269	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, erased dies, North 924	Norwich	uncertain	0.39 (½ <i>d.</i>)	30	Shiptonthorpe, near, E. Yorks.	1985	2010.0201
A.270	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i var., ANT type, North 905	Southampton	Sanson	0.92		Chiseldon, Swindon	1998	2010.0328
A.271	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i var., ANT type, North 905	Southampton	Sanson	wnr	300	Marlborough, near, Wilts.	2008	2010.0111
A.272	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 878	London	Hamund	wnr		March, near, Cambs.	Nov. 2010	2010.0368
A.273	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type ii, North 878	Norwich	Stanchil	0.70 (½ <i>d.</i>)	180	Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk	by 2010	2010.0233
A.274	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 879	Bury St Edmunds	uncertain	0.34 (¼ <i>d.</i>)	180	Newmarket, near, Suffolk	2009	2010.0093
A.275	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 879	Castle Rising	Rodbert	1.27	240	Stanfield, Norfolk	13 Dec. 2010	2010.0423
A.276	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 879	Dunwich	Walter	1.28		Pitstone, Bucks.	2004	2010.0344
A.277	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vi, North 879	Norwich	Rawul	1.32	160	Norfolk	2008	2010.0281
A.278	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 881	Bedford	Iohan	1.38	0	Cambs. or Suffolk	Apr. 2010	2010.0307
A.279	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 881	York	Martin	wnr		Eye, near, Suffolk	Oct. 2010	2010.0329
A.280	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 881	uncertain	uncertain	wnr (½ <i>d.</i>)		Torksey, Lincs.	2010	2010.0158
A.281	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, North 881	uncertain	uncertain	wnr (½ <i>d.</i>)		Wye, Kent	2010	2010.0404
A.282	Stephen <i>BMC</i> type vii, bust three-quarters right, North 881 var.	uncertain	uncertain	0.29 (¼ <i>d.</i>)		Shiptonthorpe, near, E. Yorks.	1984	2010.0202
A.283	Stephen, York Group, Flag type, North 919	York	uncertain	wnr (½ <i>d.</i>)		Stamford Bridge, near, N. Yorks.	Apr. 2010	2010.0217
A.284	Stephen, York Group, Flag type, North 919	York	uncertain	0.25 (¼ <i>d.</i>)	240	Burton Agnes, near, E. Yorks.	by 2010	2010.0358
A.285	Henry of Anjou?, North 940/1	Cirencester	uncertain	1.07	90	Tibberton, Glos.	6 June 2010	2010.0271
A.286	David I of Scotland (1124–53), as Stephen <i>BMC</i> type i, North 909	Carlisle	Udard	wnr	180	Radlett, Herts.	Apr. 2010	2010.0347
A.287	David I of Scotland, Cross Fleury type	uncertain	uncertain	1.4		Melbourne, Derbyshire	2008	2010.0420

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt. (g)</i>	<i>Die axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and county/unitary authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.288	Henry of Northumbria, Cross Fleury type, North 913	Carlisle	Willelm	0.60 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	330	Northallerton, near, N. Yorks.	by 2010	2010.0238
A.289	Henry of Northumbria, Cross Crosslet type, North 914	Bamburgh	Willelm	1.28		Malew, Isle of Man	Apr. 2010	2010.0319
A.290	Henry II (1154–89), <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A1, North 952/1	London	Martin	0.6 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	0	Wragby, Lincs.	2010	2010.0224
A.291	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A2, North 952/2	Lincoln	Raven	1.27	270	Heacham, Norfolk	by 2010	2010.0067
A.292	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A2, North 952/2	Winchester	Ricard	0.60 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	120	Cranwich, Norfolk	2009	2010.0113
A.293	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A2, North 952/2	uncertain	uncertain	0.29 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	330	Market Weston, Suffolk	c.2000	2010.0247
A.294	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A, North 952	Carlisle	Willelm	1.20		Sandringham, Norfolk	Feb. 2010	2010.0128
A.295	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A, North 952	Norwich	Gilebert	0.28 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	0	High Easter, Essex	13 Mar. 2010	2010.0125
A.296	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A, North 952	Winchester	Willelm	1.13	0	Holme next the Sea, Norfolk	2010	2010.0336
A.297	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class A, North 952	Winchester	uncertain	1.22	270	Sandringham, Norfolk	Mar. 2010	2010.0168
A.298	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class B1, North 953/1	Ilchester	uncertain	1.19	0	Sandringham, Norfolk	Mar. 2010	2010.0169
A.299	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class B, North 953–5	London	Edmund	1.35	240	Stickney, Lincs.	2008	2010.0204
A.300	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C1, North 956	Canterbury	Goldhavoc	1.28	120	Langar, Notts.	2005	2010.0205
A.301	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C2, North 957	Ipswich	Nicole	wnr	180	Fen Drayton, Cambs.	12 June 2010	2010.0232
A.302	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C2, North 957	Ipswich	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	240	Sandringham, Norfolk	Feb. 2010	2010.0129
A.303	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C2, North 957	uncertain	uncertain	wnr		Fyfield, Essex	2007	2010.0050
A.304	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C3, North 956–7 var.	Durham	Cristien	1.38		Market Deeping, near, Lincs.	c.2005	2010.0203
A.305	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C-E, North 956–60	London	uncertain	0.41		High Easter, Essex	2009	2010.0115
A.306	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class C-E, North 956–60	Canterbury	uncertain	0.44 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Trumpington, Cambs.	21 Nov. 2010	2010.0417
A.307	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class D3, North 959	Bury St Edmunds	Henri	0.62	90	Wendling, Norfolk	Dec. 2009	2010.0043

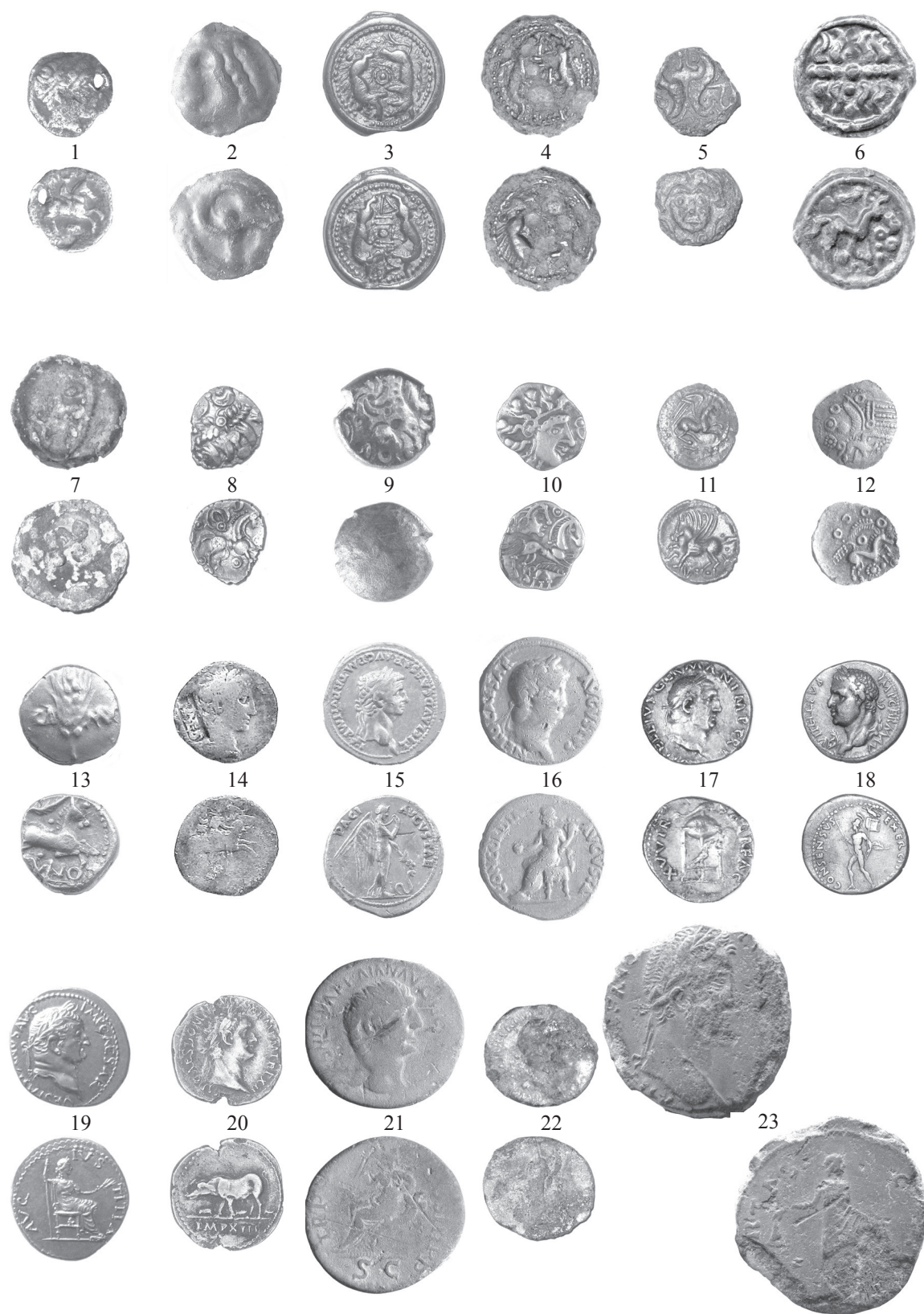
<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.308	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class E, North 960	Newcastle	Willelm	1.08		Watton, Norfolk	Dec. 2009	2010.0044
A.309	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F1, North 961/1	Canterbury	uncertain	wnr		Durham, near	Mar. 2010	2010.0400
A.310	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F, North 961	Bury St Edmunds	Raul	wnr		East Anglia	2010	2010.0407
A.311	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F, North 961	Canterbury	uncertain	1.07		Godmanchester, Cambs.	1 Aug. 2010	2010.0278
A.312	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F, North 961	Ipswich	Turstain	wnr		Saxtead, Suffolk	Feb. 2010	2010.0370
A.313	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> class F, North 961	uncertain	Raul	1.23	270	Emneth, Norfolk	Mar. 2010	2010.0170
A.314	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	Canterbury	uncertain	0.67 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Gosberton, Lincs.	c.2004	2010.0207
A.315	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	Canterbury	uncertain	0.63 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	East Walton, Norfolk	by 2008	2010.0065
A.316	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	Canterbury	uncertain	0.66 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	90	East Walton, Norfolk	by 2008	2010.0066
A.317	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	Carlisle	Willelm	0.31 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)	90	Great Ponton, Lincs.	Mar. 2010	2010.0208
A.318	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	uncertain	uncertain	wnr ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)		Ilchester, Somerset	Nov. 2010	2010.0412
A.319	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	uncertain	Willelm	0.68 ($\frac{1}{2}d.$)	300	Langtoft, Lincs.	c.1991	2010.0206
A.320	Henry II <i>Cross-and-Crosslets</i> uncertain class, North 952–61	uncertain	uncertain	0.41 ($\frac{1}{4}d.$)		Barton Bendish, Norfolk	2010	2010.0311

Islamic

<i>No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Wt.</i> (<i>g</i>)	<i>Die</i> <i>axis</i>	<i>Find-spot and</i> <i>county/unitary</i> <i>authority</i>	<i>Date of find</i>	<i>EMC no.</i>
A.321	Samanid dirham (cut fragment)	uncertain		0.25		High Easter, Essex	2010	2010.0116

Source: M.A.

PLATE 5



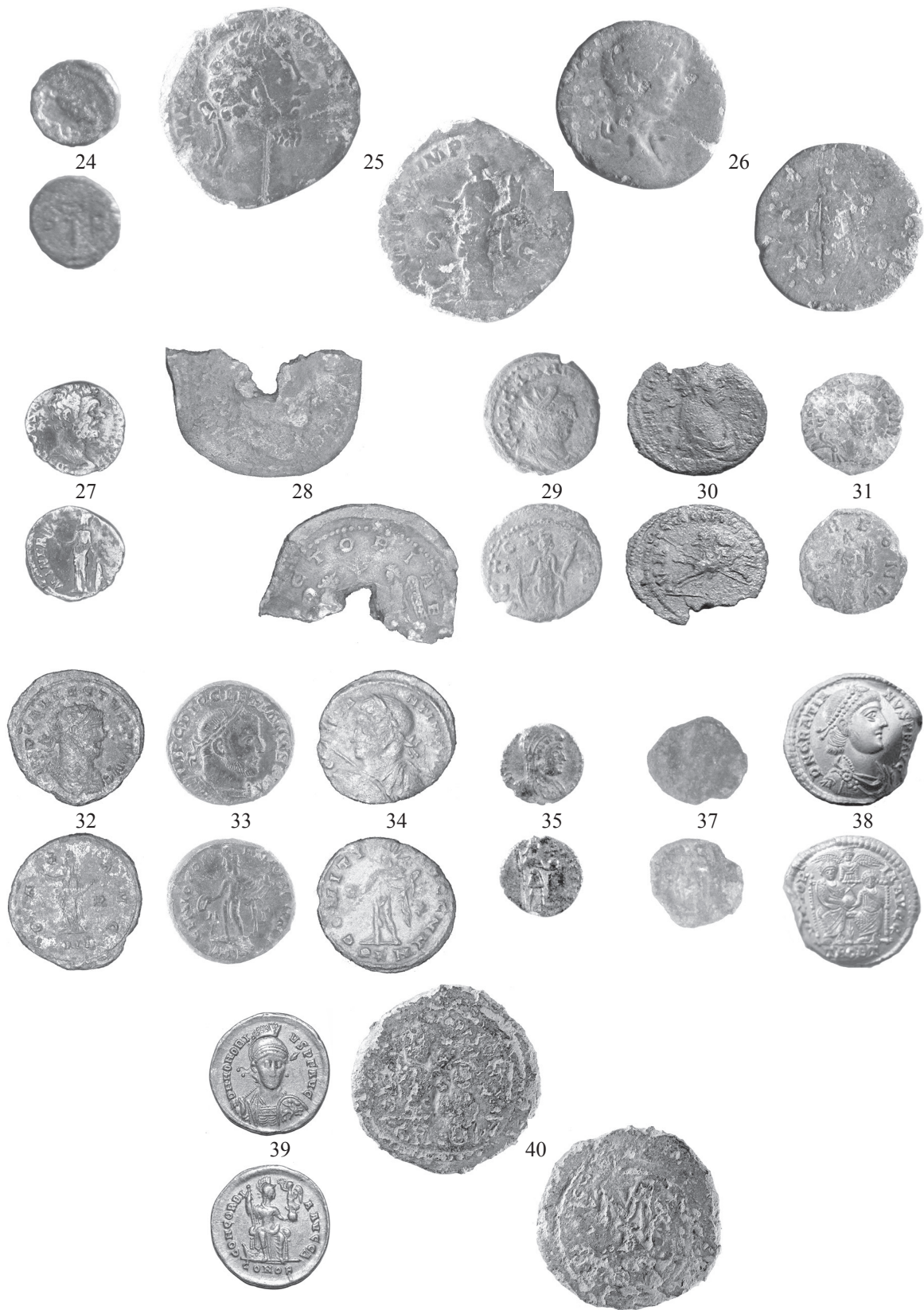
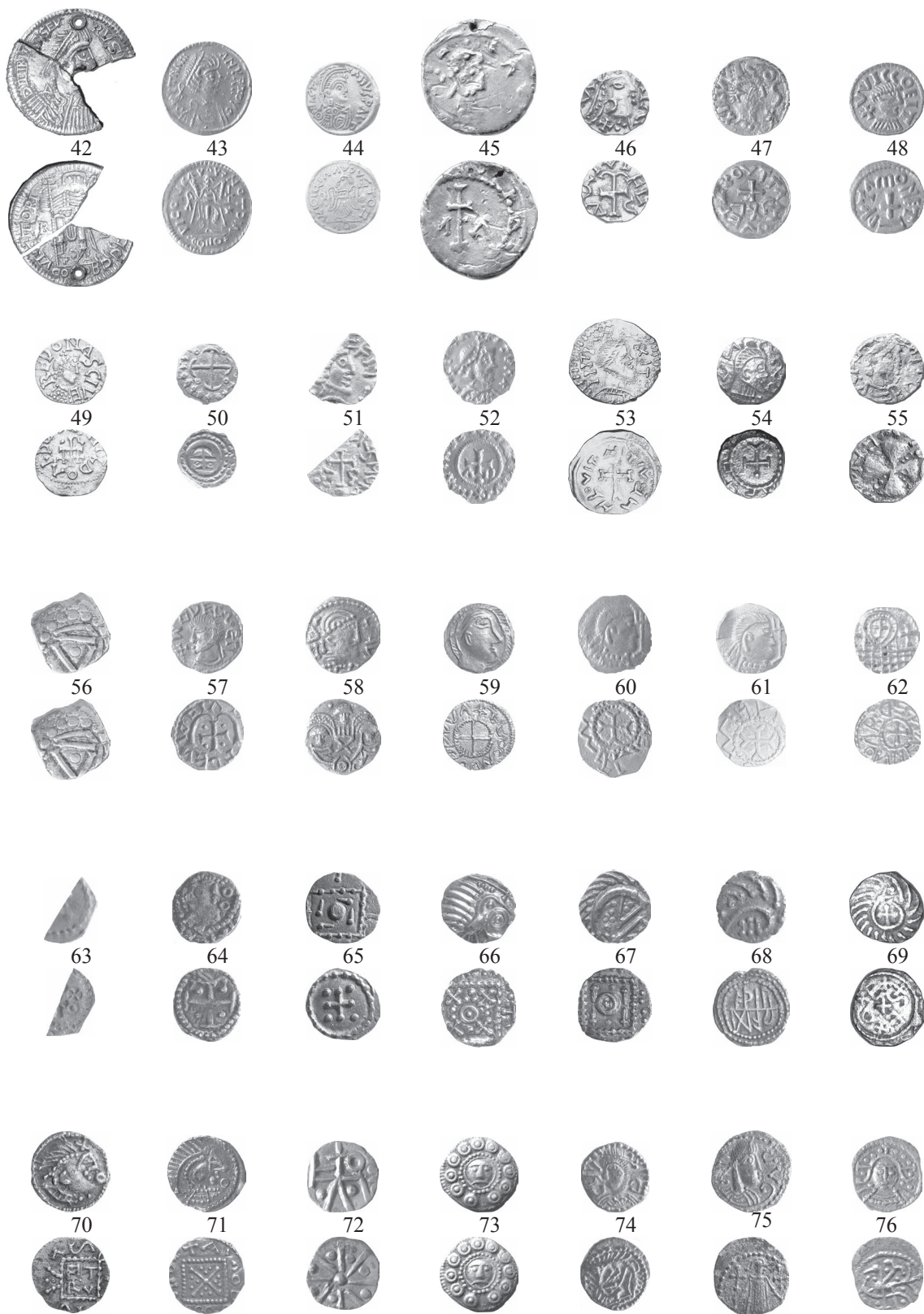


PLATE 7





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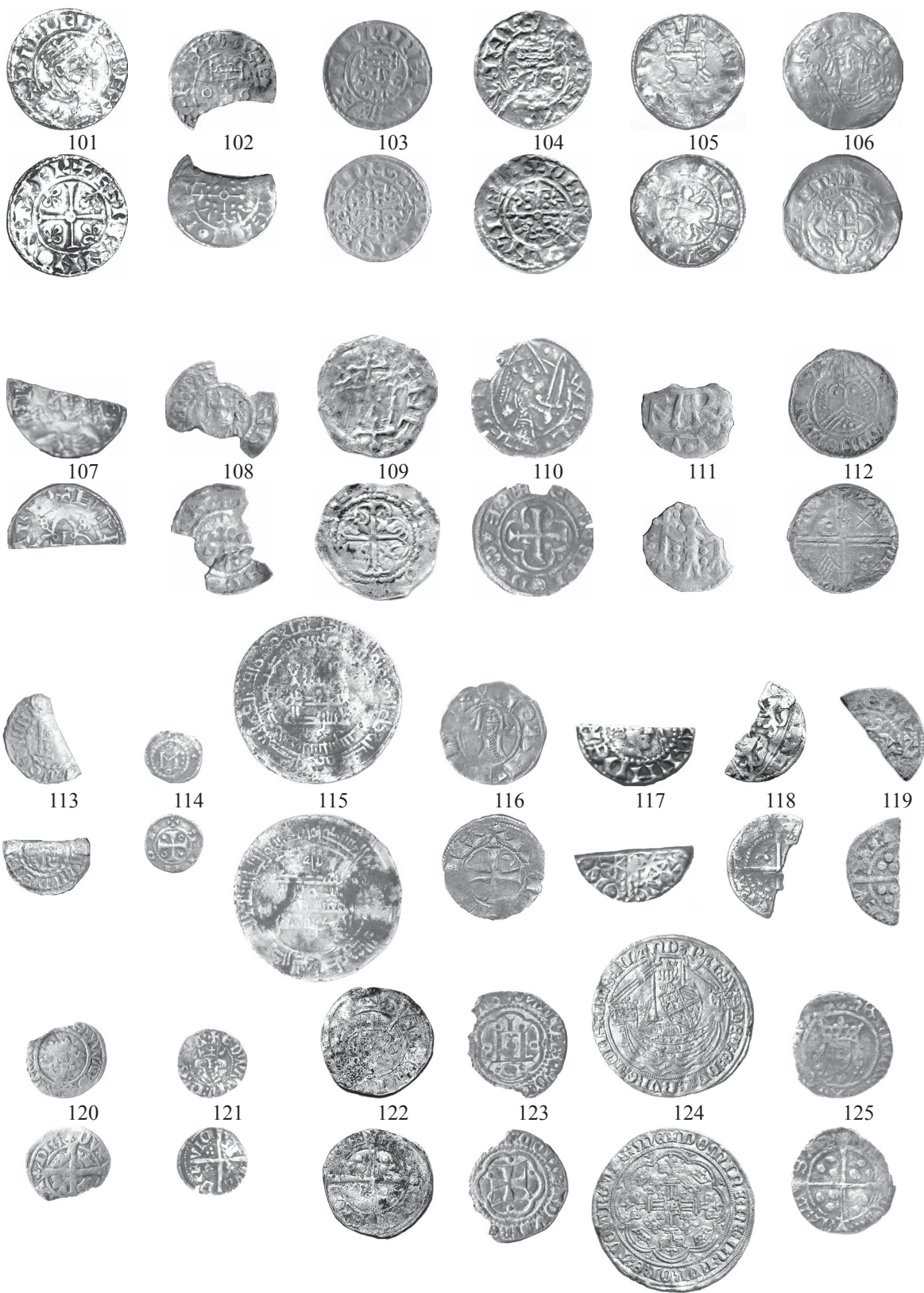
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PLATE 9



REVIEWS

Ancient British Coins, by Elizabeth Cottam, Philip de Jersey, Chris Rudd and John Sills (Aylsham: Chris Rudd, 2010), xi, 243 pp.

Ancient British Coins, or *ABC* as it prefers to be called, is without doubt a major addition to the published literature on the subject. The book does not seek to replace previous catalogues and narratives but as a catalogue it may well do just that. It is also an attractive and easy to use reference book.

ABC has three stated aims. The first is to make ancient British coins easier to identify, date and classify. The second is to compile a comprehensive and completely illustrated catalogue. The third aim is to boost the popularity of the subject via a simple and accessible catalogue designed for convenience. It has to be admitted that the first two aims have clearly been fulfilled, while the increasing use of *ABC* catalogue numbers alongside other standard catalogues would suggest that the third aim too is being fulfilled.

The book is aimed at a wide readership including collectors, scholars, dealers, museums and metal detectorists (or 'metdets' as they are called in the book). It is extremely well researched and incorporates the latest ideas and hypotheses on virtually all aspects of Iron Age numismatics. Dating, tribal attribution and function are all dealt with. In doing so, the authors draw on a very wide variety of research and also introduce their own hypotheses. Although the research is very thorough there is much that is unreferenced and, consequently, it is not always easy to know what is accepted theory, what is more hypothetical or what is speculative. The latter is particularly true with regards to issuing authority and areas of socio-political control (i.e. what may be called 'tribal' areas). For instance, we can not assume that some of the inscriptions the authors mention refer to the personal names of rulers, what the full names could be expanded to, or the meaning of such names. However, the book is generally well balanced and where the authors do give other alternative points of view, they often explain why they prefer a particular idea or opinion.

The book's prose style can best be described as light in tone rather than academic but to my mind this does not detract from it. The idea, presumably, is to make the book more accessible, although as a consequence it does come across as less authoritative. For example, when discussing the function of coins, they are seen as produced by monarchs to meet royal or elite needs 'not to pay Mrs. Serf's weekly grocery bill' (p. 8). The authors' discussion of why they use the term 'Ancient British' rather than Celtic, Pritanic, or Iron Age is illuminating. For example, 'Iron Age, though popular with archies, curators and nummi nerds, seems a strange way to label ancient British coins, which are chiefly atypical of the period' (p.9).

ABC sensibly divides the British coin issuing areas into seven geographic regions (plus two for Gallic imports), but it also attributes each issue to a named tribe, and admits that they like to sort the coins by tribe: 'we know the dangers of doing so, but deem it well worth the risk' (p. 7). Indeed, the inherent problems of doing this are well known. It is pointed out that 'Celtic linguists testify to the great antiquity of certain tribal names' (p. 7) yet it is far from certain how static either the groupings or their names were. By questioning this tribal approach I do, however, fall into the authors' category of 'nitpicking academic numismatists', but the authors do comment that tribal areas are ill-defined and, in some cases, may consist of loosely connected confederacies. Dating broadly follows the phases devised by Colin Haselgrove.¹ Each issue is given an approximate age bracket, thus avoiding inherent problems of trying to accurately date particular issues, when dating some issues even to a decade can be difficult.

The catalogue at the heart of the publication is very good indeed and claims, probably correctly, that it includes all Ancient British coin types recorded at the time of publication, consequently containing 418 types that do not appear in Van Arsdell's catalogue.² All 999 coins are illustrated twice life-size in very clear black and white photographs. The issues are divided up by region and/or tribe, denomination and given a date and area code. Each issue has its own distinct name which throws up some interesting terms like the Bagendon Beasts type, while the Braughing Dragon silver unit apparently depicts what 'is clearly a water-dragon, akin perhaps to the Lambton worm ... and the Loch Ness monster?' (p. 22). Each type is fully described and provided with a contextual background. Very usefully, a four-way concordance allows cross-referencing with all the other standard catalogues. There is also a statement of rarity, although the authors have earlier pointed out that to do this can be misleading and subject to rapid change if a substantial hoard of a particular type is recovered. Following the catalogue is a fast identifier section which illustrates all coins, life-size and ordered by metal, size and denomination. All images are close together enabling rapid identification. If you are unable to identify a coin from this there is even an email help line. Perhaps most useful to students and academics is a very thorough bibliography covering nearly everything published on the subject. It is also commendable that the book highlights the significance of the role of the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the Celtic Coin Index, and the importance of recording new finds and their find spots.

Overall this is a well produced and easy to use catalogue that will greatly aid anyone wanting to identify

¹ Haselgrove 1987.

² Van Arsdell 1989.

Ancient British coins. The background information on individual issues will help those wanting to know the background to the issues while the incorporation of previous research in a single volume and the addition of new thoughts can only help to advance the subject and stimulate discussion.

MARK CURTEIS

REFERENCES

- Haselgrove, C., 1987. *Iron Age Coinage in South-east England. The Archaeological Context*, BAR British Series 174 (Oxford).
 Van Arsdell, R. D., 1989. *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London).

Hoards, Hounds and Helmets: A Conquest-period Ritual Site at Hallaton, Leicestershire, by Vicki Score *et al.*, Leicester Archaeology Monograph 21 (Leicester: University of Leicester Archaeological Services, 2011), xvii, 302 pp.

It is now twelve years since Ken Wallace and his fellow members of the Hallaton Field Work Group were fieldwalking ploughed fields in the parishes of Slawston and Hallaton. Having recorded late Iron Age and Roman pottery and a scatter of animal bones on the ploughed surface of one field, Ken took his metal detector back there and, over the next few days, recovered more than 200 silver coins, which he reported to the authorities. Most were identified as Late Iron Age coins of the Corieltavi. To protect the site from possible illegal metal detecting, excavation of the key areas commenced in secrecy in 2001 and continued over the next four years. This eagerly awaited book describes those excavations and discusses the archaeology and interpretation of the site.

The usual format of a modern archaeological report is followed, initially describing the area, the results of the fieldwalking and geophysical surveys of the site. There follows a detailed description of the excavations that, among other things, revealed a complex archaeology with many coin deposits and pits packed with pig bones. Plans of the site and its excavated features are interspersed with excellent photographs of key finds, many given a human scale by the inclusion of members of the excavation team or their hands. The nature of the site, and its deposits of coins, bones and associated artefacts (such as a Roman parade helmet and silver bowl), are reviewed against temple sites of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age (LPRIA), while the possible identification of at least part of the boundary ditch as the bedding trench for a palisade or screen is compared with palisades on temple sites such as Hayling Island. The conclusion that this must have been a ritual site is quickly reached without mention of possible alternative interpretations, and one is left with the impression that this is a 'no brainer' with further comment unnecessary. However, no matter how obvious this interpretation may seem (and surely some ritual dimension is indicated), several anomalous features suggest that this is not the whole story, and other interpretations should at least have been considered.

An excellent report on the extensive bone deposits by Jennifer Browning identifies 97 per cent as pig, removing the assemblage from any domestic context. By contrast, bone assemblages from LPRIA temple sites are more commonly sheep/goat and, even where pig bones are present, these are more selective in their skeletal origin. Pigs generally produce a significantly higher percentage of edible protein per live weight than sheep/goats or cattle and are associated with feasting in Celtic myth.¹ But, notwithstanding the discovery of a cast bronze handle with La Tène style decoration and possible fragments of bronze sheathing from a wooden tankard in ploughsoil associated with the bones, 'The Hallaton evidence does not neatly fit simplistic models of either "feasting" or "sacrifice"', (p. 135). So what other interpretations should have been considered? The sub-title of the book *A Conquest-period Ritual Site at Hallaton, Leicestershire* might suggest one. The events of the period between the early occupation of Trinovantian territory and the submission of the Corieltavian people to the invading Roman army, are great unknowns. The slow progression of the Roman advance towards the Humber was probably held back by opposition from mobile guerrilla forces, perhaps led by Caratacus himself, and one wonders whether Hallaton, with its possible palisade and evidence of votive offerings and feasting could also have been a major rallying point for opposition to the Roman army.

While the majority of the book is well written and informative, the sections on the coinage are disappointing. Ian Leins tells us that Roman coins were present in eight of the fourteen hoards found to the west of an entranceway in the boundary ditch, the latest being an unworn *denarius* of Claudius struck in AD 41–42, but 'As we cannot detect substantial differences in the Iron Age components of the entranceway hoards ... it is highly probable that they were all deposited in c. AD 43–50' (pp. 40–1). However, apart from the first part of this statement being debatable, Leins's dates are perhaps open to question in certain instances. His chronology for local coin production has 'Early bimetallic uninscribed coinage (Ferriby gold and prototype silver)' as his second period and 'Late uninscribed coinage (Kite and Domino gold and later boar/horse silver)' as his third. But the Kite and Domino gold is separate from the 'Ferriby' gold, having a more northerly distribution, while evidence from the 1908 South Ferriby hoard shows us that his Ferriby gold and later boar/horse silver are contemporary. His intuitive belief that the ratio of uninscribed to inscribed North-Eastern coins in the Celtic Coin Index is somehow proportional to the length of time each of these coin groups was in production is also open to question, as careful analysis will demonstrate. His analysis of the dating implications of the stratified Roman coins in the hoards is also problematic, this time due to the low statistical significance of the small numbers of Roman *denarii* found in the different hoards. Then, in his discussion of the various coin types, Leins tells us that 'The main inscribed coinages show a degree of inscriptional variation, ... which hints at their engraver's (*sic*) basic lack of understanding of the Latin alphabet and language' (p. 47), and this

¹ Green 1992, 17–18.

becomes a theme throughout his analysis of the coin types. Although Leins argues that his Aun 1 coinage was 'struck from the same worn obverse dies employed for the latest uninscribed coins' (p. 49) and offers, as proof, a coin on which possible 'boar legs' can be seen, his 'boar legs' appear more likely to be the result of a die clash. Similarly, he avers that one of his **VEPOC** coins was struck from an obverse die used for Aun 1 'with something adhered to its surface [*that*] produces coins with a distinct 'bean'-shaped indent' (pp. 49–50). However, not only do his 'bean'-shaped indents have different sizes, they are merely ghost images of the horses' chests on the coins' reverse sides.

Leins presents his typology for the North-Eastern coinage in Appendix I, although the reasoning behind his partition of the coin types is unexplained and his descriptions contain some factual errors. Several types are defined to accommodate as few as one coin (e.g. Vep 9b) while others include so many variants that one is left with the impression that they were defined to 'round up' all the remaining coins of that denomination that didn't seem to fit anywhere else (e.g. his Vep 2a and Vep 2b types). A coin of his Vep 9a type, which he references as new, is in the British Museum collection.² There are some errors and omissions in Leins's catalogue of the Hallaton coins (e.g. his numbers 99, 859, 952, 1745, 1907, 1932, 1933, 4240, 4319, 4600, 4601, 4602, 4607, 4610 and 4615 are all one type, but ten are listed as Aun 1 and five are listed as Aun 1b, three have (pellet ring below tail) after the type, one has (var) here and eleven have no comment). Although, in his typology, Leins uses the useful convention of spacing elements of the legend to indicate their position above the horse, below its belly, between its forelegs and in front of its forelegs, he dispenses with this convention for his catalogue, only leaving a space between the upper and lower elements (and even that disappears for his Iisuprasu 1 type – after coin 3357, **IISVP RASV** becoming **IISVPRASV**). It would have been helpful if the North-Eastern coins Leins illustrates had been referenced to his catalogue numbers.

Overall, this book was worth waiting for, although Colin Haselgrove and I would have to disagree over elements of 'Leins's careful analysis' (p. 169).

GEOFF COTTAM

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 Hobbs, R., 1996. *British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum* (London).

Studies in Early Medieval Coinage 2: New Perspectives, edited by Tony Abramson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 261 pp.

TONY Abramson has for more than three decades been a leading organiser and facilitator in the field of medieval numismatics, lending his skills and energy to the

Yorkshire Numismatic Society and to the focus of his collecting interest: the early Anglo-Saxon coinage. This volume is one of several which have resulted from his dedication, and presents the proceedings of the second of (at the time of writing) four biennial symposia on early medieval coinage arranged by Tony at Cambridge and Leeds since 2006. The particular symposium on which *New Perspectives* is based took place in Leeds in 2008, under the auspices of the International Medieval Congress, and attracted a considerable audience of historians and archaeologists as well as numismatists. The symposia organised by Tony at the IMC have benefited considerably from the increased exposure offered by a major academic gathering, and the breadth of the 2008 audience is reflected in the scope of the papers offered here, which showcase ways in which the coinage can be used to shed new light onto aspects of early medieval history, culture and society. This is particularly apparent with the first six papers in the volume. Michael Metcalf ('English Money, Foreign Money. The Circulation of Tremisses and Sceattas in the East Midlands and the Monetary Role of "Productive Sites"') provides a characteristically incisive dissection of the implications of finds from one part of England, finding an unusually high proportion of foreign coins (especially at productive sites) that might betoken trade links spanning the North Sea. Tony Abramson ('The De Wit Collection of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge') picks out highlights from a major new acquisition by the Fitzwilliam of over 450 top-quality *sceattas*. This superb collection includes many rare and unique specimens, and Tony quite rightly highlights the exhibition based on it – 'Anglo-Saxon Art in the Round' – which visitors to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Norwich Castle Museum and Ipswich Town Hall Galleries may have seen in 2008–09. Catherine Karkov ('The Boat and the Cross: Church and State in Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage') and Anna Gannon ('Coins, Images and Tales from the Holy Land: Questions of Theology and Orthodoxy') both address the religious iconography of *sceattas*. Gannon's previous research into this subject has left little doubt of the strong Christian overtones found in the *sceattas* iconography,¹ but these two explorations show how much more there is to the subject. Here, Gannon looks especially to a selection of facing images, which she suggests might be representations of Christ and the Virgin Mary, while Karkov delves into images of ships and the metaphorical meanings they impart. A different approach is taken in this reviewer's paper ('Kingship and Learning on the Broad Penny Coinage of the "Mercian Supremacy"'), in which I survey how kings involved themselves with the issuing of coin in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The role kings took in managing coin-production emerges as far from straightforward, and there was considerable room for influence from moneyers, clergy and others. The last paper in this first section (Wybrand op den Velde and Michael Metcalf, 'Series E Reconsidered') is a summarized prelude to a major new study of the 'porcupine' *sceattas*, which has since appeared in two volumes of the *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde*.² This vast and complex

² Hobbs 1996, 183, no. 3308.

¹ Gannon 2003.

² Metcalf and op den Velde 2009–10.

coinage has been a challenge to numismatists for centuries, and in these two publications op den Velde and Metcalf put forward solutions to many of the problems posed by Series E. In particular, differences in weight standard seem to betray two distinct groups within the series, probably to be associated with different mint-places.

The final four papers adapted from the original symposium in Leeds all concern later coinages, principally of the early tenth-century viking kingdoms set up in northern England. The catalyst behind this burst of activity was the 2007 discovery (and subsequent acquisition by the British Museum) of the 'Vale of York' hoard: a find of over 600 coins and other objects concealed in a silver pot around 928. Gareth Williams and Barry Ager, who have been at the forefront of analysing the hoard, join forces to provide a list of its contents ('The Vale of York Viking Hoard: Preliminary Catalogue'), and both provide a further contribution on aspects of its interpretation. Williams provides an overview of what the 'Vale of York' hoard has to say about coinage and circulation in northern England in the 920s ('Coinage and Monetary Circulation in the Northern Danelaw in the 920s in the Light of the Vale of York Hoard'), while Ager ('A Preliminary Note on the Artefacts from the Vale of York Viking Hoard') comments on the origins and parallels of items of metalwork. Megan Gooch's paper ('Viking Kings, Political Power and Monetisation') complements those on the 'Vale of York' hoard by opening up wider perspectives on the meaning of coinage in Viking-Age Britain, and on what its issue and designs might reveal about the authorities behind it.

As in the first volume of *Studies in Early Medieval Coinage*, contributions are not restricted just to those delivered at the corresponding symposium. In this case five further papers are provided. Three, those by Mike Bonser ('The "North of England" Productive Site Revisited'), James Booth ('Notes on the Keith Chapman Collection of Northumbrian Silver Sceattas: c. 700–c. 788') and Tony Abramson ('BNJ Coin Register Sceatta Index'), provide largely self-explanatory catalogues of important numismatic material. The other two are brief notices of intriguing new finds. Stewart Lyon ('The Earliest Signed Penny of Cricklade: a Local Find of Edgar's "Circumscription Cross" Issue') highlights a rare single-find of a coin of the tenth century, in this case the first known with a mint-signature from Cricklade, which was discovered within five miles of the mint of origin. Finally, Arent Pol ('A Square Madelinus from Katwijk: Trial Piece or Die Cleaner?') draws attention to a lead object probably identifiable as a trial piece used in the production of imitative gold tremisses in the seventh century. Trial pieces – unlike coins – stood little chance of being transported long distances before being deposited, so that one can be confident that the find-spot of this object (Katwijk) lies very close to the location where the imitative coins were being made.

The editor has, in short, done it again: he has produced a handsome and well put-together volume which demonstrates the vibrancy of early medieval numismatic studies. Abramson's series is setting a precedent for effectively combining academic research and numismatic resources, all packaged with great professionalism by Boydell & Brewer. Images are generally of high

quality – higher overall than in the previous volume in the series – though there is some fluctuation, not least in the material assembled (probably from diverse sources) by Mike Bonser. Also, Karkov's paper would have benefited from the use of photographs rather than simplified line drawings. In Naismith's paper one pair of images has erroneously been repeated. The omission of an index is unfortunate, but defensible in a volume of this nature. Overall, this is a book which will be of value and interest to all those with an interest in early medieval coinage and its interpretation.

R. NAISMITH

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The Coinage of Southern England, 796–865, by Rory Naismith, BNS Special Publication 8, 2 vols. (London: Spink, 2011), 174 + 413pp., 104 plates.

It is a real pleasure to welcome this two-volume corpus of the coinage minted in southern England between the death of Offa (796) and the arrival of the Great Army (865). Dr Naismith has succeeded in gathering up almost 3,000 specimens, and has presented the material immaculately, accompanied by a most thorough overall analysis in terms of varieties, dies and die-duplication, metrology, fineness, and moneyer complement and continuity at each of the mint-places. Some twenty-seven known hoards are summarized in terms of his classification, and there is a rich body of evidence of single finds (complete with its own index), which permits a regional study of monetary circulation. The lay-out and printing of the monograph are to the highest possible standard, and the Society may well be proud to have sponsored and to have done justice to work of this calibre, which appears as Special Publication no. 8. Each variety is illustrated by a chosen specimen placed alongside its description in the catalogue – a luxury made practicable by modern technology – and the whole body of accessible material is illustrated on 104 plates, containing almost 2,500 coins. The standard of photography is admirable. What a splendid achievement. Dr Naismith is to be warmly congratulated on his care and hard work, and on setting such a very high standard of presentation and analysis.

The catalogue is organized in terms of types, i.e. designs which, to the numismatist, are recognizably different from each other. (This does not imply that the differences were particularly significant to the issuing authorities, nor to the users.) Each type or variety is known from anything from one up to a dozen or more specimens. Thus (to take an example) the work of the London mint, up until 852, runs to 88 varieties or sub-varieties, known from 200 surviving specimens. These were struck from 156 known obverse dies and 163

known reverse dies: all the information is beautifully tabulated. Statistical estimation suggests a central estimate of 815 obverse dies and 1,115 reverse dies. Thus, only about a fifth of the dies originally used are represented among the coins known today: this may come as something of a surprise. Most of the coins are still singletons. The sources of the material are sufficiently diverse for us to be confident that for most purposes the corpus can safely be treated as a random sample. Nevertheless, much may still come to light through future finds, including plenty of new varieties over and above the eighty-eight now on record. For the general historian wishing to form a judgement on the place of the coinage in the economic life of southern England, the key figure is the estimate of 1,115 reverse dies – subject to margins of statistical variation of course, but deserving of a reasonably confident acceptance as a ball-park figure.

The same meticulous steps of tabulation can be followed through for mints other than London, namely Canterbury, Rochester, the East Anglian mint (? Ipswich), and the Wessex mint (Winchester or Southampton). Again, for the general historian the key figures (from Table IIIb) are the central estimates of the original total numbers of reverse dies over the seventy-year period: for Canterbury 4,970, for Rochester 1,065 obverses, for East Anglia 1,680, and for Wessex 350. (The ratio of reverse to obverse dies was generally somewhere between one and two.)

Armed with the information that the currency was produced from an estimated 9,180 reverse dies (Canterbury 54%, East Anglia 18%, London 12%, Rochester 12%, Wessex 4%) one can then go on to a regional analysis of the single finds, to discover how the mix differed from the over-all proportions, in different regions, and thus how freely the coins from the different mint-places mingled in circulation. Was there a contrast in proportions between north-of-Thames and south-of-Thames? What were the mints of origin, in the East Anglian currency? Was Wessex more self-contained than other regions? And so on. For the historian, the degree of diffusion of the currency is almost more telling than the sheer volume of the coinage, which could in theory have lain unused in people's treasure-chests. The two aspects taken together offer an irrefutable 'bottom line' for the economic history of ninth-century southern England. The single finds create wonderful opportunities for analysis; and once the main perspectives have been established, more subtle local divergences may be noticed. Another project: armed with these percentage figures, one can look at the composition of the (larger of the) twenty-seven hoards, to see whether they are typical of the region where they were found.

And of course one can slice the cake in the other direction, adding the coins of all mints together, in order to look at how mint-output varied chronologically during the seventy-year period, and whether the variation differed between different mint-places. Histograms are called for. (This will not be quite the same thing as the volume of the currency at any particular moment, because older coins remained in circulation for varying lengths of time.) Again, a surprise: at London, output jumped dramatically upwards from 840 onwards (and moneyer complement rose with it).

It is a signal merit of Dr Naismith's monograph, that it provides a perfect platform from which to go forward. As new finds come to light, they can be taken into account. There's no need to go chasing references, or checking dies for duplication, it's all there, in these two volumes. A landmark achievement.

MICHAEL METCALF

Money and Power in Anglo-Saxon England. The Southern English Kingdoms 757–865, by Rory Naismith, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 351 pp.

MERCIA's progressive rise to hegemony south of the Humber was not fuelled by money. The old Mercian heartland in the West Midlands lay very much on the outer fringes of the zone of southern and eastern England where coinage circulated plentifully. Rather, the Mercian kings pursued their expansionist policies by force of arms, rewarding their followers with land. The kings of East Anglia, within whose realm a money economy had for a long time flourished, were not thereby empowered to withstand Mercian ambition. This is textbook stuff, much simplified, but nevertheless to the point. Rory Naismith's title is eye-catching by being rather unexpected. Had there been a sea-change in the role of money by 757, his starting-date?

In fact the title is to some extent misleading. If the book had been called *A Guide or A Handbook to the Coinages of the Southern English Kingdoms, 757–865*, that would have given the reader a fairer idea of what to expect, namely a companion-volume for Naismith's excellent two-volume work, *The Coinage of Southern England, 796–865*, published the previous year. *Money and Power*, written with historians and other non-numismatists in mind, takes them (and us) systematically through aspects of the coinage, viz. its iconography (admirably illustrated with new material); the development of royal control over minting, and progressive unification of the coinage, to become a truly national, English coinage; die-cutting and the role of the moneyers; technical aspects of the study of weight- and alloy standards; the volume of output and the scale of the currency; and monetary circulation in the various regions as documented by finds. All this tills the ground for an up-to-date consideration of money and power, but it scarcely addresses the subject proposed.

Kings obviously controlled the designs on the coinages of their kingdom, placing their name and title, and in some cases their portrait, on the coins. This jealously guarded privilege of royalty was shared with the archbishop of Canterbury (and possibly, on a trivial scale, with one or two other ecclesiastics). This sharing, which was presumably done in order to give the archbishop a cash income, may have been a hangover from the period of the sceattas, to which Naismith gives quite a lot of backward glances, e.g. as regards their iconography, even though it lies outside his remit. Offa, conspicuously, placed his portrait on many of the coins. Was his coinage under tighter royal control than what had gone before? Was the introduction of the broad penny a moment of change in that respect too?

How control was exercised, why it seemed so important, and what it amounted to are obviously key questions. If we ask ourselves how Æthelred II (978–1016), for example, controlled the complex and sophisticated coinages of his realm in the Viking Age, the answer seems to be, administratively with a very light touch. Were things all that different in the eighth/ninth centuries? In other words, was control effective while leaving few footprints for the modern historian to discover? We assume, with pitifully little in the way of contemporary written evidence, that the king took a cut from the minting process, either in fees as a per capita tax on mint-output. As indicated above, it seems unlikely that this profit margin was a major source of royal power, although it would be welcome.

After coins had been minted, and had left the exchange, was their circulation in any way open to exploitation by royal power? A monetary economy no doubt facilitated the collection of tolls on foreign trade, at the sea-ports, for example. But did ninth-century people pay per capita taxes? These are exceptionally difficult questions to ask on the basis of a database of the coins themselves. As a Guide or Handbook to the coinage, however, his book can be recommended as an interesting read.

MICHAEL METCALF

Viking Coinage and Currency in the British Isles, by Mark Blackburn, BNS Special Publication 7 (London: British Numismatic Society, 2011), xii, 416 pp.

THE production of this remarkable book was the last major project completed by the late Mark Blackburn (1953–2011) in the face of encroaching illness. Its genesis lay in the decision taken by Dr Blackburn in 2004, when he assumed the Presidency of the British Numismatic Society, to devote his presidential address to the coinage and monetary circulation in those areas of Britain and Ireland controlled or settled by Scandinavians, as well as adjoining areas whose monetary economies were most influenced by the Scandinavians. The lectures (I–V) that he delivered on this theme form the heart of the book, and twenty pages have been added to bring the material up to date. Their subject matter ranges from the earliest Danelaw coinages (I) to the two sovereign kingdoms of East Anglia and York (II) and the Dublin coinage from c.995 (IV), with a survey of the circulation of coins in coastal areas from Scotland, Man and other western regions of Scandinavian Britain (III) and finally a more general assessment of the Scandinavian contribution to the monetary history of the British Isles (V).

These five lectures are followed by ten other items which pursue their various themes in greater depth. The first three of them are concerned with early coins from the Danelaw south of the Humber (VI, from the Proceedings of the Viking Congress of 1997) and VII from those of the 1986 London International Congress, plus the 1989 report in the *British Numismatic Journal* (VIII) on the key hoard from Ashdon in Essex, buried in the late 1990s, from what may be called the imitative phase of Anglo-Viking coinage. In these and later papers, Blackburn explored what he called the co-existence of two contrasting forms of monetary economy, one the

‘bullion’, or ‘money-weight economy’ as prevalent in Scandinavia and the other a classic coin economy as practised in the Anglo Saxon kingdoms.

Then there are two articles (IX and X) on the hundreds of finds from the productive site of the Vikings camp at Torksey, Lincolnshire, occupied by the Great Army in the winter of 872–73, a subject which, despite failing health, Blackburn was still actively pursuing in the last months of his life. The first distinctive ‘national’ coinages of the Danish areas appeared towards the end of the ninth century and in the early tenth; that of York naming kings Siefred and Cnut, are treated in articles XII and XIII, and the East Anglian series in the name of the martyred king Edmund (XI, co-authored by Hugh Pagan). Finally, item number XV suggests the possibility of an as yet unidentified mint in the Irish Sea area in the 11th century.

These articles naturally concentrate on those aspects and series that have been less fully covered hitherto, and Blackburn now opens up new avenues for study and reflection. For example, he argues that the powerful Christian iconography and inscriptions of the regime at York from c.895 may have been designed to convey, not only a message of economic reliability and strong government, but also one addressed to both its own people and to the neighbouring countries that it can be counted as a member of the circle of Western Christian states.

Blackburn was a pioneer in the systematic recording of single finds and their interpretation, a task that has been of increasing importance as metal detecting has become more widespread and intensive over the last thirty years. His great strength was to be equally effective in the use of technical numismatic processes, as in exploring the wider fields of monetary history. The volume is full of detailed descriptions of the coins, their varying literacy, metrology, provenance and so on, but also of new historical and cultural ideas. Blackburn’s insights will surely give encouragement and impetus to the work of his successors in Anglo-Viking studies, and the present book will take its place alongside Dolley’s work on Viking Age Hoards in the 1960s, as one of the most significant staging posts in that on going process.

Mark Blackburn was the most distinguished early medieval numismatist of his generation. With his death, we mourn the passing of a great friend and colleague, but with abundant gratitude to him for this book and for the richness of the legacy that he has left us.

LORD STEWARTBY

The Ipswich Mint c. 973–c. 1210. Volume I: Eadgar to the End of Aethelred II c. 973–c. 1016, by J.C. Sadler (Ipswich: J.C. Sadler, 2010), 156 pp.

THIS privately-produced volume represents a genuine labour of love: a detailed, thorough and highly personal account of the coinage of Anglo-Saxon Ipswich. It bears the firm imprint of its author, John Sadler, long known in the numismatic community as the leading aficionado of Ipswich’s monetary history. Every page reflects the devotion and enthusiasm with which he has approached the subject over the course of four decades. Readers whose interests lie, for example, with the Anglo-Saxons

rather than with Ipswich specifically might be surprised to find the volume concluding with eighteen somewhat eclectic pages of 'Ipswich Par anumismatics', which have nothing to do with the early Middle Ages; instead, one finds medals, tokens and badges with some sort of Ipswich connection, dating from the seventeenth to twenty-first centuries.

The bulk of the volume, however, consists of a catalogue of coins bearing the mint-signature of Ipswich struck between King Edgar's reform of c.973 and the death of Æthelred II in 1016. This book is the first in a series aimed at covering the entire history of the mint down to its end in the thirteenth century. Discussion in this volume of the possibility of minting in Ipswich before Edgar's reform is only tangential, although it is acknowledged with the appearance of a Series R sceat among the cover illustrations, and the author alludes to the maintenance of a catalogue of coins of the independent kings of East Anglia. Within the bounds of coins which can unambiguously be attributed to Ipswich, Sadler's coverage is impressively broad. In addition to the material in the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, he has obtained details and high-quality images of coins in the British Museum, the Royal Coin Cabinet at Stockholm and from a wide range of private dealers and collectors. For the latter in particular Sadler is to be especially praised, as it is only through long cultivation of friendships and common interests that one builds up the volume of information seen here. The likelihood is that very few coins have escaped his careful search of public and private collections across Britain, Europe and north America.

Sadler's material reveals Ipswich to have been a mint of no small significance. Overall, he counts some 341 surviving coins, struck from 105 obverse and 96 reverse dies; the die-totals might be adjusted slightly if all cut halfpennies and farthings were die-matched, which they apparently have not been in every case. These coins were made by about seventeen moneyers, with a maximum of six known in any one type (Æthelred's *First Hand* type); more often Ipswich seems to have been home to one or two moneyers at any particular point, though in *Last Small Cross* there may have been another resurgence, with five moneyers known. One awaits Sadler's second volume to find out the subsequent development of the mint. Nevertheless, a mint-study of a mid-size Anglo-Saxon mint is extremely valuable to Anglo-Saxon numismatics. Ipswich opens up a window onto one of the more prosperous regional mints, and has major potential to inform wider views of the state of the monetary economy. For its numismatic significance Sadler's study bears comparison with John Mossop's work on Lincoln or Yvonne Harvey's on Winchester, and it is to be fondly hoped that further studies – for instance of similar-sized mints in other regions of the kingdom – may be inspired by this achievement.

While Sadler must be warmly congratulated on the culmination of what has clearly been a lifetime of diligent study, he is the first to admit, in his preface, that this book 'is ... written without the constraints of educated people or intellectuals'. It bears the hallmarks of a less-than-formal progression into print. There is no list of contents, and although a student familiar with late Anglo-Saxon numismatics has little difficulty navigating the volume, additional guidance might have been

advisable. Other areas too would have benefited from editorial involvement. The reader will search in vain for a complete tabulation of how many coins are actually listed in the volume, and the various diagrams and tables presented at the end of the book – while useful – are not as fully integrated with the preceding material as might have been desired. References are few and not always clearly cited. Sadler assembles a quirky selection of introductory material, written in a garrulous style, with many asides on his own reasons for devoting so much time and energy to numismatics alongside a successful career as a maker of fine furniture. Yet these pages serve to personalise the volume in a way which is not always seen with more formal publications. Sadler's study of Ipswich shines above all with enthusiasm for the subject, love for the town and a justifiable eagerness to commit the information he has gathered to print – taken as such, and with proper respect to the value of the information he has gathered, it is a noteworthy publication in the field of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, and a major landmark in writing on the numismatic history of Ipswich.

R. NAISMITH

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 60. *Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Part II. Anglo-Saxon Coins 1016–1066*, by the late V.M. Potin (London, for the British Academy by Oxford University Press and Spink, 2012), lx, 118 pp., 48 plates.

THIS excellent volume makes available images and descriptions of 1,134 coins struck between the accession of Cnut in 1016 and the death of Harold II at the battle of Hastings in 1066. Of these, 876 are of Cnut, respectively of his *Quatrefoil* type (394 coins), his *Pointed Helmet* type (276 coins) and of his *Short Cross* type (206 coins). There follow 109 coins of Harold I, of which 1 is of *Short Cross* type (very rare indeed for this reign), 51 are of *Jewel Cross* type, and 57 are of *Fleur-de-Lis* type; 24 coins of Harthacnut, of which 7 are of *Jewel Cross* type, 16 are of *Arm and Sceptre* type, and 1 is an *Arm and Sceptre/Jewel Cross* mule; 118 coins of Edward the Confessor, predominantly of the first five types of his reign; and 7 coins of the *PAX* type of Harold II. It should be pointed out that the Harthacnut total given here is 17 less, and the Edward the Confessor total 17 more, than a quick reading of the volume might suggest, for by an uncharacteristic typographical mishap all the coins of Edward the Confessor's first type, *PACX*, have been inadvertently assigned to Harthacnut.

The number of coins in the present volume which are by moneyers not previously recorded, whether for mints or for types, is not large, for, as one would expect, coins of English mints that reached Russia by trade or as booty during the later Anglo-Saxon period seem to have been predominantly struck at such larger towns and cities as Lincoln, London, Stamford, Thetford, Winchester and York, for which the roster of moneyers is already tolerably complete. Nonetheless the volume evidences new moneyers in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type for Hereford (coin 74), London (204), Southwark (284–5), Stamford (296), Sudbury (302), Tamworth (305) and Wallingford (321); in the *Pointed Helmet* type for

Hertford (433) and Warwick (628); and in the *Short Cross* type for Canterbury (678) and London (753, 757).

The coin of *Short Cross* type for Harold I is by a moneyer at London who is new for the type (877), and there are new moneyers in Harold's *Jewel Cross* type for Gloucester (894) and for a mint which may be Norwich or Hertford (921–2), as well as a new moneyer at Rochester in his *Fleur-de-Lis* type (977). There are also new moneyers for Edward the Confessor's *PACX* type at Guildford (1013) and at Rochester (1032), and new moneyers for his *Radiate/Small Cross* type at Canterbury (1027), for his *Expanding Cross* type at London (1085), and for his *Sovereign/Eagles* type at Canterbury (1107) and, possibly, London (1110). Finally, a new coin of Edward's *Transitional Pointed Helmet* type (1100), one of only three coins of the type so far recorded, is by a moneyer Ulfcytl (Ulfketill), who may have worked at Bedford or at York, and in either case is new for the type.

All of this is helpfully indicated in the text which accompanies the plates, where the user of the volume will also find much meticulously recorded information on die-identities, both within the volume and with coins published in previous *SCBI* volumes. Credit for all this belongs, as in *SCBI* 50 (Hermitage I), to the unstinting labours of Bill Lean, and the volume will be an essential resource for any one with a serious interest in the later Anglo-Saxon coinage, and especially for students of the coinage of Cnut.

Rather less helpful is the fact that although the provenances of the coins are stated both on the text pages themselves and on pages devoted to 'collectors and dealers' (pp. 1–2) and to an 'index of finds' (p. 102), there is no explicit discussion in the present volume either of the way in which the Hermitage coin collection has been assembled or of the overall composition of any of the hoards from which coins in this volume derive. For information of this nature it is necessary to consult the introductory pages of *SCBI* 50, and the reader will discover when doing so that although these pages provide much indispensable data about the history of the Hermitage collection, the coin-specific information given there relates, understandably, only to coins that were included in that volume.

So far as the present volume is concerned, the majority of the coins, leaving aside some 370 that come from known hoards, either derive from what might be described as the *ancien fonds* of the Hermitage collection, i.e. the older core of the collection assembled from various sources from 1764 onwards, without recorded provenances for individual coins, or from one or other of two substantial private collections: that formed by Jakob Reichel (1780–1856), purchased for the Hermitage Museum from his heirs after his death, and that formed by the aristocratic Stroganov family, confiscated from them after the Russian Revolution in October 1917.

As explained in *SCBI* 50, both Reichel and the Stroganov family bought extensively from sources outside Russia, and in Reichel's case some specific evidence survives for purchases by him at London coin sales and from London coin dealers. Seemingly the evidence for such purchases by Reichel only relates to coins that are listed in *SCBI* 50, but among the Hermitage's 34 coins of types from Edward the Confessor's *Pointed Helmet*

type onwards, as many as 16 or 17 are ex Reichel, and it may easily be conjectured that most, if not all of these, were acquired by Reichel from London, since coins of the later types of Edward the Confessor and of Harold II are not found in any appreciable quantity in Scandinavia or in the Baltic region. Indeed, just one of the 34 coins concerned derives from a known Russian coin hoard, the remainder being unprovenanced or ex Stroganov, and this may be a pointer to the fact that some of the unprovenanced coins concerned may also derive from the British Isles rather than from within the borders of the Russian empire.

It is important to draw attention to the possible non-Russian provenance both of some of Reichel's coins and of other coins besides, for a glance at the provenances of coins in this volume of Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type shows that the collection contains coins of this type ex Reichel from such West Midland and South-Western mints as Chester, Crewkerne, Gloucester, Hereford, Shaftesbury and Taunton, and which are not obviously pecked. It is certainly not impossible that these should derive from Russian hoards, but coins from these areas of England are rather less likely than those struck elsewhere in England to have reached Russia by the normal processes of trade, and there was a very large hoard of coins of this type probably found around 1780 just outside Gloucester, from which specimens would still have been available for Reichel to acquire from the London coin trade in the middle of the nineteenth century. Students would thus be unwise to take it for granted that all of the coins just mentioned – or, for that matter, some of the other coins of this or of subsequent types that are without known Russian hoard provenances (whether ex Reichel or ex Stroganov or unprovenanced) – were necessarily found on Russian soil.

Finally, to get back on to slightly securer evidential footing, it is striking that all 17 of the coins of Edward the Confessor's *Expanding Cross* type listed in the present volume (coins 1083–99) are of the 'light' rather than of the 'heavy' phase of the type. Although 8 of these are ex Reichel or are without provenance, the remaining 9 are from the Vikhmyaz and Lodeinoe Pole III hoards, in both of which these are the latest Anglo-Saxon coins. The absence of coins of the 'heavy' phase of this type both from these hoards and from the collection as a whole is in its own small way an indicator of the improbability of the hypothesis that the 'heavy' phase of this type preceded the 'light' phase, although it is fair to say that the case for such a hypothesis will eventually be decided one way or the other on different and stronger grounds.

HUGH PAGAN

Markets, Trade and Economic Development in England and Europe, 1050–1550, by Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), xviii, 330 pp.

THIS very welcome volume contains a collection of twenty-one papers by Richard Britnell, one of this country's leading medieval economic historians. Twenty appeared between 1966 and 2001 in a variety of journals and multi-authored volumes, but one (no. XIX: 'Urban economic regulation and economic morality in

medieval England') is hitherto unpublished. All will be of interest to readers interested in the development of the medieval English economy, but this review can only concentrate on those aspects that seem likely to be of more general interest to the readers of the *Journal*.

Papers I–VI all deal with early markets (primarily of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries). One of the most striking points to emerge from these papers is the extent to which the creation of markets was a Europe-wide phenomenon, intimately connected with the growing need of lords to increase their cash income, on which their aristocratic way of life increasingly depended. As B. puts it, these new foundations were investments, 'as much designed to generate wealth as the railways and cotton mills of the nineteenth century, though they also carried symbolic values of lordship and power.' (I.190: since each paper preserves its original pagination, references to particular passages are therefore given to paper and page.) In Scotland, indeed, the establishment of the first burghs and markets was part of a deliberate policy of development by David I (1124–53), which also involved the creation of an independent Scottish coinage. Similarly, between 1066 and 1216, the north of England (i.e. the region to the north of York) saw the creation of some forty boroughs and markets in an area where none had existed before.

Paper VII rounds off this section with a fascinating case study of the development of Witham, Essex, where there was an old market (Chipping Hill), going back to at least the early eleventh century. In 1212 this was superseded by a new foundation about half a mile away ('la Neweland'), which was sited to take advantage of the growth in trade and travel along the main road between London and Colchester. B. goes into some detail about the people who lived there, their holdings and rents, and into the expected benefits that prompted landlords (in this case, the Templars) to create a new foundation. As he points out, one important, and often overlooked, factor was probably that the growing population of landless craftsmen and traders, reliant upon buying food-stuffs, would have provided a very useful guaranteed market for the products of demesne farming.

The next group of papers (VIII–X) cover the linked themes of economic development, work and trade in medieval England. Paper VIII is essentially a reassessment of the evidence for commercialization in England over the three centuries from 1000–1300. B. looks at the evidence under three main headings – urbanisation, economic specialisation and monetization. He begins this last section quoting Mayhew's suggestion that the average amount of coinage in circulation in England in the eleventh century was something like £25,000 but that this had risen to about £900,000 by 1300, a rate of increase which far outstripped even the highest estimates for the increases over the same period in population (sixfold) and prices (fourfold). B. also points out that an increase in the per capita amount of coinage in circulation is supported by plentiful evidence for an increasing monetization of the lord/tenant relationship, particularly during the thirteenth century, when payments in kind and labour services were increasingly converted to cash payments. The net result was that tenants were probably obliged to sell more produce to raise the money which was demanded. B. also suggests that the benefits of the growing commercialisation ended up

predominantly in the hands of the landowning class via these rents, dues, tithes and taxes, and that by 1300 a large part of the growing population of England (perhaps as many as 20 per cent) held little land and were obliged to support themselves by selling their labour or by engaging in trade/craft production within their local community, leaving them very vulnerable to poor harvests and downturns in trade. B. points out too that the shift in the basis of royal taxation over the period also supports the argument that the urban population and trade had become proportionally much more significant: in the eleventh century the principal tax was the geld, levied on land, while by 1300 the main tax on the laity was levied on movable property, thus ensuring that townspeople were brought into the taxation net. From 1275, this was accompanied by a tax on wool exports – a levy on trade – which became 'a principal support of royal finances, more regular than any other source of income' (VIII.14).

In paper IX, B. reflects on the signs of increasing specialisation of occupation over the period 1100–1300, but then points out the limitations of the evidence and questions what proportion of the workforce were actually affected by this phenomenon. He suggests that many with special skills must have fallen back on more basic work when times were difficult. *Inter alia*, he notes the number of artisans who turned to crime when they became impoverished, including one William the locksmith of Reading who took to counterfeiting (IX.9). Paper X considers the extent to which many English merchants used servants and agents to accompany their goods and carry out their business abroad, while they remained at home. In many cases, this allowed them to become involved in other activities. Among the examples that B. gives is Gregory of Rokesley, a London merchant who heard cases concerning usurers and coin-clippers in London and Surrey in 1276, and went on to act as keeper of the king's exchanges at London and Canterbury in 1279–81 (X.136). B. points out that there are hints that some twelfth-century merchants probably did the same, giving the example of the (numismatically) well-known family of Deorman of London, who were probably involved in the Spanish trade but also had widespread landed interests and worked as moneyers (X.138).¹

Two papers follow which contrast developments in England and North Italy during the early fourteenth century, XI looking at the economies in general and XII at towns in particular. In the first B. decides that the received wisdom that northern Italy was more 'advanced' than England does not hold good for every area of activity. One field where it did, however, was the money market. The opportunities to put money to productive use in Italy encouraged those with spare capital to put their money in banks, whence it was loaned out to industrial ventures and merchant partnerships. In England, although some money was deposited with Italian bankers resident in the country, the wealthy generally kept their cash reserves at home or placed it for safe keeping in religious houses. B. cites the example of the Elder Despenser, who, when his property was seized in 1326, had no less than £2,800 stored at two of his manors (XI.170).

¹ Nightingale 1982.

The next pair of papers (XIII–XIV) deal with agrarian capitalism as evidenced by the minor landholders in the fourteenth century, with XIII examining the extent of production for sale on four small manors in north-east Essex and XIV focussing in more detail on one of these manors, Langenhoe, for which a series of account rolls survive. Five of these rolls belong to the period before the Black Death, when Langenhoe belonged to Lionel de Bradenham (who once appears as ‘Leo’ on XIV.380, in one of the very few errors to be found in this book). Exceptionally these rolls list by name everyone who bought grain from the estate in the relevant years. Comparison of the names with the court rolls for Colchester, just four miles away, reveals that about half of the buyers were Colchester townsmen. Interestingly, the account rolls almost never record market tolls being paid on these sales and B. suggests that what we probably see happening here is the manor serjeant of Langenhoe going to Colchester market, arranging sales with the townsfolk and the buyers then coming to Langenhoe to collect their purchases, offering them the possibility of evading the cost of the toll themselves. Paper XV takes advantage of the rare opportunity offered by the Paston Letters to explore precisely *why* certain estate management decisions were made by one family of fifteenth-century landowners.

Paper XVI contains a discussion of *advantagium mercatoris*, a common marketing convention, widely found from the late thirteenth century onwards, which saw a purchaser given extra goods over and above the amount that he actually paid for. As B. demonstrates, this was not done as an adjustment to compensate for possible differences between measures, but was instead ‘a negotiated payment in kind from seller to buyer’ (XVI.40). Effectively it seems to have been the equivalent to the modern sales discount on bulk purchases, but in this case the buyer ‘accepted an addition to the quantity of goods he paid for rather than a subtraction from the price he paid’ (XVI.41). The advantage to the buyer is obvious, but the seller also benefited by avoiding the inconvenience and transport costs he would otherwise have incurred taking his goods to market and selling them in small quantities. One common form of *advantagium* in grain purchases was to measure every eighth bushel heaped rather than levelled, which effectively worked out at one extra bushel per thirty-two bushels, or one extra bushel per quarter. Another, and probably the more common form, was for the buyer to receive twenty-one units for every twenty he bought. This method was used not just for grains but for a range of other products. To the medieval mind this system had one big advantage in that it meant that all goods were bought at the current market price, the ‘just price’, which ‘had a firmly established status in public economic morality’ (XVI.47).

Papers XVII–XIX all deal with aspects of economic and price regulation in England. Paper XVII deals with ‘forestalling’, i.e. the buying and selling of goods before they reached a market, where the buyer was not a consumer buying the goods for his own use but rather a middleman who intending to resell them at a higher price and so make an ‘excessive’ profit. B. discusses the history of the offence and of the laws that came into force to prevent it. Paper XVIII deals with the related subject of price-setting in English borough markets

between 1349 and 1500. As B. notes, though there have been many studies on the regulation of trade and markets at this period, none have hitherto taken price-setting and how it actually worked as their focus. For example, while it is well-known, and well-documented, that local authorities regulated the price of bread and ale in line with grain prices, it is much less well-understood how the price of grain was arrived at in the first place. What B. discovers is that the price at which grain, and other foodstuffs, could be sold at market was not fixed by bargaining between buyer and seller, but was also (it seems) regulated by the town authorities, acting on the principal, accepted by contemporary theological and legal authorities, of the ‘just price’, set as low as possible and fixed by ‘a good and wise man’ (XVIII.4). The evidence suggests that the responsible official must have set prices for goods when the market opened, possibly after negotiation with the (major?) dealers. The prices set would, of course, vary according to supply and demand. Once set, the price was binding on all sellers, and fines were regularly levied for selling above the allowed price, although there are hints that a seller could exceed this price if his goods were of exceptional quality and the higher price had been officially sanctioned. Interestingly, buyers could also be fined for offering more than the official price for goods. B. gives many examples of the system in action. This group of papers ends with XIX, which focuses on what business practices late medieval townspeople regarded as morally acceptable and unacceptable and on their reactions to them.

The volume closes with two rather diverse papers. Paper XX, on urban demand in the English economy, is devoted to assessing (and rebutting) the proposition that by about 1300 the marketing structure of England chiefly revolved around the needs of the largest fifty or so towns. As B. shows, this thesis seriously underrates the importance of the demand for goods from the population of the villages and smaller towns. Finally Paper XXI examines the period from 1300 to 1525 to see if it can claim to be a period of transition from feudalism to capitalism and concludes that ‘in most respects the transformation from feudalism to capitalism was marking time, or slowing down relative to the period before 1300’ (XXI.369).

DAVID SYMONS

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Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 62. *The Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. Tokens of the British Isles 1575–1750. Part VIII. Middlesex and Uncertain Pieces*, by R.H. Thompson and M.J. Dickinson (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 2011), 438 pp., 68 plates.

THIS is the final volume in the magisterial eight-volume series that catalogues and illustrates the Norweb Collection, the largest collection (c.13,000 pieces) ever formed of brass/copper tokens issued in the period 1649–1672. Volume VIII features tokens issued in Middlesex, Uncertain tokens (those with localities

unidentified) and later forgeries and fantasy pieces together with extensive indexes. The other English counties, Ireland and Wales are covered in Volumes I–VI and the City of London in Volume VII. In addition to its major purpose of publishing the Norweb Collection, these volumes include additional features that contribute to the scholarship of the subject. Frontispieces include enlargements of the Glastonbury mercer's token re-oriented to show its motif as Glastonbury Tor (corrected from the previous notion that it was the Glastonbury thorn in Thompson's Volume IV introductory essay), and, in Volume VIII, a handsome map of Chelsea on which is shown the earliest representation (1717) of a tradesman's token. Introductory essays include such major contributions as the study of Bristol farthings in Volume II and discussion of contemporary references to tokens in Volume VII. The bibliography and details of dealers, collectors and collections in the abbreviations section of each volume is equally impressive. The highest possible standards of scholarship and photography (of difficult subjects) have been sustained throughout the series and a comprehensive index volume is planned. It is no exaggeration that this series is 'likely to remain the most comprehensive standard works on the series, perhaps for ever', as Mrs Emery May Norweb said in her Foreword to Volume I in 1984.¹

In 1989, in a paper in the *British Numismatic Journal*, Thompson marshalled documentary evidence which enabled him to conclude that, with the exception of Ireland, most tokens in this series were struck in London at the Tower Mint.² This resolved the vital question of central versus local production. This, together with Thompson and Dickinson's monumental publication of the Norweb collection, has put study of the 1649–72 token series on a thoroughly sound footing. This is to the benefit not just of interested numismatists, but also to archaeologists including people who work within and contribute to the Portable Antiquities Scheme. It also informs the surprisingly uphill task of persuading mainstream historians of the research potential of seventeenth-century tokens.

Despite their interest in urban hierarchies (market towns, regional centres, provincial capitals, relationships with London), historians have not seriously looked at the evidence provided by seventeenth-century tokens. The absence of coherent documentary sources for contemporary retail trade means that they are important evidence for ordinary traders in fixed shops in specific locations. It is interesting to note that what could be the earliest use of the term 'corner shop' appears on a token issued in Aldgate (Norweb 6475). Profit and prestige were no doubt the main general reasons for token issue, and most were issued by a surprising variety of tradesmen (and some women) including such subjects of historical interest as tobacco, sugar and coffee, the new and expanding seventeenth-century trades. The distribution of seventeenth-century tokens is uneven, and, noting that it is focused on Devon, eastward to Kent, around London and then along the east coast as far as Yorkshire, it is a London-focused trading distribution and broadly correlates with regional eco-

nomic development in the mid-seventeenth century. The incidence of shops outside market towns in this period might be shown from the evidence of detailed token distributions. Seventeenth-century tokens as laid out in the Norweb volumes provide evidence for research that could illuminate regional economic development in this period. These volumes are a fine achievement, the authors' sheer hard work, attention to detail and grasp of arcane sources has to be admired, and, as the *Sylloge* axiom has it: the authors have indeed placed the tokens in the Norweb collection at the service of those who would base studies upon them.

YOLANDA COURTNEY

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Coinage and Currency in Eighteenth-Century Britain: the Provincial Coinage, by David W. Dykes (London: Spink, 2011), xii, 383 pp., 395 ills.

Dr Dykes states in the Preface: 'What I have tried to do in this book is to set the eighteenth-century token into the currency problems of the time, to say something about its manufacturers and issuers and their intentions, and thus to give a living dimension to a bygone monetary phenomenon (p. vi).³ In his endeavour he has succeeded admirably.

The Prologue begins with a summary of the life and collecting habits of the 'redoubtable' Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818), in whose memory the book is written. Her manuscript catalogue of numismatic acquisitions is an invaluable contemporary source of information that has been put to good use in Dykes's articles over the last fifteen years.¹ A comprehensive discussion of the coinage and currency situation in Britain follows, from the emergence of pewter tokens in the late thirteenth century through to the Great Silver Recoinage of 1696–98, including an excellent account of the main aspects of the seventeenth-century series of tokens. A correction here: the earliest dated non-circular token in the series is the 1666 square halfpenny of Francis Sharley of Brailes, Warwickshire (p. 19). All of this is a great bonus, unexpected from the book's title.

Chapter I, 'The State of the Coinage', thoroughly covers the many inadequacies in the coinage and currency of Britain prior to the efforts of Matthew Boulton. Less than one-third of the £6.8 millions-worth of old hammered silver recoinied in 1696–98 remained in circulation in 1717; Spanish, Portuguese and French silver coins became acceptable substitutes, and by the 1760s most British silver in circulation was worn William III coinage, providing great opportunities for forgers. 'The

¹ Thompson 1984, vii.

² Thompson 1989.

³ Banks undated.

currency gap was filled by gold or by the increasing use of paper currency – promissory notes and negotiable drafts – as the country's nascent banking system developed' (p. 45). The gold coinage was supplemented mainly by Portuguese coins, with their useful fractional denominations valued at less than half a guinea. In the second half of the century the state of the copper coinage deteriorated: the coins' weight was far enough removed from their intrinsic value to allow for a flood of forgeries. Yet punishment for this counterfeiting, done chiefly in Birmingham, was light or non-existent. Dykes discusses the many and varied stratagems tried by employers to cope with the lack of correct money for paying the growing number of industrial workers, including group payment in gold of a guinea or more; delay in payment of wages until late on a Saturday night while workers drank 'on the slate' at a local tavern; and the necessity for purchases to be made in company shops. The chapter ends with details of the first British penny tokens struck for Col. Mordaunt in the mid-1780s for paying his Lancashire mill employees. As the author puts it, these were 'the swallow that made the summer' of large issues of late eighteenth-century token coinage.

Chapter II, 'The Great Contention', is about the rivalry between Thomas Williams and Matthew Boulton. A revealing insight is given into both men. Williams was the driving force behind the Parys Mine Company in copper-rich Anglesey. His effective takeover of the rival Cornish Metal Company gave him a virtual monopoly in the production and sale of copper, hence his nickname 'the Copper King'. He used his copper for coinage as a means of paying his huge workforce. Thus the Parys Mine Company tokens were born, production of them for currency beginning at Williams's own rolling mill site in Flintshire before transferring to Birmingham on a large scale. These pennies were of good weight, heavier in proportion to existing regal coinage, and quickly became popular in many parts of the country. Matthew Boulton, maker of buttons and miscellaneous metal objects, merits many pages on his working life from the 1760s to 1789 including his creation of the Soho Manufactory. Dykes contrasts his enthusiasm, ingenuity and enterprise with his inability to make money from his schemes until he linked up with James Watt to manufacture steam engines. As the author puts it, Watt's steam engine 'was ultimately to be Boulton's salvation' (p. 96). Boulton's early coining activities are discussed and the chapter concludes with his takeover of Williams's token manufacturing operations.

Chapter III, 'A Most Satisfying Adventure', is largely about Boulton's Soho mint and its products from 1789 to 1804. Much detail is provided on the issue of Soho's tokens during this period, as well as some of Boulton's other successes, notably the 'prize' of the British government contracts to produce over 100 million copper coins between 1797 and 1800. The Associated Irish Mine Company's tokens of 1789 were the first coins to be struck on a steam-powered press. Boulton's ambivalent attitude to tokens generally is contrasted with his passionate desire to make regal coinage. 'While the steam engine business was the most lucrative of [Boulton's] adventures, it was the mint that gave him most satisfaction' (p. 155). Table 1 sets out all of his token contracts. Higher value currency at this time is not ignored: the aspects of the draining of Bank of

England gold reserves, the increasing use of banknotes, and the issue of Spanish dollars countermarked at the Tower Mint with the king's head to pass for 4s. 9d. and their replacement by third-guineas in 1797 are covered.

Chapter IV, 'A Birmingham Token Consortium', concerns the Westwoods and John Hancock. It begins with John Westwood's entry into token manufacturing on a big scale in 1789, aided and abetted by the engraver Hancock, and their continued association until the former's death in 1792. Their products are listed in Table 2. One of the contracts was for John Morgan, a Carmarthen ironmaster, whose halfpenny, with its views of activity in his two iron works 'is a magnificent example of Hancock's work' (p. 168). There were in fact *two* reverse dies for this issue, not one as Dykes has it, and one of the obverses was altered to show brickwork under the furnace archway at Carmarthen. After John Westwood's death his brother Obadiah continued the association with Hancock: their products are listed in Table 3. After Obadiah's bankruptcy in 1794 his son, John junior, saw out the family connection with coining in 1797. The younger John was responsible for a series of copies and specious pieces for the collector market. The chapter ends with a section on the engraver John Jorden. It is difficult to know at whose workshop his tokens were struck; wherever those of Meymott & Son were originally produced, the dies of D&H Middlesex 378 ended up with William Williams (see below under Chapter VI).²

'The New Men' of Chapter V were the Birmingham manufacturers of tokens who came on the scene from 1791 onwards. Most were button makers, the most prolific being Peter Kempson and William Lutwyche, who between them made tokens for over 100 issuers. At least another ten less significant manufacturers are known. Details of all are provided in Table 4 and its footnotes; Table 5 shows the number of commissions secured by each for 1792–98. Both Kempson and Lutwyche were proactive in seeking contracts for businessmen around the country. Concurrently they made irredeemable pieces for general circulation, counterfeits of existing common tokens, and rarities for the collector market; there was no law to prevent this. Lutwyche, 'it is thought, was an old hand at counterfeiting Tower halfpence' (p. 206), and is known to have struck many evasions – coins like the current regal halfpence and farthings but with different legends to avoid prosecution for forgery – put out as orders for bona fide tokens dried up in 1796–98. Dykes discusses costs associated with producing tokens, which greatly increased in the period (Table 6). Then he gives details on the more interesting issues, copiously illustrated by images of people, places and the pieces themselves. Particular attention is given to Lackington, Burchell and Pidcock of London, Bisset of Birmingham, and Wright of Dundee.

The title of Chapter VI, 'Collectors, Dealers and Radicals', is self-explanatory. A mania for collecting tokens developed, evidenced by the excellent condition of many specimens surviving today. Birmingham manufacturers, including Boulton, and Skidmore and Williams in London milked the boom. Rarities were created by the striking of 'genuine' tokens on blanks

² D&H references are to Dalton and Hamer 1910–18.

with unrelated edge inscriptions, and 'mules' from dies not intended to be used together. Several contemporary token collectors are identified; some commissioned their own limited-mintage private tokens, often fine examples of the die-sinker's art, the idea generally being to exchange them with fellow collectors. Spence is the important 'radical' of this chapter, and a strong flavour of the man and his tokens is presented. He embraced the idea of mixing his own dies; after his bankruptcy Skidmore, manufacturer of his tokens, muled Spence's anti-establishment dies with his own, some with quite contrary themes. Further radical figures connected in some way with tokens are brought to life by the inclusion of two contemporary portrait caricatures featuring several political agitators.

The collecting boom was abating in 1796, so to help keep it going Skidmore, like Kempson, issued series of medallic pieces featuring buildings, churches, etc. His numismatic activity is well covered in the book, but William Williams's issues are largely unrecognized by Dykes. This reviewer has noted that the obverse of Dalton & Hamer's Anglesey 404 – a genuine issue by Williams for the Parys Mine Company – was also struck with five other dies (D&H, Anglesey 419–23). From these mules dozens more die-links can be traced which include all the halfpennies of Williams himself (D&H, Middlesex 913–17), those attributed to the engraver Prattent (D&H, Middlesex 459–63) and the farthings of the coin dealer Denton (D&H, Middlesex 1053–8 and Surrey 16–24), clearly indicating a Denton/Prattent/Williams consortium. The only die-link of a plausible William Williams token with a known Skidmore production that this reviewer can trace is the unique piece that was lot 695 in the W.J. Noble Collection of British Tokens, sold by Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd at Melbourne, Australia, on 7–8 July 1998, which is a mule of the reverse of a Skidmore halfpenny (D&H, Middlesex 566) and the reverse of a Denton farthing (D&H, Middlesex 1056). It would be good to examine this piece so as to ascertain if each side of it might have been struck at different times, i.e. not in the same workshop. One other possible Skidmore/Williams link is the exceedingly rare D&H Cambridgeshire 19, a halfpenny of David Hood with a Skidmore edge; the engraver was Milton, but neither this nor its commoner variants has ever been claimed for a particular manufacturer, except Robert Bell who opted for Skidmore although without evidence.³ Thus this reviewer argues that the tokens illustrated by Dykes as nos. 263e, 280c, 281a, 282b and 307–9 should be attributed to William Williams. Nos. 330–1 are illustrations of pieces that die-link with others from the Kempson stable, not Skidmore and Lutwyche respectively.

Chapter VII, 'Last Things', begins with a review of contemporary comment on tokens and their usage. The author estimates that when they had run their course approximately six hundred tons of copper had been converted into perhaps forty million provincial coins. Copper tokens alone could not satisfy the demand for change, but the perception that coining in silver was solely a royal prerogative seems to have prevented any significant issues of unofficial coinage in this metal in

the eighteenth century. The chapter continues with a fine section on Colonel Fullarton of Ayrshire, his canal scheme there and proposed token coinages in silver and copper, and ends with a brief look ahead to unofficial coinage in the early nineteenth century.

Three appendices follow. Appendix I is a schedule of provincial coins issued between 1791 and 1798. The listing is strictly of those that were intended to serve as coins. This reviewer would have liked the list to have been extended a few years before and after this eight-year period, so as to include the important original large-scale token coinages of the late 1780s and many of the datable issues in Stafford, Scotland and Ireland in the first few years of the nineteenth century, when arguably this series ends. Appendix II has biographical notes on artists, engravers and die sinkers. Appendix III is a discussion on the nine contemporary catalogues of tokens, concluding with Thomas Sharp's of the collection of Sir George Chetwynd of 1834: collectors of early editions, in particular, will appreciate the detail here. These appendices are invaluable in that they shine a bright light on these contemporary figures and their work.

The Bibliography is divided into three sections: Manuscript Primary Sources, Printed Primary Sources, and Secondary Sources. These many references underline perhaps the greatest achievement of this book: the painstaking dissemination of research sought for from far and wide, especially from contemporary sources. The author's own articles on tokens, published in the *British Numismatic Journal* and elsewhere over a near-60 year timespan and drawn upon for this work, are included.

The concluding Index seems generally comprehensive. As Dykes states, images of coins and tokens are not ordinarily included, nor are entries in the Tables or Appendix I; but this is somewhat unfortunate, as is the lack of reference to some interesting information in the footnotes. A user seeking references to particular tokens in the book will often find them only after considerable searching. The curious but interesting token of 'George Jobson' of Northampton, for example, referred to in footnote 25 on p. 210 and illustrated on p. 262, is absent from the Index, as is its manufacturer, Morgan; furthermore, Dykes omitted to list in the Bibliography his then forthcoming illuminating article on this piece.⁴

There are nearly 400 wide-ranging illustrations throughout the work from over forty sources, including tokens, coins, medals, people connected with the era, cartoons, contemporary ephemera and views of places where tokens were issued. One illustration, enlarged for the dust jacket, is an action-packed view of Swansea's Market Square in 1793, which includes the shop entrance of token-issuer John Voss. Typographical errors are remarkably few in number.

This splendid volume, notwithstanding the few criticisms noted above, can be heartily recommended. It is a must for all collectors and students of the late eighteenth-century series of tokens, an essential *magnum opus* companion to Dalton and Hamer.

MICHAEL DICKINSON

³ Bell 1966, 9.

⁴ Dykes 2011.

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The Standard Catalogue of the Provincial Banknotes of England & Wales (Honiton: Token Publishing, 2010), by Roger Outing.

WHEN it comes to the history of provincial banking and banknotes in England and Wales, a number of important questions still remain unanswered. For instance, how extensive was the note circulation of this growing body of private banks after 1750, and how widely did circulation occur outside of the respective localities of individual banks?¹ Although addressing these sorts of questions is beyond the remit of Roger Outing's most recent work, future scholarly studies which seek to answer such questions will no doubt benefit enormously from this impressive volume.

As Outing clearly states in his introduction (p. xiii), 'no other single work has attempted to list all the private and joint stock banks of England and Wales. That is the primary purpose of this publication.' Of course there has been some excellent forerunners to this recent catalogue, including most notably the work of Geoffrey Grant, as well as that of Margaret Dawes and C.N Ward-Perkins, both of whom Outing professes to having 'rigorously plundered' during his research.²

The overview of English banking history contained at the beginning of Outing's catalogue is both clear and concise, charting as it does the origins of banknotes as London Goldsmiths' receipts in the late seventeenth century; through the creation of the Bank of England and the turbulent war-torn years of the eighteenth century; and finally the development of joint stock banking after 1826 and its relationship to the modern day global banking industry. Although Outing suggests that the domination of the banking system today by a small number of large firms has been somewhat of a 'logical conclusion' to the English banking story, at the same time he issues his own warning to historians thinking of drawing a line under any more major developments in the banking sector. Thus he argues (on p. 13) that the recent crisis has forced us all to 're-learn the principles of banking that were first developed over 200 years ago.' In a passage which therefore serves primarily to justify the publication of his own work, Outing has demon-

strated why such studies will continue to be of use to not only historians and numismatists, but to bankers, politicians and economists alike.

Aside from being the first work to comprehensively catalogue all of the private and joint stock banking firms of England and Wales, Outing's target market for this book is evidently banknote collectors. Moreover as the catalogue contains a detailed section on pricing and assessing the physical condition of notes, it will also serve as a useful tool for the beginner wishing to build a collection.

The main catalogue is grouped into four sections, each covering a different selection of note issuers. Section 1 is the largest and deals with the provincial banks of England and Wales; section 2 covers London banks apart from the Bank of England; section 3 focuses on private note issuers such as manufacturers, and section 4 deals with so-called 'skit notes' which will be returned to in due course. The issuing banks in each of these sections are listed alphabetically by place name, with each bank separated by a solid horizontal line, and each new location printed in a larger bold font within a highlighted column. The layout is relatively simple and easy to follow, with the information given being as follows: the trading name of the bank; the partners involved at different stages in the bank's history; the start and end date of the bank, and Outing's own estimated market value of the surviving notes.

Unlike a number of other paper money catalogues, Outing has chosen to separate the banknote images from their entry in the main catalogue, choosing rather to compile them into one large appendix at the end of the volume. Whereas some who wish to consult the text and images simultaneously may find flicking backwards and forwards somewhat irksome, others who wish to study just the visual elements of the notes will greatly appreciate this choice, as it allows for far easier comparison between different designs. The quality of the scanning is on the whole very good, and the decision to reproduce the notes on a dark background does much to emphasise the various shades and colours of both ink and paper.

One of the most striking things about this work is the decision to include a section on what Outing has called 'Skit Notes', which were in fact more commonly referred to in the eighteenth century as 'Flash Notes'. As he rightly observes, these imitation banknotes were mainly printed for humorous purposes, often with strong 'political overtones', but they could also serve as commercial advertisements. Their inclusion is curious given that they were technically neither money nor were they issued by banks. Through my own work I will hope to show is that there was in fact often only a fine line in the minds of many contemporaries between Flash Notes and *real* paper money, and that both historians and numismatists interested in late eighteenth-century banknotes – and in particular their forgery – must begin to take such imitations more seriously. Given my own interests it is therefore pleasing to see them receiving some detailed attention in such an important work, and thereby hopefully raising their profile significantly in the minds of both collectors and numismatists.

JACK MOCKFORD

¹ Only Emmanuel Coppieters has ever attempted such a study, his focus instead being the notes of the Bank of England (Coppieters 1955).

² Grant 1972; Dawes and Ward-Perkins 2000.

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Numismatic Finds of the Americas: An Inventory of American Coin Hoards, Shipwrecks, Single Finds, and Finds in Excavations, by John M. Kleeberg (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2009 [Numismatic Notes and Monographs 169]), 358 pp.; *Mark Newby's St. Patrick Coinage*, edited by Oliver D. Hoover (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2009), vii, 333 pp.

READERS of the *BNJ* are alerted to two recent publications from the American Numismatic Society, *Numismatic Finds of the Americas*, by John M. Kleeberg, and *Mark Newby's St. Patrick Coinage*, edited by Oliver D. Hoover. Both were published by the Society in 2009, but any similarities between them end at that point. The first book is a masterpiece, perhaps the best single work of its kind ever devoted to Western Hemispheric numismatics. The other may be most charitably described as a work in progress.

John M. Kleeberg, author of *Numismatic Finds of the Americas*, spent a decade as the Society's Curator of Western Hemispheric Numismatics. It was my good fortune to meet and work with him during those years, and to get acquainted with the quality of his scholarship. I recall his marvellous work on the enigmatic New Yorke in America token, one of the best-written and closest-reasoned pieces I have ever seen on early American numismatics. He brings all of his reasoning abilities, as well as an amazing attention to detail, to this latest work.

A useful introduction begins by defining the various categories and similarities of, and differences between, 'hoards' and 'finds', then offers a general sketch of the historic, numismatic, and economic forces at work between the sixteenth century and the twentieth – the time-frame during which the hoards were created, lost, and recovered.

The main body of the Kleeberg work consists of three parts. The first, and very much the largest of the three, discusses numismatic finds in the Americas. It is arranged along chronological lines, based on the known or assumed date of deposition, rather than the date or place of discovery. This choice of arrangement makes good sense, and it is followed in the third and final part, devoted to 'Finds of American Coins Outside the Americas'. The middle portion of this book adheres to a slightly different model, but one that makes abundant sense. 'Treasury Accumulation and Release of U.S. Silver Dollars' gives a brief sketch on how (and why) the United States Treasury released millions of silver dollars to the public, following this introduction with a simple earliest-to-latest arrangement of the Treasury dispositions, from the 1920s through to the beginning of the 1980s.

As I mentioned, Kleeberg's writing has been typified by closely reasoned, careful argumentation, and

nowhere is this quality more on display than in *Numismatic Finds of the Americas*. In many instances, the information published about a hoard shortly after its discovery was tantalizingly brief, providing few if any data other than the event itself and the number of pieces comprising the find. In these instances, Dr Kleeberg attempts to fill out the record, informing his readers that, based on larger circumstances, certain types of coinage might reasonably be expected to be present, or that the actual deposition date of a hoard is not necessarily what was initially believed. As an example of the latter, consider his remarks about the composition of a cache of five hundred copper coins and tokens, discovered along the St Lawrence River in 1954:

The account of the hoard [from *Numismatic Scrapbook Magazine*, July 1954] says that it was "more than 125 years old," which would make the date of deposit 1829, but given its composition and its find spot it fits best with the other copper hoards known to be associated with the Lower and Upper Canada rebellions of 1837, namely the Bank of Montreal hoard and the find at Chambly Barracks.

Whenever Kleeberg passes beyond cold facts and enters the realm of speculation, one feels comfortable with what he has to say, has confidence in his conclusions.

Numismatic Finds of the Americas might be expected to be dry reading, a simple compilation of fact after fact, of dates and numbers. But it isn't: I found it fascinating, a marvellous account of people and their wealth, of misfortune and good luck. One of the elements behind the book's appeal is the sheer unlikelihood of some of the objects discovered, as related to the places where they were found. A find of Spanish-American, Brazilian, French, or Portuguese gold coins might be expected and easily explained: after all, these coins enjoyed several centuries of commercial popularity in the English colonies and the United States. But a batch of Chinese cash discovered in western Oregon? Or a Venetian copper coin, struck for Dalmatia and Albania, discovered along the Chesapeake Estuary? Or a silver penny of Edward II, unearthed in the wilds of Long Island? What's going on? What's going on is that all of these objects were *money*, as defined by one or another group, and were therefore worth keeping, carrying about – and carefully burying in anticipation of better times. The sense of whimsy attached to some of the hoards that Kleeberg discusses is part of the appeal of this work; I highly recommend it to your consideration.

I cannot say the same of the second work under discussion, *Mark Newby's St. Patrick Coinage*. This book is a compilation of most of the papers given at a conference held at the museum in November 2006. The one-day event was intended to carry on the work of a series of earlier meetings on American topics, initiated back in the early 1980s. These earlier gatherings were usually referred to as COACs (Coinage of the Americas Conferences). They typically took up two or three days, involved a dozen or more speakers – and could be expected to result in a publication that would make a useful contribution to American numismatic scholarship. The 2006 conference (and this book) are pale copies of the earlier series, and, while this volume suffers from editorial problems and the occasional misstate-

ment of facts, a number of its problems can be traced back to the nature of the early COACs.

They were intended to shed new light on broad swatches of the American numismatic story. I was personally involved with the first three – choosing speakers, helping to select topics, editing the resulting publications – and they centred on the American large cent (1984); the nation's obsolete currency (1985); and the first century of the country's silver coinage (1986). Later symposia addressed American medals, the coinage of British America, and Caribbean numismatics, among other topics. All of these early themes were wide-ranging, with something for everyone. But America's numismatic story is a fairly recent affair – at least, in comparison with its European, Indian, and Asian counterparts; this quality inevitably means that, after two dozen or so general conferences, the organizers will begin to run out of major themes. They will, in fact, be tasked with saying more and more about less and less – if only to keep the series alive. I believe that's what happened in the case of the 2006 one-day meeting, called to investigate a relatively unimportant figure named Mark Newby.

Newby was a Quaker who came to America in the early 1680s. He settled in New Jersey and soon died (a pure coincidence and *not* cause-and-effect: many New Jerseyites have enjoyed long, productive lives, even during colonial times). Save for his immediate family, Newby would have occasioned little notice during his lifetime and even less today, except for one circumstance. When he came to America, he carried a quantity of attractive, Irish-related coppers with him, each bearing an image of St. Patrick. They came in two sizes, and Newby brought enough with him to inspire the colony's General Assembly to make them legal tender, worth a halfpenny each (May 1682).

That much isn't in dispute. But virtually everything else about these pieces is unclear. Who made them, and where, and why? How did Newby acquire them? What, if anything, was the exchange relationship between the large- and small-module tokens? How were they manufactured? It was to probe and answer these and other questions that the 2006 COAC was called, papers were presented – and a new book finally emerged.

All well and good; and *Mark Newby's St. Patrick Coinage* might have been expected to shed welcome light on an admittedly minor affair. But with one exception, there's nothing really new here. One is tempted to pose an impolite question: if there's little new, why bother to publish it? Keeping a research and publication series alive is one thing; having something worth disseminating is another.

We have a hint of things to come in the editor's introduction. The first paper was given by Robert Heslip, and it dealt with the circulating environment to which the St. Patrick tokens belonged. But we are informed that his presentation wasn't included in the book; no reason is given, and this omission casts a pall on everything to follow. Thus truncated, the book begins with an examination into the tokens' intended denominations, by Philip L. Mossman. Following Mossman comes a discussion of the possible identity of the kneeling king seen on the pieces' obverses (contributed by the book's editor, Oliver D. Hoover). The Hoover article is succeeded by William Nipper's 'Old and New Takes on the St. Patrick Coinage', 'Ormond and Blondeau: in

Search of an Irish Coinage' by Brian J. Danforth, and 'Coinage in the English Colonies of North America to 1660' by Louis E. Jordan. Roger S. Siboni and Vicken Yegparian complete the main body of the text with a shorter piece, 'Mark Newby and his St. Patrick Halfpence', while Robert Hoge brings the entire volume to a close with a census of St. Patrick pieces in the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

The contributions vary widely. The most useful is the Danforth article, the only one that interjects new ideas into the discussion. The writer makes a fairly good case that the Newby pieces were really coins, struck at the Tower Mint in the late 1660s by Pierre Blondeau, acting on behalf of the Irish Lord-Lieutenant, James Butler, 12th earl of Ormond. He gets a good deal of the technology wrong, however: Blondeau may have invented a way of simultaneously striking edges and faces of a coin, but he certainly didn't do so in the way described; and I tend to think he was making claims without the ability to back them up, as would another inventor, named Jean-Pierre Droz, a century or so later. And he weakens his own case by stating that 'the circulation of St. Patrick coins in Ireland lasted for several decades'. If that were true, how did Mark Newby acquire them cheaply enough to carry with him to America, less than a decade after they were struck?

All that being said, Brian Danforth's work is still worth close scrutiny. It deserves a greater prominence than it received, because it does increase our understanding of the origins of these pieces. But a couple of other contributions, while valuable in their way, have little or nothing to do with the topic at hand. Jordan's article runs for 101 pages, but barely mentions the ostensible topic of this conference. Nor does it tell us anything that we didn't already know or could not find elsewhere. And while Oliver Hoover's carefully-reasoned investigation of the identity of the king on the Newby coins comes to a firm and probably correct conclusion (the monarch is David, not Charles I, as has often been assumed), his attention might have been more gainfully employed elsewhere, investigating questions more central to the entire Newby story.

More careful editing, a more judicious choice of topics, and the missing contribution by Robert Heslip might have materially improved *Mark Newby's St. Patrick Coinage*. But as long as COACs choose to concentrate on the smaller, more obscure corners of American numismatics, I don't see much chance for improvement in the volumes they inspire.

R.G. DOTY

An Introduction to Commemorative Medals in England 1685–1746: Their Religious, Political and Artistic Significance, by Brian Harding (London: Spink, 2011), 84 pp.

UNTIL relatively recently late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century medals were deeply unpopular. Scorned by the connoisseurs as mere mass-produced commercial speculations lacking any individuality they were neglected by the general run of collectors as relating to an uninteresting period of history. Dealers could hardly give them away. And they were plentiful: Hawkins,

Franks and Grueber take no less than 746 pages to cover the medals created between 1685 and 1746 in *Medallic Illustration of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*.

The tide began turning from the late 1970s. Some historians began to realise that such medals frequently represent an early form of official propaganda. They could provide unique insights into contemporary mentalities. Their creators, recognizing their potential to sway opinions among the political and social elites, took them seriously. They employed some of the best brains of their time to think up highly sophisticated, allegorical designs which they knew would readily be collected or willingly received as gifts, prior to being pleasurably puzzled over and their messages, with their frequently classical and contemporary resonances, eventually deciphered. The quality of execution of the medals usually reflected the care taken over the design and many are masterpieces of the engraver and die-sinker's art.

Hitherto the English-speaking beginner seeking to understand such medals has had to rely on general introductions to medal collecting, which on the whole devote only a few pages to such medals, or consult specialist works on particular medalists or series or articles in *The Medal*. Though *Medallic Illustrations* continues to be invaluable as a catalogue, its lapidary text is often unhelpful, reflecting as it does unrefined nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon protestant prejudices. More recent catalogues, by Christopher Eimer and Daniel Fearon, though beautifully illustrated, do not have the space to give detailed explanations of individual medals. The only exception is Christopher Eimer's splendid *Introduction to Commemorative Medals* (1990). This however extends from the Renaissance to the present day and is now difficult to come by.

Brian Harding's book sets out, as its title suggests, to provide the necessary introduction. He admits that in the space available he has had to be highly selective, and that his main criterion has been the quality of engraving. Most of the book takes the form of a stroll through the period 1685–1746, reign by reign, event (predominantly military) by event, with an emphasis on the period 1685 to the early 1720s. Broader discussion of the wider context of medal production, government control, circulation and prices are briefly (and slightly repetitively) discussed in the short foreword and epilogue. One of the delights of this book is the superlative quality of the photographs of the medals, all of them in colour and many of them enlarged to bring out the detail.

Though the book is suffused with love and enthusiasm for the subject, this reviewer found it rather frustrating. The historical commentary generally goes little further than that in *Medallic Illustrations* and leaves relatively little space for the discussion of the individual medals. Given the general absence of eighteenth-century history from most school curricula, the extent of the historical commentary may be necessary, though Dr Harding's accounts could be more nuanced to take modern scholarship into account. The publishers might, however, have allowed more space for the discussion of individual medals.

More space would also have enabled more discussion of the allegorical and artistic aspects. Though the allegories are explained in broad terms, there is no discus-

sion of the sources from which the allegories were taken, though this frequently added additional levels of meaning for contemporaries. Similarly, the artistic element is too often covered by a simple statement of his opinion, without further discussion of the elements in the medal that earned Brian Harding's approval.

More space would have enabled medals, such as the *Appeal against the House of Hanover* medal of 1721, which has been the subject of repeated specialist analysis in recent years, to be properly discussed. Similarly the deeper meanings of some of the medals could be drawn out. Appendix 2 illustrates the reproductions of the medals lining the Duke of Marlborough's tomb in Blenheim Palace – one of the few 'discoveries' in this book – without discussing their background or linking them to the medal that Dr Harding selects to commemorate the Duke's death in 1722. Though it is not mentioned in the text, Dassier's medal actually dates from the 1740s in part because at the time of Marlborough's death his redoubtable widow's efforts to commission a medal portraying her husband as the scourge of France were thwarted by the then Francophile government. The medal and the designs at Blenheim not only reflect the importance attached to medals at the time, as Dr Harding says, but also form part of his widow's campaign to honour her husband's memory while making mischief for a government she had come to despise.

If space were to be saved, it could perhaps have been through the elimination of the other appendices which are too short to be of much value. The four brief biographies of medalists in Appendix 1 account for only a percentage of the medalists whose works are illustrated in the book. Perhaps the reference to Forrer in the bibliography was all that was needed. Similarly the three adverts for medals, all from the period 1689–95, in Appendix III are hardly representative of the ones that appeared throughout the period, though Dr Harding makes a telling point when he observes that the cost of a 'modest collection' of medals was the same as commissioning a portrait in oils.

In summary, then, this book, attractively illustrated and designed though it is, and illuminated by a love for the subject, does not meet the objectives that its title promises.

PETER BARBER

Royal Commemorative Medals 1837–1977. Volume 5. King George the Fifth 1910–1936, by Andrew Whittlestone and Michael Ewing (Llanfyllin: Galata Print, 2012), 172 pp.; *Portrait of a Prince: Coins, Medals and Banknotes of Edward VIII*, by Joseph S. Giordano Jr. (London: Spink & Son Ltd, 2009), 679 pp.; *Royal Commemorative Medals 1837–1977. Volume 7, King George the Sixth 1936–1952*, by Andrew Whittlestone and Michael Ewing (Llanfyllin: Galata Print, 2009), 80 pp.

DUTY, romance and personal tragedy are not the usual themes of dry, scholarly numismatic catalogues but three recent publications on royal commemorative medals and coins provide images of kings, loved, criticised and pitied. The latest volume in the 'Royal Commemorative Medals' series by Whittlestone and

Ewing covers the reign of King George V.¹ The second son of Edward VII, the future king George V toured extensively both before and after his coronation, relieving his father of the burden of royal duties and acquiring the love and respect of his subjects.² The format of volume 5 follows the classic chronological and alphabetical listing of official and unofficial medals for the king's coronation and silver jubilee, of royal visits and events. Apart from events involving the British royal family, the authors include visits of head of states to Britain, e.g. King Fuad of Egypt in 1927 and the visit of the King and Queen of Afghanistan in 1928. The ornate badges given to attendees at the Guildhall receptions in the City of London are also included. One seemingly eccentric inclusion is the portrait medal of Samuel Fox (WE 5383) but it only serves to confirm the comprehensiveness of this series. The reverse of the medal explains that a park, Fox Glen, given by Fox to the people of Stockbridge and Deepcar, opened on Coronation Day, 22 June 1911. As in previous volumes rarity and value are ascribed as a rough guide to each medal.

Whittlestone and Ewing covered the medals of the Duke of Windsor in his various royal guises in one of the earliest volumes of their series.³ However, the latest addition to the bibliography of Edward VIII, *Portrait of a Prince*, seeks to be even more comprehensive and is heroic in scope. It is an almost impossible task and no doubt there are omissions. Giordano has absorbed and reiterated previous research but in addition he has added information about the coinage, whether the official proposed series or fantasy issues produced for collectors. In respect of the official coinage he is indebted to Graham Dyer's work,⁴ which dealt only with the official patterns for the coinage, not with the medals nor with any unofficial patterns or medals.

In the foreword to Giordano's catalogue Dyer opines that the present work is 'more than a collector's handbook; it is in a real sense a biography of a tragic figure' (p. xii). Indeed a sympathetic, romantic narrative runs through the author's narrative, with references to the velvet obelisk and plinth displaying the Duke of Windsor's own medal collection recurring periodically like a Proustian madeleine, with a melancholy whiff of lost possibilities.⁵ Those who interpret history differently may well wince at such a view, of a prince who abdicated for love and refused the burden of kingship. The prince's character is shown in his personal preference for a left-facing effigy on the coinage (his better side) rather than the conventional right side – vain, or single-minded and seriously interested in the commission? Giordano would have us believe the latter.

Joseph Giordano has been a passionate collector of the memorabilia of Edward VIII, duke of Windsor. His

collection started after the death of the duke and this book, *Portrait of a Prince*, is primarily a catalogue of Giordano's collection with additional information. Like the Edward VIII issue in the RCM series Giordano covers familiar ground from boyhood and the investiture of 1911 through to accession to the throne, abdication and finally death. The catalogue has four main sections: pre-accession medals, accession and proposed official coinage and coronation medals, retrospective modern medals and fantasy coins. The official pattern coinage is well covered, with the Paget patterns as well as those by other artists which were not adopted. Giordano includes the Metcalfe designs for the official coronation medals and other designs as well as prize medals and school attendance medals unpublished elsewhere. Although RCM volume 6 includes the Churchill mules made by S.G.M. Adams and the Richard Lobel fantasy medals it is less complete than Giordano's work. It is frustrating that the mintages given for these fantasy coins will always be uncertain as records are incomplete.

The story of the abdication and subsequent coronation of the reticent, stammering 'Bertie' is by now well rehearsed. In contrast to Giordano's tome on Edward VIII, the Whittlestone and Ewing RCM vol. 7 *King George VI* contains a mere 80 pages. The future George VI was born Prince Albert on 14 December 1895, the second son of the duke of York. Following the abdication of his elder brother in 1936, he was next in line to the throne and chose to adopt the name George VI. In order to save on public expenditure, the date of his coronation was the same as that intended for Edward, 12 May 1937. The medal producers were given little time to produce new designs; the trade was already geared up for Edward VIII's coronation.

In contrast many medals were produced for the royal visit to Canada in May and June of 1939. As in previous volumes, other royal events have been included, e.g. Princess Elizabeth as heiress presumptive in 1939, but there was no other reason for the issue of the medal by Amor (WE 7874) in Australia. Because of World War II no medals were recorded for the years 1939–1947. This slim volume is remarkable for recording medals for events which never took place, e.g. the planned royal visit to Australia in 1949, cancelled due to the king's illness or the visit to Kingston upon Hull, cancelled twice for 1948 and June 1951. Fifty-five thousand medals were made and found in a storeroom in 1990. They have been sold ever since to raise money for the Hull Museum Service. As with all the volumes in the series, this is a useful contribution to the library. All that remains to complete the series is volume 8, cataloguing the medals of Queen Elizabeth II from her accession in 1952 to her Silver Jubilee in 1977.

FRANCES SIMMONS

REFERENCES

- ¹ The series *Royal Commemorative Medals 1837–1977* (RCM) catalogues medals commemorating events involving British monarchs from the accession of Queen Victoria to the Silver Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth in 1977.
 - ² Medals issued prior to his accession are covered in vols. 1 and 4.
 - ³ Whittlestone and Ewing 1997.
 - ⁴ Dyer 1973.
 - ⁵ Sotheby's New York, 29 June 1998.
- Dyer, G.P., 1973. *The Proposed Coinage of King Edward VIII* (London).
- Whittlestone, A. and Ewing, M., 1997. *Royal Commemorative Medals 1937–1977. Volume 6. The Medals of the Duke of Windsor (Edward VIII) 1894–1972* (Beeston).

OBITUARY

LAURENCE BROWN, LVO (1931–2012)

LAURENCE Brown, author of *British Historical Medals 1760–1960*, sadly died on 18 June, aged 80. Laurence was born on 26 August 1931 and joined B.A. Seaby Ltd in 1947 at sixteen, shortly leaving to do his National Service, and then returning to work with that respected firm under the guidance of Bert Seaby and Emily Cahn. Mrs Cahn had a vast knowledge of European coins, having come from the firm of German auctioneers of the same name who were eminent in the pre-war years. On her death in 1968 Laurence took over the foreign coin department, later becoming Assistant Managing Director and, on the retirement of Peter Seaby, Managing Director. He subsequently worked for the coin department of Christie's, and when Christie's took over Spink, Laurence became consultant and cataloguer for Spink, working into his late 70s. He then contented himself with writing the occasional article. Most of his articles related to medals, but they included a very useful index to *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, the twenty-volume corpus of Italian coins. His last article appeared in the *Circular* only two months before his death. Laurence joined the BNS in 1946 and was a founder member of the London Numismatic Club in the following year.

Laurence will be particularly remembered for his corpus of British commemorative medals *British Historical Medals 1760–1960*, the sequel to *Medallic Illustrations*, which was published in three volumes between 1980 and 1995 and will surely remain the standard work on the series. Faced with a lack of reference works on the subject he decided to create a card index of all the medals he saw, initially only for his own use. The project grew, a book was suggested to him and he subsequently catalogued all of the British commemorative medals he could trace in major private and museum collections, in England and on the continent, over a period of many years. Prize medals were excluded, as Laurence felt that the work would never be finished or possibly approach completeness if they were included. It is meticulously written and remarkably complete, especially for a first edition. Normally in such works one can only aspire to some degree of 'completeness' when, as a consequence of publication, collectors and museums contact the author with unrecorded items, and then a second, enlarged edition is produced. However, the phrase 'not in *BHM*' is very seldom seen, and only then usually by cataloguers who have not appreciated the parameters by which he defined what should or should not be included. Laurence did not need a second edition. No supplement was ever planned; there was nowhere near enough material.

It was while doing research for his book at Windsor Castle that he noticed that the Royal Collection was not then organized. He offered to take it on, working voluntarily at Windsor one day a month from 1973 to 2009, refusing expenses, meticulously recording everything in the Collection, but at the same time trying to keep up with the increasing flow of new items from the Royal Mint. As it became known that there was a numismatist on the staff more and more items were brought to him, or reported in display cabinets around the various Royal residences, and it was only as he retired that it was finally concluded that the project was up-to-date and complete as of that moment.

On his arrival at the Royal Library he suggested to the Librarian that some suitable cabinets be installed, and Laurence contacted Tim Swann who came out of retirement especially to design, construct and install some built-in cabinets in 1975. Laurence asked the British Museum to test alternative felts for suitability, and the Queen herself became involved when it was realised that the best rosewood was now on the protected list and not normally available. In a chance conversation with the Queen about the problem of obtaining the right wood a visiting dignitary volunteered that when in India he had been presented with a whole log of the precious wood, where it remained as he was unable export it, and he would be happy to

present it to her. It was arranged that as it was for Her Majesty, and for that specific purpose, the log could be exported. It had to be in Her name, but for expediency it was delivered direct to Tim Swann's workshop. The log was consequently labelled 'Her Majesty the Queen of England 3 Hexham Road Hedden on the Wall ...' (*sic*). The Queen on this occasion was indeed amused.

Laurence had been ably assisted by his wife Ann, who input his handwritten cataloguing onto index cards and then later into the somewhat complex Windsor Castle computer system. When his family moved north and a grandchild arrived he moved home to be near them, and found the long journey taxing and asked for some assistance. After explaining to me the Royal Collection set up, his approach to cataloguing, and the computer system, we had just reached the point of working at the Castle in alternate months as originally planned when he suffered a serious heart attack and it became clear that he would not be continuing. He was granted the Royal Warrant as Numismatic Adviser to the Queen in the 1970s, and was awarded the LVO for this work in 1996, an award of which he was very proud. After two years of failing health he finally passed away on his fifty-second wedding anniversary.

This private work was typical of the modest gentleman we knew, who declined to have his own name quoted as a title for the reference to his book, but who will be known by future generations simply as the author of *BHM*. He is survived by his wife Ann, two daughters, Adrienne and Penny, and a grandson. Only last year he attended a reunion of ex Seaby staff, a very happy event attended by many people, including several from the Continent. Laurence was a link to the past and will be sadly missed.

JEREMY CHEEK

PRESIDENT'S REVIEW OF THE YEAR 2011

R.J. EAGLEN

THIS is the last occasion on which I shall deliver my Presidential Review. I felt it would be appropriate, therefore, to reflect upon what the Society has accomplished in the last three years and the challenges I see as remaining. I use the word 'accomplished' in no sense as a boastful conceit. Such progress as the Society has made is largely due to those who have served as Officers and Council Members in my term as President. Apart from acknowledging later the help of those who retire at the end of this evening it would, however, be invidious to single out individuals for recognition and thanks. Suffice to say, the Officers and Members whom you have re-elected tonight to serve your new President, Dr Roger Bland, are all persons of outstanding capability and commitment.

Perhaps the biggest step the Society has taken during my three years is in greatly increasing use of the internet. We have set up our own web-site, having hitherto been generously hosted by the Fitzwilliam Museum. This has not only enabled us to continue our publically accessible site but also to set up a database for administering the Society, accessible only to the Membership Secretary, Secretary, Treasurer and the Web-site Officers. The scope for developing both sites further is an exciting prospect. As most of you will be aware, we are currently making all *BNJ*'s published since 1903 up to the last five years freely available to all internet users.

When I came into office the world had just been plunged into the so-called 'credit crunch'. It was therefore a priority to ensure that the Society continued to have a sound financial basis. After the initial shock it did seem, for a time, that the effects of the crisis might not be as doleful as feared. But, not surprisingly, it is proving less easy to recover from years of profligacy without the protracted pain of retrenchment. Nevertheless, the Society has so far weathered the economic storm with some success. Most significantly, this has been made possible by retaining membership numbers above the 600 mark, encouraged by keeping subscriptions unchanged. The last increase was in the year 2000. We have also added to revenues by increased advertising in the *Journal* and taking advantage of keener quotations for its publication. Decent returns on our deposit funds are more elusive, but interest income remains a useful contributor. Overheads, affected by the inexorable increase in distribution costs for the *Journal* and postal communication with members have, in the latter case, been significantly reduced by greater use of the internet. Over two-thirds of our members have accepted this form of communication and the Society is grateful, especially to overseas members.

In 2010 the net assets of the Society were about £189,000, compared with £178,000 in 2009. In 2011 a modest decline will arise owing to the cost of Special Publications, where breakeven on the outlay is not expected until later, and to the expense of digitising the *BNJ*'s. The substantial investment in this project, which handsomely meets the Society's charitable objectives, has been partly met by the generosity of members.

The bedrock of our Society is, of course, its lecture programme, the *BNJ*, Special Publications, the library and the award of medals and prizes. The programme and *BNJ* continue to be full of interest and creative input, with no signs of flagging. The joint Summer Meeting with the Royal Numismatic Society was organized by them for the first time this year, taking place at Cardiff under the rubric *The Value of Money*. Although the turnout was disappointing, the participants were treated to a stimulating and varied programme. Your President did, however, get into trouble for suggesting that museums were, on occasion, too ready to retain hoards instead of recording and releasing them. In September the Linecar lecture was given by the eminent Romanist, Dr Richard Reece, entitled 'Not lost forever; understanding Roman coin finds over the past fifty years.'¹

¹ Published above, pp. 8–28, as 'Roman Britain and its economy from coin finds'.

After ten years during which two Special Publications appeared, in this year alone three have been published: Derek Chick's *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries*, Mark Blackburn's *Viking Coins and Currency in the British Isles*, supported by a grant from the Dorothea Coke Fund, and Rory Naismith's two volumes on *The Coinage of Southern England, 796–865*. This flurry of activity is set to continue with two more prospective publications: Churchill and Thomas's long awaited *Brussels Hoard and the Long Cross Coinage*, now imminent and, towards the end of 2012, Philip Attwood's *Diaries of Leonard Wyon, 1853–1867*.

There has been no shortage of worthy candidates for the Society's awards. Tonight you are voting on the award of the Sanford Saltus Medal, the distinguished and worthy nominees being Dr Martin Allen, Dr David Dykes and Harrington E. Manville. Earlier in 2011 Council awarded Rory Naismith with the Blunt Prize, designed to recognize and encourage younger numismatists.

As part of the drive to improve the efficient running of the Society, you have tonight agreed to changes in the By-Laws (see below, pp. 316–17). These are the culmination of a process begun by my predecessor and will hopefully now serve the needs of the Society for many years to come.

I have been particularly keen to find ways in which to improve communication with members and raise the profile of the Society. The Presidential Newsletter, introduced before my time, is an invaluable vehicle, especially for members who are not able to attend meetings at the Warburg Institute. The web-site is another, as is, in small measure, circulating more information on the lectures to be presented in the annual programme. Having a BNS stand at major coin fairs is also designed to increase awareness of the Society and canvas membership. I must confess, however, that the results so far have been mixed, and the reluctance of members to give up an hour of their time to man the stand is very disappointing. I had also wished to visit as many local numismatic societies as possible during my tenure but regrettably conflicting demands on my time have stood in the way. The end of term report on this aspiration reads: disappointing performance.

This evening Council says goodbye – at least for the time being – to our Librarian, John Roberts-Lewis, to William Mackay, our Publicity Officer and to Professor Norman Biggs and Major-General Adrian Lyons, both of whom served on Council and the Finance Committee. I would like to record my appreciation and thanks for the support they have given to me and to the Society. I would also like to thank Tony Merson who has again kindly agreed to continue as our Independent Examiner.

This brings me to the more sombre part of my review. In 2011 we have lost, through death, the following members: on 11 March Eileen Atkinson at the age of 79, a member since 1971, who generously bequeathed £1,000 to the Society in her will; on 6 June the Reverend Roderick Palmer at the age of 77, a member since 2001; on 6 July Nicholas Rhodes at the age of 65, a former Treasurer of the RNS and a member of this Society since 1961 and on 3 September David Griffiths at the age of 70, a member since 1979.

The loss of such friends and colleagues to the numismatic community is always a cause for sadness and regret, but none more so than the death of our former President and Sanford Saltus Medallist, Dr Mark Blackburn, who succumbed to cancer on 1 September 2011 after a courageous battle spanning more than two decades. His contribution to our world is immeasurable, as an inventive and dynamic President of the Society, as an outstanding Keeper of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, as the author or co-author of numerous works of lasting numismatic and historical importance and as the long-term General Editor of the British *Sylloge* series. Just as he was inspired by the previous generation of numismatists he passed on with charm and grace his own scholarly standards and zeal to a new generation now bearing fruit. We must be thankful for his unsurpassed contribution to British numismatics but cannot feel other than regret that, at the age of 58, he has been taken from us in his prime. There will be an obituary for Mark in the forthcoming *Journal*.²

To end on a happier note, I wish my successor, Dr Roger Bland, an enjoyable tenure. I have no need to wish him success. Roger and I have spoken at length and he will obviously have his

² *BNJ* 81 (2011), 300–3.

own agenda. However, one key area where I have not made the progress I had hoped is in that of education. By that I mean stimulating a wider interest in and understanding of numismatics amongst the public and, particularly, younger persons. We both agree this is a worthy but not an easy challenge. If the Society can rise to it the potential benefits could be immense.

The President then delivered the second part of his address, 'What is the point of Numismatics?', printed at pages 203–9 above.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 2011

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903–08	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1909	W.J. Andrew, FSA
1910–14	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1915–19	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1920–21	F.A. Walters, FSA
1922 (until 22 June)	J. Sanford Saltus
1922 (from 28 June)	G.R. Francis
1923–25	G.R. Francis, FSA
1926–27	Major W.J. Freer, VD, DL, FSA
1928 (until 20 February)	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, DL, FSA
1928 (from 22 February)	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1929–32	Lt-Col H.W. Morrieson, RA, FSA
1933–37	V.B. Crowther-Beynon, MBE, MA, FSA
1938–45	H.W. Taffs, MBE
1946–50	C.E. Blunt, OBE, FSA
1951–54	E.J. Winstanley, LDS
1955–58	H.H. King, MA
1959–63	D.F. Allen, BA, FBA, FSA
1964–65	C.W. Peck, FPS, FSA
1966–70	C.S.S. Lyon, MA, FIA
1971–75	S.E. Rigold, MA, FSA
1976–80	P. Woodhead, FSA
1981–83	J.D. Brand, MA, FCA
1984–88	H.E. Pagan, MA, FSA
1989–93	C.E. Challis, BA, PhD, FSA, FRHistS
1994–98	G.P. Dyer, BSc(Econ), DGA
1999–2003	D.W. Dykes, MA, PhD, FSA, FRHistS
2004–08	M.A.S. Blackburn, MA, LittD, FSA, FRHistS
2008–11	R.J. Eaglen, MA, LL.M., PhD, FSA
2011–	R.F. Bland, BA, PhD, FSA

JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded triennially to ‘the person, being a member of the Society or not, who shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members as having in their opinion made the scholarly contribution to British numismatics most deserving of public recognition, as evidenced by published work or works, whether in the *British Numismatic Journal* or elsewhere’, by ballot of all the members.

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d’Honneur, a President of the Society, by gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists:

1910	P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton	1932	C. Winter
1911	Helen Farquhar	1935	R. Carlyon-Britton
1914	W.J. Andrew	1938	W.C. Wells
1917	L.A. Lawrence	1941	C.A. Whitton
1920	Lt-Col. H.W. Morrieson	1944	(not awarded)
1923	H.A. Parsons	1947	R.C. Lockett
1926	G.R. Francis	1950	C.E. Blunt
1929	J.S. Shirley-Fox	1953	D.F. Allen
		1956	F. Elmore Jones
		1959	R.H.M. Dolley
		1962	H.H. King
		1965	H. Schneider
		1968	E.J. Winstanley
		1971	C.W. Peck (posthumous award)
		1974	B.H.I.H. Stewart (later Lord Stewartby)
		1978	C.S.S. Lyon
		1981	S.E. Rigold
		1984	Marion M Archibald
		1987	D.M. Metcalf
		1990	Joan E.L. Murray
		1993	H.E. Pagan
		1996	C.E. Challis
		1997	J.J. North
			P. Grierson (special award)

1999	R.H. Thompson
2002	E.M. Besly
2005	P. Woodhead
2008	M.A.S. Blackburn
2011	M.R. Allen

BLUNT PRIZE

This prize was instituted in 1986 as the Council Prize but its name was changed in 2005 to mark the outstanding contribution to the Society and to British Numismatics made by Christopher Evelyn Blunt (1904–87). The prize takes the form of a triennial cash award to an individual, whether a member of the Society or not, who has made a recent significant contribution to the study of numismatics which falls within the Society's remit. Its purpose is principally to encourage younger scholars, and therefore preference is given to suitable candidates under 35 years of age.

Recipients:

1987	M.A.S. Blackburn
1990	E.M. Besly
1993	B.J. Cook
1996	M.R. Allen
1999	P. de Jersey
2002	K. Clancy
2005	S. Bhandare
2008	T. Crafter
2011	R.G.R. Naismith

NORTH BOOK PRIZE

The North Book Prize, established in 2006 with a generous donation by Jeffrey North, is awarded every two years for the best book on British Numismatics.

Books eligible for consideration for the prize are those published during the current or three preceding calendar years, copies of which have been received by the joint library of the British Numismatic Society and the Royal Numismatic Society for review.

Recipients:

2006	M.R. Allen for <i>The Durham Mint</i> (London, 2003)
2008	R.J. Eaglen for <i>The Abbey and Mint of Bury St Edmunds to 1279</i> (London, 2006)
2010	Lord Stewartby for <i>English Coins 1180–1551</i> (London, 2009)

JEFFREY NORTH MEDAL FOR SERVICES TO NUMISMATICS

The Jeffrey North Medal for exceptional services to British Numismatics was established with a generous gift from Jeffrey North in 2008. It is awarded by Council 'to members of the Society or others in recognition of outstanding services to British numismatics, whether in the UK or overseas'.

Recipients:

2008	J. Bispham
2008	M.J. Bonser
2008	C.R.S. Farthing
2008	A.J. Holmes
2010	K. Sugden
2010	P. and Bente R. Withers

PROCEEDINGS 2011

All meetings during the year were held at the Warburg Institute and the President, Dr Robin Eaglen, was in the chair throughout.

(For Officers and Council for 2011, see Volume 81)

25 JANUARY 2011. Richard Guy Hitchcock and Dr Georg-Wilhelm Ludwig were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Keith Ashman, Arthur Chater, Prof. Svein Gulbekk, Graham Parker and Dr Nicholas Weijer tendered their resignations to Council. The President presented the North Book Prize for 2010 to Lord Stewartby for his publication *English Coins 1180–1551*. George Molyneux then read a paper entitled *Kings and Coins in the tenth-century English Kingdom*.

22 FEBRUARY 2011. Stephen Gregory Clackson, Jack Miller Lloyd Jr, Frank Martin, Paolo Trabucco and Edward John Wheatley were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Christopher Tasker and the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, tendered their resignations to Council. Keith Cottrell then read a paper entitled *The evolution of today's global minting industry and the challenges ahead*.

22 MARCH 2011. Timothy Fuller Cleghorn, Andrew de Bertodano and Michael Norman Orford were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Angela Bolton tendered her resignation to Council. Council noted with regret the death of Eileen Atkinson (11 March 2011, aged 79). Dr Martin Allen then read a paper entitled *The Calais Mint, the wool trade and the Hundred Years War, 1349–c.1450*.

28 APRIL 2011. Richard Gladdle and D. Scott Van Horn were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. Megan Gooch then read a paper entitled *Vikings and Churchmen: coinage in tenth-century York*.

24 MAY 2011. Prof. Richard Allan Christie was elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The President presented the Blunt Prize for 2011 to Dr Rory Naismith. Rear-Admiral John Myres then read a paper entitled *Arctic and Polar Medals: rewards to the brave, the foolhardy and the shivering*. The meeting was followed by the Spring Reception for members and their guests, sponsored by Dix Noonan Webb.

28 JUNE 2011. Peter Gargett, Laura Elizabeth Kolb and Andrew Martin Roberts were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The Classical Numismatic Group was elected by Council to Institutional

Membership. Prof Paul Christensen and Barrington Eastick tendered their resignations to Council. Council noted with regret the death of Revd Roderick Palmer (6 June 2011, aged 77). Edward Besly then read a paper entitled *News from Wales: nummi and Normans*.

27 SEPTEMBER 2011. Council noted with regret the deaths of Dr Mark Blackburn (1 September 2011, aged 58), David Griffiths (3 September 2011, aged 70) and Nicholas Rhodes (6 July 2011, aged 65). The Linecar Lecture was delivered by Dr Richard Reece, entitled *Not lost for ever: understanding Roman coin finds over the past fifty years*.

25 OCTOBER 2011. The President said that, no alternative nominations having been received, Council's list of Officers and Council members circulated during the month would be adopted at the AGM. In a change to the published programme, Chris Salmon then read a paper entitled *Balancing security and aesthetics: the evolution of modern banknote design*.

22 NOVEMBER 2011. Dr Lee Edward Prosser and Kenneth Henry Sparkes were elected by Council to Ordinary Membership. The Secretary declared that 21 members were amoved under By-Law IV.6. Frances Simmons and Tom Anstiss were appointed scrutators for the ballot. The following Officers and Council were declared elected for 2012:

President:	Dr Roger Bland
Vice-Presidents:	Graham Dyer, Dr David Dykes, Dr Stewart Lyon, Peter Mitchell, Hugh Pagan and Lord Stewartby
Director:	Ian Leins
Treasurer:	Philip Mernick
Secretary:	Peter Preston-Morley
Membership Secretary:	Philip Skingley
Librarian:	Robert Thompson
Council:	Dr Martin Allen (<i>Editor</i>), Dr Barrie Cook, Dr Robin Eaglen, Megan Gooch (<i>Publicity Officer</i>), David Guest, Dr Sam Moorhead, Dr Rory Naismith (<i>Website Officer</i>), Dr Elina Screen (<i>Editor</i>), Frances Simmons, Dr Paul Stevens, Andrew Woods (<i>Website Officer</i>).

The Corresponding Members of Council were announced as Prof Peter Gaspar (North America) and Colin Pitchfork (Australasia).

Council's proposal that the subscription should remain unchanged at £32 for Ordinary Members and £15 for members under age 21 or in full-time education was approved. The President delivered the annual address, the first part being a Review of the Society's activities in 2011, followed by his Presidential Address, *What is the point of numismatics?*. On completion and on behalf of the membership, Dr Stewart Lyon thanked the President for his endeavours on behalf of the Society in the final year of his Presidency. Dr Eaglen formally handed over the chair to the incoming President, Dr Roger Bland, who then invited members and their guests to attend a reception in the common room generously sponsored by Graham Dyer.

EXHIBITIONS

May:

By Peter Mitchell, on behalf of Guy and Katie Leppard:

The Imperial Service Order and Polar Medal with Antarctic 1954–5 clasp awarded to Norman Leppard.

By Rear-Admiral John Myres:

A display case containing 13 Arctic and Polar Medals, and two groups containing such awards, spanning the period from 1818 to the present reign.

SUMMER MEETING

The Summer Meeting of the Society, *The Value of Money*, was held jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society at the National Museum, Cardiff, on Saturday 2 July 2011. The meeting was opened by the President and closed by Prof Nicholas Mayhew, President of the Royal Numismatic Society. During the morning session, papers were read by Amelia Dowler, *The cost of living: Everyday life in Roman and Modern Britain*; Dr Robin Eaglen, *Thoughts on the coin market*; and Prof Peter Spufford, *Debasement, Prices and Wages in the 1480s in the Burgundian Netherlands*. In the afternoon, papers were read by Dr Anne Murphy, *Who's guarding 'the guardian of public credit? The protection of the Bank of England during the later eighteenth century*; and Matt Bonaccorsi, *Heads and tails: The evolution of coin design in a world of virtual value*.

PRESENTATION OF THE NORTH BOOK PRIZE FOR 2010 TO LORD STEWARTBY

In presenting the North Book Prize for 2010 to Lord Stewartby on 25 January 2011, the President, Dr Robin Eaglen, said:

This evening it is my privilege to present the third North Book Prize to Ian, Lord Stewartby. As you will all be aware, Ian has had a most distinguished career in banking and politics, holding various ministerial appointments in the Conservative governments of the 1980s. Tonight, however, we have the opportunity to celebrate his great talents as a numismatist, and recognize the publication of his *English Coins 1180 to 1551*, in a sense the summation of his lifelong love of medieval coinage.

Ian, like many of us, came to coins at a tender age. When I told Jeffrey North that the Society had decided to award the Book Prize to Ian, his delight was palpable. He recalled that he had come to know Ian as a schoolboy, as they sat opposite each other combing the so called junk trays at Spink in the fifties, hoping to spot an unrecognised gem.

Ian's precocity as an author is well-known. At the age of nineteen he published his handbook on *Scottish Coinage*. The intervening years have seen a steady flow of articles, mainly in the *British Numismatic Journal* and the *Numismatic Chronicle*, exploring all periods of medieval coinage.

His close study of numismatic developments over many decades, his keen analytical mind, his own contributions to numismatic research and his ability to write with unpretentious clarity, have resulted in a work of outstanding and lasting value. The Society is delighted to steal a small share in this success by awarding the North Book Prize to Ian, Lord Stewartby.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2010

THE British Numismatic Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The Society is established for the benefit of the public through the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, and particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be, or have been, subject to their jurisdiction.

The Society's activities are governed by its By-Laws. The By-Laws were amended in January 2008. The revised By-Laws were reprinted in Volume 78 of the *British Numismatic Journal*.

The trustees of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2010 were the officers and members of Council comprising: R.J. Eaglen (President); G.P. Dyer, D.W. Dykes, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby (Vice-Presidents); K. Clancy (Director to November 2010), I. Leins (Director from November 2010); P.H. Mernick (Treasurer); J.E. Roberts-Lewis (Librarian); P. Skingley (Membership Secretary); P.J. Preston-Morley (Secretary); R.G.R. Naismith (Website Officer); P. de Jersey (Editor to November 2010), M.R. Allen (Editor from November 2010, Council to November 2010), E.M. Screen (Editor); W.A. Mackay (Publicity Officer); N.L. Biggs, B.J. Cook, E.F.V. Freeman (to November 2010), M. Gooch, N.M. McQ. Holmes (to November 2010), A.W. Lyons, F. Simmons (from November 2010), A.R. Woods (from November 2010) (Council).

The registered address of the charity is that of the current Treasurer, P.H. Mernick, 42 Campbell Road, London E3 4DT and the Society's bankers are the National Westminster Bank PLC, PO Box 10720, 217 Strand, London, WC2R 1AL and CAF Bank Ltd, 25 Kings Hill, West Malling, Kent ME19 4JQ. Funds are also deposited with Bank of Ireland Ltd, Lower Baggot Street, Dublin 4 and with Clydesdale Bank PLC, 30 St Vincent Place, Glasgow G1 2HL. The Independent Examiner is R.A. Merson, FCA, Tanyard House, 13A Bridge Square, Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7QR.

Society meetings were held on the fourth Tuesday each month from January to June and September to November inclusive at the Warburg Institute, University of London, at which a substantive paper was read. On 3 July, a special one-day meeting on *Saving Money: Currencies and Creeds* was held at Norwich. This was a joint meeting with the Royal Numismatic Society.

In February 2011 the Society published Volume 80 of the *British Numismatic Journal*. This was a hardbound volume of 267 pages and 39 plates, and contained 10 principal articles and 11 short articles and reviews. It also incorporated the 2010 Coin Register, which listed in detail 356 single coin finds in Great Britain and Ireland, the 2010 Presidential Address and Proceedings, and the Society's financial accounts for the year ended 31 December 2009.

The Society also produces a series of Special Publications, financed by the Osborne Fund. The sixth appeared in November 2010, Derek Chick's work on *The Coinage of Offa and his Contemporaries*, edited for publication by Mark Blackburn and Rory Naismith. Work has also continued on several other planned volumes. Spink & Son Limited acts as distributor of the Society's publications.

During the year, the Society set up an independent web-site (www.britnumsoc.org) (formerly hosted by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) to provide a mix of permanent factual information about the Society and details of its current programme of meetings and activities. In addition, UK members received three issues of the *Money & Medals* newsletter (as renamed in December 2010 for the Money and Medals Network and continuing from *CCNB Newsletter*) containing short and topical articles, reviews and details of meetings and exhibitions.

During the year, the Society also began to consider arranging for the digital scanning of the entire run of back numbers of the *British Numismatic Journal*. The £400 donations raised towards this digitisation project have been carried forward into 2011. Further donations have been received in 2011 and the project has gone ahead.

The Society holds a substantial library, jointly with the Royal Numismatic Society, which is located at the Warburg Institute, and actively maintains a programme of acquiring new books and rebinding existing books, as necessary. Books are available for loan to members, both in person and by post.

Annual subscriptions were paid to the International Numismatic Commission and the British Association of Numismatic Societies (BANS).

The Society is financed by an annual subscription of £32, paid by both ordinary and institutional members, or £15, paid by members under 21 or in full-time education, together with interest on cash held on deposit and donations from members over and above their subscription.

The Trustees believe that the present level of uncommitted reserves set against current and planned expenditure is both prudent and proportionate. The Society's investment policy is reviewed by a Finance Committee.

All officers of the Society offer their services on a voluntary basis, and administrative costs were kept to a minimum consisting largely of stationery and postage.

The Society is actively seeking to increase its membership, both in Britain and overseas, the total of which exceeds 600.

Signed on behalf of the Trustees:

P.J. Preston Morley

Secretary

24 May 2011

**THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2010**

	<i>General Fund</i>	<i>Designated Funds</i>	<i>Restricted Fund</i>	<i>Total 2010</i>	<i>Total 2009</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE					
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Subscriptions and Entrance Fees received for 2010 and earlier years	18,536	—	—	18,536	18,564
Gift Aid	1,412	—	—	1,412	2,040
Interest received	674	2,099	172	2,945	3,564
Donations	74	5,000	—	5,074	560
Sale of Publications :-					
Back numbers	616	—	—	616	1,258
Special Publications	—	1,925	—	1,925	814
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	21,312	9,024	172	30,508	26,800
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	12,096	—	—	12,096	10,687
Special Publications	—	3,648	—	3,648	—
<i>Money & Medals</i> Newsletter	896	—	—	896	1,205
Provincial meetings	36	—	—	36	268
London meetings	940	—	—	940	720
Linecar Lecture	—	—	—	—	500
International Numismatic Congress	—	—	—	—	3,400
John Sanford Saltus Medal	—	—	—	—	1,633
North Prize	—	500	—	500	—
Library	1,377	—	—	1,377	1,415
Subscriptions	157	—	—	157	164
Bank charges	141	—	—	141	120
Website and database	1,212	—	—	1,212	—
Publicity materials	—	—	—	—	1,123
Other printing, postage, stationery and secretarial	1,123	—	—	1,123	2,514
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	17,978	4,148	—	22,126	23,749
NET INCOMING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	3,334	4,876	172	8,382	3,051
FUND BALANCES	69,213	101,802	8,597	179,612	176,561
Brought forward 1 January 2010					
FUND BALANCES					
Carried forward 31 December 2010	<u>72,547</u>	<u>106,678</u>	<u>8,769</u>	<u>187,994</u>	<u>179,612</u>

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 DECEMBER 2010

	2010	2009
	£	£
GENERAL FUND	72,547	69,213
DESIGNATED FUNDS	106,678	101,802
RESTRICTED FUND	8,769	8,597
	<u>187,994</u>	<u>179,612</u>
 ASSETS:		
Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off	160	160
Stock of Society Medals	1,804	
Sundry Debtors	6,849	6,504
Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
Bank – Deposit Accounts	196,545	191,345
Current Accounts	14,662	10,291
	<u>220,020</u>	<u>208,300</u>
 LIABILITIES:		
Subscriptions received in advance	1,672	1,280
Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	5,837	3,006
Creditors and Provision for Journals	24,517	24,402
	<u>32,026</u>	<u>28,688</u>
	<u>187,994</u>	<u>179,612</u>

Registered Charity No. 275906

The accounts were approved by Council on 24 May 2011

Signed on their behalf by:

R.J. Eaglen	President
P.H. Mernick	Hon. Treasurer

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2010

1. Accounting Policies

Basis of Accounting

These accounts have been prepared under the historical cost convention, and in accordance with applicable accounting standards and the Statement of Recommended Practice on Accounting by Charities.

Fixed Assets

No value has been attributed in the balance sheet to the Society's library. The joint library of the Society and The Royal Numismatic Society was insured as at 31 December 2008 at a value of £415,650. The books are individually labelled as to which Society owns them, but for the purposes of practical day-to-day administration and the sharing of costs, one-third of the library is taken as belonging to The British Numismatic Society.

Stock

No value is attributed to the Society's stocks of Special Publications and the *British Numismatic Journal*.

Subscriptions

No credit is taken either for subscriptions received in advance or for subscriptions in arrears at the balance sheet date.

2. Designated Funds

	<i>North Fund</i>	<i>Linecar Fund</i>	<i>Osborne Fund</i>	<i>Benefactors' Fund</i>	<i>Total</i>
	£	£	£	£	£
INCOMING RESOURCES					
Interest received	238	245	1,541	75	2,099
Donation	—	—	—	5,000	—
Sales of Special Publications	—	—	1,925	—	1,925
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	<u>238</u>	<u>245</u>	<u>3,466</u>	<u>5,075</u>	<u>9,024</u>
RESOURCES EXPENDED					
North Book Prize	500	—	—	—	500
Special Publications	—	—	3,648	—	3,648
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	<u>500</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>3,648</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>4,148</u>
NET INCOMING/(OUTGOING) RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	(262)	245	(182)	5,075	4,876
FUND BALANCES					
brought forward 1 January 2010	11,908	12,263	77,631	—	101,802
FUND BALANCES					
carried forward 31 December 2010	<u>11,646</u>	<u>12,508</u>	<u>77,449</u>	<u>5,075</u>	<u>106,678</u>

The General and Designated Funds are all unrestricted.

The Linecar Fund was started in 1986 with the bequest of £5,000 and Council has designated this Fund to provide for a biennial lecture in Mr Linecar's memory.

The Osborne Fund was started in 1991 with the bequest of £50,000 and Council has designated this Fund to finance the series of Special Publications.

The Benefactors' Fund consists of other bequests to the Society. During the year the Society received a donation of £5,000. The donor requested anonymity beyond assisting the Society to claim gift aid on the amount.

The North Fund was set up during 2006 with a generous donation from member Mr J.J. North and Council decided that this should partly be used to fund a biennial prize for the best book on British Numismatics published in the last three years. In 2007 Council decided additionally to use part of the Fund to establish the Jeffrey North Medal, to be awarded occasionally to members of the Society or others in recognition of outstanding services to British numismatics, whether in the UK or overseas.

3. *Restricted Fund: The Prize Fund*

Following an appeal for donations in 2005, the Society created a new Prize Fund with the purpose of supporting the John Sanford Saltus Medal, the Blunt Prize (formerly called the Council Prize) and any other award the Society might introduce in the future.

PRIZE FUND	£
INCOMING RESOURCES	
Interest received	172
TOTAL INCOMING RESOURCES	<u>172</u>
RESOURCES EXPENDED	
None	—
TOTAL RESOURCES EXPENDED	<u>—</u>
NET OUTGOING RESOURCES BEING NET MOVEMENT IN FUNDS	172
FUND BALANCE brought forward 1 January 2010	8,597
FUND BALANCE carried forward 31 December 2010	<u>8,769</u>

4. *Creditors and Provision for Journals*

	£
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i> 80 (2010), published February 2011	12,017
<i>British Numismatic Journal</i> 81 (2011), to be published February 2012	12,500
	<u>24,517</u>

INDEPENDENT EXAMINER'S REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I report on the accounts of the Society for the year ended 31 December 2010, which are set out on pages 302 to 305.

Respective responsibilities of trustees and examiner

Council as the Society's trustees are responsible for the preparation of the accounts; and consider that the audit requirement of Section 43(2) of the Charities Act 1993 does not apply. It is my responsibility to state, on the basis of procedures specified in the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners under Section 43(7) (b) of that Act, whether particular matters have come to my attention.

Basis of independent examiner's report

My examination was carried out in accordance with the General Directions given by the Charity Commissioners. An examination includes a review of the accounting records kept by the Society and a comparison of the accounts presented with those records. It also includes consideration of any unusual items or disclosures in the accounts, and seeking explanations from Council concerning any such matters. The procedures undertaken do not provide all the evidence that would be required in an audit, and consequently I do not express an audit opinion on the view given by the accounts.

Independent examiner's statement

In connection with my examination, no matter has come to my attention:

(a) which gives me reasonable cause to believe that in any material respect the requirements to keep accounting records in accordance with section 41 of the Charities Act 1993; and to prepare accounts which accord with the accounting records and to comply with the accounting requirements of that Act have not been met; or

(b) to which, in my opinion, attention should be drawn in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

R.A. Merson, F.C.A.
Tanyard House,
13A Bridge Square,
Farnham,
Surrey,
GU9 7QR

23 May 2011

THE BY-LAWS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

(AMENDED 2011)

I. NAME, OBJECTS AND CONSTITUTION

1. The name of the Society shall be 'THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY'.
2. The Society is established for the benefit of the public through the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, and particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and all territories as may at any time be or have been subject to their jurisdiction.
3. The property and management of the affairs of the Society shall vest in a Council consisting of a President, not more than six Vice-Presidents, a Director, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian and, according to the resolution of Council from time to time, not fewer than nine nor more than fifteen Members of the Society.
4. The Society may not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money to or between any of its Members, other than prizes and awards for numismatic excellence and grants for numismatic research.
5. The Society's chief publication shall be called '*The British Numismatic Journal*'.

II. MEMBERSHIP

1. Members of the Society shall comprise three classes: Ordinary Members and (if any) Royal Members and Honorary Members.
2. Ordinary Membership of the Society shall be open to individuals of either sex and to appropriate institutions.
3. Each candidate for election as an Ordinary Member shall be proposed by a Member from personal knowledge or by a Member of Council from general knowledge and seconded by another Member from personal or general knowledge. The Proposer and Seconder shall sign a certificate specifying the full name, profession or occupation, permanent address and preferably the date of birth of the candidate. The Secretary shall cause the candidature to be presented to the next meeting of Council. Election to Ordinary Membership shall then be decided by at least a four-fifths majority vote in favour at the following meeting of Council.
4. The President or Secretary shall announce the name(s) of candidates nominated for election and of newly elected Ordinary Member(s) at the next following Ordinary Meeting of the Society.
5. The Secretary shall notify each candidate of the result of the election and provide successful candidates with a copy of these By-Laws.
6. The election, withdrawal or death of every Ordinary Member, with date thereof, shall be entered by the Secretary in a Register of Members maintained in physical or electronic form. This provision shall also be made in respect of the other classes of Membership.
7. Members of the royal families of the United Kingdom and of other countries may, on the proposal of Council, be elected to Membership by ballot at any Ordinary Meeting as provided in By-Law VII.1, and shall be called Royal Members.
8. Any persons of distinguished reputation or learning may be proposed by Council for election as Honorary Members. The written proposal shall be read at an Ordinary Meeting and at the second such Meeting shall be read again and put to the ballot as provided in By-Law VII.1. The number of such Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty.
9. Royal and Honorary Members shall not be liable for any entrance fee or subscription, but shall be entitled to receive *The British Numismatic Journal* and to all other privileges of membership.

III. CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

1. Every individual or institution elected a Member of the Society shall as a condition of Membership be deemed to accept the obligation to promote the objects and reputation of the Society, and observe the By-Laws.
2. The failure of any Member to maintain this obligation may render continued membership voidable by Council under By-Law VIII.1.

IV. MEMBERSHIP DUES

1. Council shall, not later than the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting, propose for approval at the Anniversary Meeting the amount of:
 - (a) annual subscription rate(s) for Ordinary Members, and
 - (b) any reduced rate of annual subscription for Ordinary Members in full-time education and/or under the age of twenty-one.

to apply for the year from 1st January next following.
2. Upon election, every Ordinary Member shall pay to the Treasurer the subscription for the current year. If these dues are not paid within six months from the date of election, such election shall be deemed null and void unless Council at its discretion extends the period of grace.
3. Every Ordinary Member shall promptly pay the appropriate annual subscription due on the 1st January of that year.
4. In derogation from By-Laws IV. 2 and 3, Members elected in the last four months of any year may exercise an option to pay one annual subscription in respect of the period from election until 31 December of the ensuing year, but in this event shall not be eligible to receive *The British Numismatic Journal* in respect of the current year's subscription.
5. Members whose subscriptions are in arrears shall not be entitled to receive *The British Numismatic Journal* until such arrears have been paid.
6. Any Members failing to pay their dues before the date of the Anniversary Meeting following the year to which such dues relate shall be automatically removed from Membership and the President shall announce their names at that Anniversary Meeting. The Secretary shall record such removal in the Register of Members.
7. Any individual or institution removed under By-Law IV.6 shall be eligible for reinstatement if the arrears giving rise to removal shall have been paid within one year of removal.
8. Any Member not in arrears of subscription wishing to resign shall so notify the Secretary and shall thereupon cease to be a Member, and shall be free from any future obligation to the Society. At its discretion, Council may accept the resignation of a Member whose subscription is in arrears and waive payment of the same.

V. ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY MEETINGS

1. Ordinary Meetings of the Society shall be held on such dates and at such times as Council shall decide. The Secretary shall ensure that these dates and times and any changes thereto are notified to Members.
2. Any Member may introduce two visitors at an Ordinary Meeting, and upon such other occasions as Council may resolve. Council may invite further guests in the name of the Society. The names of all such visitors and guests shall be entered in a book provided for the purpose.
3. Council may or, upon the written requisition of fifteen Members, Council shall summon an Extraordinary Meeting of the Society. Notice of such a Meeting shall be sent by the Secretary to each Member at least two weeks before the day appointed for the Meeting. This notice shall specify the business to be transacted at such Meeting, and no other matter may be discussed.
4. The Chair shall be taken by the President at Ordinary, Extraordinary and Anniversary Meetings, or in the absence of the President in order of precedence by one of the Vice-Presidents, the Director, the Treasurer, the Librarian, or a Member of Council. Failing these, a Member chosen by those present shall preside, but no meeting shall be held unless five Members at least be present. The person standing in for the President shall be vested with those powers enjoyed by the President in the Chair.

VI. ANNIVERSARY MEETING

1. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on 30 November (St Andrew's Day), or on such day during the preceding week as Council may appoint.
2. The election of the President, Officers and Council shall take place annually at the Anniversary Meeting.
3. Council shall each year, not later than fifteen days before the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting, nominate those Members whom they recommend to the Society for election to the Offices of President, Vice-President, Director, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian for the ensuing year. At the same time they shall also nominate not fewer than nine nor more than fifteen Members whom they recommend to the Society for election to Council.
4. Any five or more Members may nominate other Members besides those nominated by Council under By-Law VI.3 as candidates for election as Officers or Members of Council, except that for the office of President at least twelve nominators shall be required. Any such nominations must be received by the Secretary before the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting and must be in writing, signed by the nominators and confirming that such nominees have given their consent to serve if elected.

5. Notice of the Anniversary Meeting together with
 - (a) ballot form setting out the membership dues proposed under By-Law IV.1 and the candidates for election as Officers and Members of Council nominated under By-Law VI.3
 - (b) a reminder of the rights of Members under By-Law VI.4

shall be sent to every member by the Secretary at least fourteen days before the date of the Ordinary Meeting preceding the Anniversary Meeting. At that meeting these nominations shall be read from the Chair.
6. In the event of any nominations being received by the Secretary under By-Law VI.4, the Secretary shall, at least fourteen days before the date of the Anniversary Meeting, issue to every member an Amended Notice of the Anniversary Meeting incorporating such nominations in the ballot form.
7. Two Scrutators shall be proposed by the Chair, and appointed with the approbation of the majority of Members present. The ballot shall then proceed on the membership dues and nominations in accordance with By-Law VII.2.
8. At the close of the ballot the Scrutators shall report to the Chair the results of the ballot. The membership dues and the names of the President, Vice-President, Director, Treasurer, Secretary, Librarian and Members of Council elected for the ensuing year shall thereupon be announced from the Chair.
9. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, Vice-President, Director, Secretary, Treasurer or Librarian occurring between annual elections, the President or Secretary shall cause Council to be summoned to elect a Member to fill such vacancy, and the Officers and Council, or any five or more of them, meeting thereupon, shall proceed to such election. In the event of a vacancy occurring on Council other than of an Officer, Council may if the remaining Members of Council exceed and shall if they fall below nine similarly proceed to fill such vacancies.
10. At the Anniversary Meeting the President shall propose adoption of the accounts produced in accordance with By-Laws XIV (f) and XIX.2 and presented to the Meeting by or on behalf of the Treasurer.

VII. VOTING

1. In those matters which fall to be decided at an Ordinary Meeting, the vote shall be taken by ballot of those Members present. Except as otherwise provided in these By-Laws all questions shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast, the Chair having a second or casting vote when necessary.
2. In determining the membership dues and election of Officers and Council for the following year, the method of voting shall be by ballot of all Members. Members wishing to exercise their vote shall do so by completing, signing and returning the ballot form referred to in By-Law VI.5 or 6 (if applicable) to the Secretary in a sealed envelope marked 'Vote' to arrive in time for the Anniversary Meeting, or by handing it to the Scrutators during the time prescribed for the ballot at such meeting. The Secretary shall deliver all papers so received to the Scrutators, and the latter shall at the close of the Meeting be responsible for the destruction of all papers submitted to them, and shall preserve secrecy on their contents. The election shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes received by the Scrutators, the President having a second or casting vote when necessary. In any question of alleged irregularity the President's decision shall be absolute.
3. If for a particular Office or for Council membership no nominations shall have been received under By-Law VI.4, the nominees of Council in the notice under By-Law VI.5 may at the Anniversary Meeting be declared duly elected by the President.
4. Council may from time to time approve alternative means, including the use of electronic technology, for notification and voting purposes under By-Laws VI and VII provided that the rights of Members under the By-Laws are not in the bona fide opinion of Council thereby materially prejudiced.
5. For any variation to these By-Laws, a majority of four-fifths of the votes received shall be necessary. In any other matter requiring the decision of an Extraordinary Meeting, matters shall be decided by a simple majority. In all other respects the procedure shall be analogous to that set out in By-Law VII.2.

VIII. AMOVAL OF MEMBERS

1. If there be any alleged cause for the amoval of a Member, other than for non-payment of membership dues, it shall be submitted to Council for decision.
2. The President shall announce the name of any Member so amoved at the next Ordinary Meeting.
3. A record of such amoval shall be entered by the Secretary in the Register of Members.
4. Amoval for non-payment of membership dues shall be in accordance with By-Law IV.6.

IX. OFFICERS

1. In addition to the President, the Officers of the Society shall consist of the Vice-Presidents, Director, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian.
2. Officers shall be *ex officio* members of Council.

3. The President and other Officers shall at all times use their best endeavours to promote the objects, reputation, interests and prosperity of the Society and make all reasonable efforts to attend Meetings of Council and the Society.

X. THE PRESIDENT

1. As the head of the Society, the President shall have the general supervision of its affairs.
2. The President shall be, *ex officio*, a Member of Council and all committees of Council. The President may delegate the *ex officio* role on committees of Council to a Vice-President or the Director.
3. The President may at any time summon an Extraordinary Meeting of Council.
4. The President shall liaise closely with the Officers of the Society and the Editors to ensure the smooth running of the Society.
5. A President may not remain in office for more than five consecutive years.
6. The President shall use appropriate means, such as announcements at Meetings of the Society and/or periodic paper-based or digital communications, to report to Members on matters of significant interest and importance to the Society.
7. Towards the end of a Presidential term those Vice-Presidents who have served as Presidents shall form a Nomination Committee and invite three other members of Council (not being prospective candidates for the Presidency) to join the Committee for the purpose of identifying a suitable and willing candidate to fill the forthcoming Presidential vacancy. Unless wishing otherwise, the retiring President shall be an *ex officio* member of the Nomination Committee in accordance with By-Law X.2. If the Vice-Presidents who have served as Presidents shall be fewer than three, the Vice-Presidents themselves shall determine which of the remaining Vice-Presidents shall serve on the Nomination Committee to ensure that membership thereof includes not less than three of their number.

XI. VICE-PRESIDENTS

1. Vice-Presidents shall be limited to six in number.
2. One of the Vice-Presidents shall take the place of the President in the event of the President's temporary absence or incapacity.

XII. THE DIRECTOR

1. The Director shall be responsible to the President and Council for organising the Society's programme of activities.
2. The Director shall recommend to the President and Council means whereby the appeal of the Society to both Members and non-members may be enhanced and shall at all times provide counsel and support to the President.

XIII. THE SECRETARY

1. In addition to carrying out the duties specified in these By-Laws, the Secretary shall have primary responsibility to the President and Council for the administration of the Society and for maintaining a formal record of its activities and decisions.
2. The Secretary shall:
 - (a) maintain an up-to-date list of Members' contact details
 - (b) prepare and maintain minutes of all Council, Ordinary, Extraordinary and Anniversary Meetings of the Society, and
 - (c) ensure that the Society's records are kept in a safe place with minimal risk of loss or damage.
3. Council may appoint a member of Council (not being an Officer) to share or assist in the duties of the Secretary.

XIV. THE TREASURER

1. The Treasurer shall be responsible to the President and Council for the accounting and financial affairs of the Society.
2. The Treasurer shall:
 - (a) keep the accounts of the Society in such form as may from time to time be requisite and appropriate
 - (b) not make any payment other than for current expenses and such other expenditure as Council may from time to time direct

- (c) from time to time pay to the bankers of the Society all monies received on its account, and invest surplus monies as directed or approved by Council
- (d) keep the property of the Society insured for such sums as Council shall from time to time approve or direct
- (e) with the aid of a finance committee of Council (if any), exercise a vigilant superintendence over the expenditure and investments of the Society
- (f) produce the accounts at or before the September meeting of Council in respect of the previous complete accounting year, and at the Anniversary Meeting in accordance with By-Law XIX.2 and
- (g) liaise with the Independent Examiner appointed under By-Law XIX.1.

XV. THE LIBRARIAN

1. The Librarian shall be the chief custodian of the Library and all other acquisitions of the Society, and shall:
 - (a) ensure the same are preserved and kept in proper order and condition
 - (b) maintain proper catalogues or indexes of the same
 - (c) advise Council on acquisitions, but not incur expense without the prior approval of Council
 - (d) regulate the lending of books to Members, and cause a physical or electronic record to be kept thereof and
 - (e) liaise closely with any other organisations with which the Library facilities may be shared from time to time.

XVI. COUNCIL

1. The management of the property and revenues of the Society, and the conduct of its business, shall be entrusted to Council.
2. The tenure of a Member of Council, not being an Officer, shall not exceed three years without a break of at least one year. When, however, a Member of Council is acting as an Editor under By-Law XVII.I or is otherwise fulfilling a valuable specialist role under By-Law XVI.9, Council may extend such tenure beyond three consecutive years.
3. Council shall meet once a month, or more often, during eight months at least of each year. Five Council Members shall form a quorum.
4. Unless otherwise provided in these By-Laws, Council shall take formal decisions by majority vote of those present, the President having a second or casting vote when necessary.
5. No debts shall be incurred without Council's approval, nor any payment, except petty cash and ordinary current expenses, made without its order.
6. Council may appoint committees, shall regulate the proceedings of the same, and may require that the Minutes thereof be laid before Council. Members of such Committees shall normally be drawn from Members of Council.
7. Council may from time to time appoint working groups for special purposes, specifying their terms of reference. Membership of such working groups may be drawn from Members as well as Members of Council.
8. Council shall appoint the Editors of *The British Numismatic Journal* in accordance with By-Law XVII, and shall exercise general supervision over publications of the Society.
9. Council may appoint Members of Council (normally not being Officers) to specialist roles for the advancement or improvement of the Society, specifying the applicable terms of reference. If no available Member of Council has suitable qualifications or experience for such role Council may appoint a new Member of Council from the membership to fulfil the role, provided that the maximum number of Members of Council (excluding Officers) does not thereby exceed fifteen.
10. Council shall ensure that the Society is kept informed of matters of significant interest and importance to the Society and shall endeavour in all its proceedings to advance the prosperity of the Society.

XVII. PUBLICATIONS

1. Each new Council shall nominate from among its Members not more than three persons to be responsible for the editing and production of *The British Numismatic Journal* and such other publications as shall be determined by Council.
2. The names of the Editors shall appear on the title page of each volume of *The British Numismatic Journal* which they shall have edited.
3. Responsibility for the acceptance or rejection of manuscripts for the Society's publications shall vest in an Editorial Committee of Council, which shall normally consist of the President, Director, Treasurer and Editors. The Editorial Committee may delegate ultimate responsibility for the acceptance or rejection of manuscripts for *The British Numismatic Journal* to the Editors who shall ensure appropriate peer review thereof.

4. Submissions to the Society for publications other than *The British Numismatic Journal* (Special Publications) shall be presented to Council on behalf of the author(s) by a Member of Council not being an author thereof.
5. If Council shall consider a submission under By-Law XVII.4 to be potentially suitable for publication, Council shall appoint a committee, specifying its constitution and terms of reference to pursue the project. The committee shall include the President, at least one of the Editors and the author(s).
6. The Editors shall see that proper estimates are procured for all work proposed to be executed in connection with the publication of *The British Numismatic Journal* and any other publications for which they shall be responsible by any artist, engraver, printer or other person, and they shall not direct or allow such work to proceed until such estimates have been approved by Council.
7. In the exercise of their office the Editors shall, to the best of their ability, endeavour to ensure that *The British Numismatic Journal* and other publications for which they are responsible uphold the standing of the Society.
8. For publications for which the Editors are not responsible the Editorial Committee of Council or the committee appointed under By-Law XVII.5 shall ensure properly costed proposals are placed before Council prior to commitment and that such publications uphold the standing of the Society.

XVIII. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

1. Council may from time to time appoint Corresponding Members of Council in any country whose duty it shall be to communicate regularly with Council, and to give the earliest intimation of any discovery or development relating to numismatic science, or other matters or events coming to their notice in their respective localities significantly affecting or likely to affect the Society.
2. Such Corresponding Members shall not be entitled to attend Council Meetings except by invitation of the President, in which case they will not have any vote.
3. Every such appointment shall continue during the pleasure of Council.

XIX. INDEPENDENT EXAMINATION

1. The Society shall at each Anniversary Meeting appoint an Independent Examiner to examine the accounts of the Society during the ensuing year in accordance with Section 43(3)(a) of the Charities Act 1993 and any directions of the Charity Commissioners and any regulations made by the Secretary of State in connection with that examination.
2. The report of the Independent Examiner shall be incorporated in the accounts presented by the Treasurer at the Anniversary Meeting.

XX. VARIATION OF BY-LAWS

1. The draft of any By-Law proposed to be made in addition to or for the revocation or alteration of any existing By-Law of the Society shall be submitted by Council, or by at least fifteen Members to an Ordinary Meeting of the Society, and at that and at the following Ordinary Meeting it shall be read from the Chair, or prominently displayed by way of a notice, but shall not be discussed. A copy of such draft shall be made available at the Society's Library on the day of such Meeting, and shall remain so until the appointed time of the Meeting at which the draft is to be discussed.
2. The draft shall be discussed at an Extraordinary Meeting summoned for that purpose, which shall be convened on a date not earlier than six weeks after the date of the Meeting at which the draft was originally submitted; provided that if the Anniversary Meeting falls at least six weeks after the date of such Meeting the draft may, at the option of Council, be discussed at the Anniversary Meeting.
3. A copy of the draft shall be sent to all Members by the Secretary within ten days from the Ordinary Meeting at which it is first read or displayed, and the question whether the draft shall pass or not, in whole or in part, shall be determined in accordance with By-Law VII.5.
4. No proposed amendment to such draft or to any part of it shall be discussed or put to the vote at an Extraordinary or Anniversary Meeting unless such amendment shall have been submitted by Council or by at least fifteen Members in print or in writing to the second of the Ordinary Meetings referred to in By-Law VII.1. Such proposed amendment shall be read from the Chair or prominently displayed by way of a notice at that Ordinary Meeting and shall be made available in the Society's library with the original draft. A copy of the proposed amendment shall be sent to all Members by the Secretary within ten days from the Ordinary Meeting to which it shall have been submitted. The original draft (unless withdrawn) and any proposed amendment shall be discussed together at the same Extraordinary or Anniversary Meeting.
5. No amendment shall be made to the objects (By-Law I.2), this By-Law XX.5, or the dissolution provisions (By-Law XXI) save with the approval of the Charity Commissioners, and no amendment shall be made which would cause the Society to cease to be a charity in law.

XXI. DISSOLUTION

The dissolution of the Society may be effected only by a resolution passed by a three-fourths majority of the Members of the Society balloting on that occasion in person or by proxy at an Extraordinary General Meeting convened for that purpose and of which notice has been served to all Members of the Society at their last known address. If a motion to dissolve the Society is carried by the said majority, the Society's surplus funds, property, and assets (if any) shall not be distributed among the membership but shall be given or transferred to such other charitable institutions having similar objects to the objects of the Society as the Society with the approval of the Charity Commissioners shall determine, and if and so far as effect cannot be given to such provision, then to some charitable object.

Adopted by the Society on 22 November 2011.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

THE Society was founded in 1903, and is a registered charity (No. 275906). The object of the Society is the encouragement and promotion of numismatic science, particularly through the study of the coins, medals and tokens of the peoples of the British Isles and Commonwealth and the United States of America, and of such territories as may at any time be or have been subject to their jurisdiction.

Membership is open to all persons and to appropriate institutions. Details of membership and an application form can be found on the Society's website: www.britnumsoc.org. Further enquiries about membership should be made to the Membership Secretary:

Philip Skingley, Esq.
The British Numismatic Society
c/o The Warburg Institute
Woburn Square
London WC1H 0AB

Meetings are held at 6 p.m. on the fourth Tuesday of each month from January to June and September to November at the Warburg Institute. Other meetings may be arranged from time to time. Offers of papers to be read at meetings should be sent to the Director:

I. Leins, Esq.
Department of Coins and Medals
The British Museum
Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3DG

The *British Numismatic Journal*, which is fully peer-reviewed, is published annually and distributed without charge to all members. Persons, whether members or not,

wishing to submit an article or short note for publication should write to the Editors:

c/o Dr E. Screen
Trinity College
Oxford
OX1 3BH

To assist contributors in the preparation of typescripts for submission to the *Journal*, and also with the marking up of proofs, a set of Notes for the Guidance of Contributors may be downloaded from the Society's website (www.britnumsoc.org) or obtained from the Editors.

The Society's library is housed at the Warburg Institute. Members may use the library on presentation of their signed membership card. Books can be sent to members by post on request to the Librarian. Gifts for the library, and books for review, should be sent to the Librarian:

R.H. Thompson, Esq.
The British Numismatic Society
c/o The Warburg Institute
Woburn Square
London WC1H 0AB

Annual subscriptions, currently £32 (reduced subscription for those under 21 or in full time education £15), are due on 1 January each year, and should be sent without request to the Treasurer:

P.H. Mernick, Esq.
42 Campbell Road
London E3 4DT

ABBREVIATIONS

ANS	American Numismatic Society	CNS	<i>Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX–XI</i>
<i>AntJ</i>	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i>		<i>qui in Suecia reperti sunt</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports	CTCE	C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart and C.S.S. Lyon, <i>Coinage in Tenth-Century England</i> (Oxford, 1989)
BL	British Library		
BM	British Museum	DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>BMC</i>	<i>British Museum Catalogue</i>	<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>	EMC	Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds
BNS	British Numismatic Society	FPL	Fixed Price List
<i>BSFN</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>	<i>GM</i>	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
CBA	Council for British Archaeology	<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
CCI	Celtic Coin Index		
<i>CH</i>	<i>Coin Hoards</i>	MBS	Mail Bid Sale
<i>CHRB</i>	<i>Coin Hoards from Roman Britain</i>	<i>MEC</i>	<i>Medieval European Coinage</i>

<i>MIN</i>	<i>Metallurgy in Numismatics</i>	<i>RBN</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>	<i>RIC</i>	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
<i>NCirc</i>	<i>Spink's Numismatic Circular</i>	<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>NNA</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift</i>	<i>RNS</i>	<i>Royal Numismatic Society</i>
<i>NNM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>	<i>SCBI</i>	<i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i>
<i>NNUM</i>	<i>Nordisk Numismatik Unions Medlemsblad</i>	<i>SCMB</i>	<i>Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>TAR</i>	<i>Treasure Annual Report</i>
<i>PAS</i>	<i>Portable Antiquities Scheme</i>	<i>TNA: PRO</i>	<i>The National Archives: Public Record Office</i>
<i>ProcINC</i>	<i>Proceedings of the International Numismatic Congress</i>	<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>		

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